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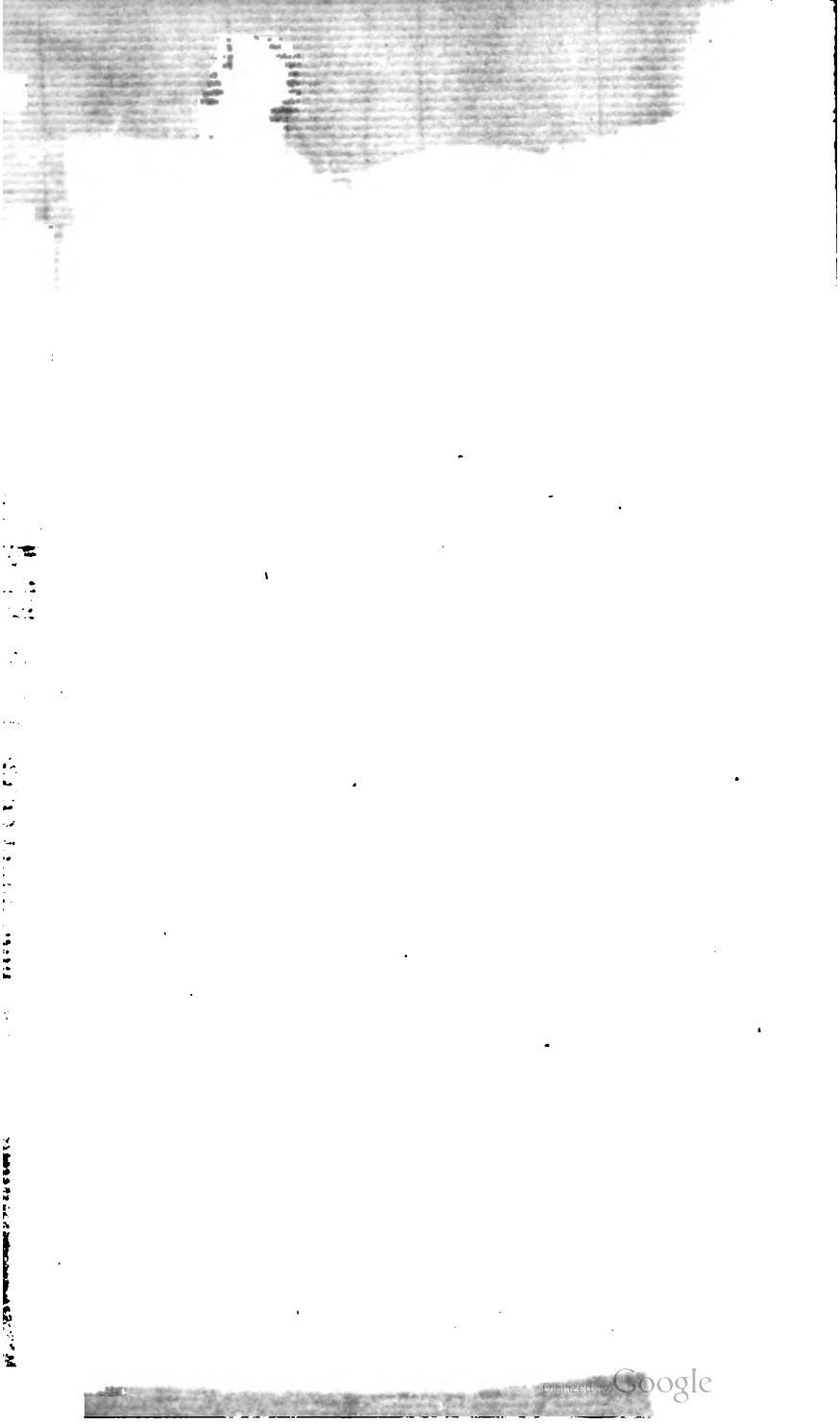
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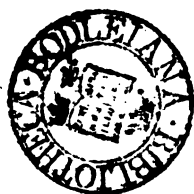
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Modern History:

BEING A

CONTINUATION

OF THE

Universal History.

BOOK II.

CHAP. VI.

*The History of Jenghîz Khân's Successors.
in Tartary and China.*

The Reign of Timûr, called by the Chineses Ching-tsong.

AFTER the death of *Hû-pi-lay* (or *Kublay*), *Pe-yen*, as *Sixth* prime minister, and general of the army, gave the ne-*Khân* cessary commands, to prevent all disorder; and in-*Timûr* vited *Timûr* to come immediately, and be acknowledged emperor, pursuant to the last will of his grandfather. This appointment he also notified to the princes, and other generals of the troops; giving them to understand, at the same time, that he would not suffer the least opposition to it. The assembly met, by agreement, in *April 1294*; where, notwithstanding, *A. D.* several princes intended to declare somebody else emperor. *1294*. Then *Yusi Timûr* spoke; and said, That it was proper, without delay, to instal *Timûr*, according to the intention of *Hû-pi-lay*. *Pe-yen* seconded *Yusi Timûr*; and, drawing his sword, declared he would never acknowledge any other emperor.

Sixth. peror than *Timûr*. The general *Ywe-chechar*, great grandson *Timûr*, or of *Porgû*, one of *Jenghîz Khân's* four intrepids, was of the Ching-tsong. same opinion, as well as all the other generals : it was known also, that the *Chinese* great men would declare for *Timûr*. Hereupon *Kanmala*, eldest son of the late prince *Cheng-kin*, gave his vote for *Timûr*, his youngest brother : the other princes did the same ; and, in short, all fell on their knees before that prince, to acknowledge him for emperor. Notice was immediately given of this to all the tribes, generals of troops, and mandarins of the provinces of *China* : a general amnesty was published likewise, according to custom.

*His first
acts.*

ONE of the first acts of *Timûr*, who is known to the *Chinese* by the name of *Ching-tsong*, was, to give the title of emperor to his father, and that of empress to his mother. He likewise erected monuments to the memory of his father *Cheng-kin*, grandfather *Hû-pi-lay*, and the princess his grandmother ; punctually paid what was due to the princes and princesses of his house, to the generals and mandarins : shewed great marks of confidence to his brother *Kanmala*, and declared him his lieutenant-general in *Tartary*. He appointed generals to oppose *Hay-tû*, and other princes of his party. He provided for the security of the provinces by a choice of good officers, giving full powers to *Pe-yen*, *Yusi Temur*, *Ywe-chechar*, *Tâtûba*, and others, in all matters whatsoever which concerned war. He caused the finishing stroke to be given to the history of *Hû-pi-lay* ; made peace with the king of *Gan-nan* * ; and ordered commerce with *India* to be renewed, which had been interrupted by the war with *Qua-wa* †.

*Death of
Pe-yen.*

IN December this year died the famous *Pe-yen*, at the age of fifty-nine, with the reputation of being one of the greatest men whom either *China* or *Tartary* ever produced. The emperor, the princes, the generals, and universally all the officers, mourned his death a long time ; and the *Chinese* historians have bestowed on this general a magnificent elogy.

THE year 1295 is marked for the first of *Timûr's* reign by the *Chinese*, who usually reckon to the deceased emperor that in which he dies (A). At the beginning of it, lands were given, in the southern provinces, to the soldiers, on condition, to keep in awe the *Myau-tse* : a kind of independent people, who inhabit certain mountainous parts of *Se-chwen*, *Quey-chew*, *Hu-quang*, *Quang-si*, *Quang-tong*, and

* Containing *Tong-king* and *Kochin China*.

† Supposed to be near *Kambaja*.

(A) Altho' this rule or custom is not always observed, many instances being found to the contrary. *Gaubil*.

elsewhere; having languages and laws different not only from the *Chinese*, but from one another. In *April* there happened a grievous famine, on which occasion *Timûr* shewed his readiness to succour the people; he caused large alms to be distributed every-where to the poor, and the public granaries to be examined: henceforth also he forbade the selling of civil employments ^{*Sixth. Timûr, or Ching-tsong.*} ^{*Good regu-*}

IN 1296 the daughters and sisters of the *Mungl* emperors, as well as the princes and grandees their husbands, were possessed of very great privileges. By little and little they had assumed to themselves the right of judging, and putting to death, their vassals and domestics. Several abuses on this occasion determined *Timûr* to make a law, that no person whosoever should condemn another, without having the emperor's consent; which regulation is highly praised by the *Chinese*.

IN 1297 the empress-mother had a mind to go to *U-tay-shan*, a mountain near the city of *U-tay* (B), to see the temple which she had built in honour of *Fo*. As this journey must have been very chargeable to the people, and, besides, was not agreeable to the emperor her son, who, through respect, would not oppose it openly, the *Chinese* great men, deeply averse to the worship of *Fo*, presented that princess with a petition full of spirit and eloquence. After delicately setting forth her known tenderness and compassion for the people, they exaggerate the number of persons ruined, or dead, on occasion of that temple; and make a dismal representation of the evils which such a progress would bring on the inhabitants of *Pe-che-li* and *Shan-si*; nor did they spare to exclaim against the worship of *Fo*. Hereupon the empress desisted from her design; and, as she saw that the emperor did not approve of it, she was unwilling to give him the least uneasiness. A. D. 1297.

TIMUR, when he appointed his brother *Kanmala* for his lieutenant-general in *Tartary*, and *Twe-chechar* for general of the troops, ordered them to follow the counsels of *Tâtûha*, prince of *Kin-cha* (C), who had beaten prince *Hay-tû* in several engagements. *Tâtûha* died in 1295, at *Swen-hû-fû* in *Pe-che-li*, as he was setting out for *Tartary*, to command one of the armies designed against the same enemy. He was succeeded in his titles and honours by his son *Chohangûr*, who A. D. 1297.

* GAUBIL. Hist. Gentel. p. 223, & seqq.

(B) In the district of *Tay*
Ywen-fû, capital of *Shan-si*
Gaubil.

(C) The same with *Kap-chák* or *Kipjâl*.

Sixth. was as great a captain as his father, under whom he always *Timūr*, or served with distinction. This general, being in 1297 appointed to oppose *Hay-tū*, who was advanced as far as the *Ching-king* country of *Parin*, marched at the head of his troops of *Kinchia*; and, finding him encamped along the river *Arā*, prepared to attack him: but in *October* he fled, and retired towards the north. Next year prince *Tuwa*, *Hay-tū*'s brother, was defeated by *Chohangūr*, to the west of the mountain *Altay*, towards the source of the river *Irtish*. In *August* a detachment of *Hay-tū*'s army, being met by prince *Ko-li-ki-tse*, who had married the emperor's daughter, he defeated them three times: but, falling from his horse, was taken, and carried to *Hay-tū*, whose great offers he refused, chusing to be slain, rather than prove unfaithful to *Timūr*.

Timūr's charity. IN *January* 1299 this monarch sent mandarins into all the provinces, to examine into the losses which the people had suffered; the damages which the troops had caused; the families of mandarins, who had not wherewithal to live on, suitable to their condition; and the peasants, who could not cultivate the lands. These commissioners gave a real relief to the poor, the diseased, the old officers who were no longer able to serve, and to their families. This conduct loaded *Timūr* with the publick applause: he refused continually to declare war against *Japan*, altho' several *Mungls*, who delighted in blood and slaughter, urged him to it. The emperor declared, that he would live in peace, and banish the vices which reigned in the empire. He daily inquired into the miseries of the people, and seemed to be sensible only of the glory of making them happy.

THE history, however, blames *Timūr* for having sent a *bonza*, in quality of envoy, to *Japan*, in *February* this year: it praises the emperors, who sent deputies to foreign courts; and adds, that, for such commissions, it is necessary to chuse out men of credit and titles, and such as do honour to the empire by their magnificence, gravity, and air of grandeur, worthy the dignity of their prince.

An eclipse mistaken. THE tribunal of mathematics having foretold an eclipse of the moon for *August*, which did not happen; the great lords, to save its credit, represented to the emperor, that heaven had for that time, in his majesty's favour, caused a change in the motion of the sun. *Timūr* did not believe what they said; yet, without punishing the tribunal, sent them notice to set the stars in order again.

IN the year 1300 *Lyew-shen*, a general of the troops, represented to the court, that the kingdom of *Pa-pe-si-su* would

(D) would not receive the calendar of the empire; and ^{Sixth.} prayed his majesty to permit him to compel the inhabitants to ^{Timâr, or} follow the form of the *Chinese* year, and reckon their months ^{Ching-tsong.} like the subjects of the emperor. One of his ministers, called ^{Pa-pe-si-fû} *Wan-tse*, considering this as a serious affair, persuaded the emperor, in *December*, to attack the kingdom of *Pa-pe-si-fû*. ^{fû invaded,} *Alaafun* opposed that resolution; alleging, that the people, whom they would attack, were barbarians; that, indeed, they might be instructed, if his majesty thought fit; but that it would be of no use, as well as dangerous, to make war upon them. The emperor said nothing to the minister *Alaafun*; but, contrary to his custom, he fell in a passion at another mandarin, who went about to give his advice. In effect, *Lyew-sben* was ordered, with 20,000 men, to attack *Pa-pe-si-fû* ^b.

BUT it was not long before *Timâr* repented this unfortunate war: most of the troops perished by famine or sickness, and the province of *Yun-nan* suffered much. The bordering people, who, till then, had lain quiet, took arms, and plundered several countries subject to the emperor. This war at length became serious; many excellent officers died in it; so that the troops of *Hû-quang*, *Se-chwen*, *Shen-fi*, and *Yun-nan*, were obliged to march; and *Koko* (E), son of *Hû-pi-lay*, had orders to support those troops, in case of need. *Yeshûtar* (F) and *Lyew-kû-kyay* (G), after many difficulties and ^{and raised} losses, subdued *Pa-pe-si-fû*, and pacified the troubles which ^{duced.} the *Myau-tse*, and the people of the frontiers, had excited: nor was it till the year 1303 that an end was put to the war. The emperor often let *Alaafun* know, that he repented having not followed his advice: which occasion a great mandarin laid hold of to represent to his majesty, that, for thirty years past, the empire had been at exorbitant expences to make war on *Japan*, *Gan-nan*, *Qua-wa*, and *Lyew-Kyew*, without the least profit. He compared those wars to that of

^b GAUBIL. ubi sup. p. 225. & seq.

(D) A pretty large country, between *Yun-nan* and *Bengâl* in *India*; but the air is very unwholesome, and the people poor; and were, at that time, cruel and barbarous. *Gaubil*.

(E) He had the title of regulo of *Yun-nan*. This is the prince whom *M. Polo* calls *Ko-grakam*. *Gaubil*.

(F) He was the son of *Nyerw-hen*, general under *Mengko* and *Hû-pi-lay*. *Gaubil*.

(G) A tatar of *Nyu-che*, and one of the best officers in the empire: great praise is bestowed on the conduct of prince *Koko*, and these two generals. *Gaubil*.

Sixth. *Pa-pe-fi-fû*; and added, that the honour of the emperor *Timûr*, or *Ching-tsong*, required that he should put to death the general *Lyew-shen*, as having deceived his prince. Several of that general's friends represented, that he ought to enjoy the amnesty: but *Ala-fun* made the same representation as the mandarin; and *Lyew-shen* had his head struck off.

Rebellion in Pegû. A LORD of the kingdom of *Myen* (or *Pegû*), having revolted against his king (H), seized him, confined him in a stable, and, in *May* 1300, slew him. The king's second son escaped to *Ta-tû*, and, on his knees, asked assistance from the emperor. *Timûr*, by advice of his council, granted his request, as being a tributary prince; and *Suechawr*, great general in *Yun-nan*, was ordered to enter *Myen*, and attack the rebels. He did so; but was worsted, with his lieutenants, who returned to *Yun-nan*, after spreading a report, that they had made all things quiet. However, the court had intelligence, that several great officers had been corrupted by the rebel; who, being tried for the same, were found guilty, and put to death: nor did *Suechawr* escape punishment; for he was degraded, and his goods were confiscated.

THE same year died *Pû-hû-chû*, one of the ministers, a *Kangli* by nation, and one of the wisest men of his time. He held the chief employments in the empire, and yet died very poor. His children inherited his probity, and love for the sciences. His wife, who had as much virtue as her husband, was continually at work with her hands, nor was ashamed to make use of them to maintain her family.

Hay-shan's success. *A. D.* 1301. *TIMUR* had sent his nephew *Hayshan* into *Tartary*, to learn the art of war under the generals *Twe-chechar* and *Choangûr*. This prince had defeated *Hay-tû* in several engagements; but the latter, tho' always beaten, was still in a condition to make himself feared; so that the emperor was obliged to have great armies continually in that country, commanded by princes of his family, and his best generals. *Hayshan*, having, in 1301, joined together the five great bodies of troops which had been employed in different parts of *Tartary*; in *August* had several bloody battles, between *Karakorum* and the river *Tamir*, with *Hay-tû* and his brother *Towa*, whose troops were, for the most part, cut in pieces. *Hay-tû*, who, for more than thirty years, had made war on the princes of his family, on pretence that they had usurped the empire of *Ogotay*, or *Oktay*, to his prejudice, died with vexation. His brother *Towa* was dangerously wounded, but escaped with a few followers. Such a continued run of losses, and bad success,

(H) Called in the Chinese history *Ti-li-pû-wa-na-na-ti-ti-ya*.

at length induced most of the princes who were of *Hay-tû's* party to acknowledge *Timûr* for the true successor of *Jenghiz Khân*. *Sixth.*
Timur, or
Ching-tsong.

IN *January* 1302 died prince *Kanmala*, the emperor's eldest brother; whose excellent qualities, joined to his fidelity and courage, made him lamented. In *March* the court was under great uneasiness on account of the emperor's illness: but he recovered his health, and learned, with a sensible joy, how much the people had been afflicted to hear he was sick. He, on his part, caused great largesses to be distributed, and a general pardon to be published. In *April* he removed, as usual, to *Shang-tû*; and, in *May*, an eclipse of the sun happening, which the tribunal had neglected to calculate, the mandarins thereof were punished, by lowering the degrees of some, turning out others, and lessening the salaries of the rest. The establishing of an imperial college at *Ta-tû* gave great satisfaction to the *Chinese* literati: but they could not forbear expressing their concern, to see that a palace had not been built to honour the memory of *Konfusius*. This being represented to *Timûr* by *Alaafun*, that prince, who had a high-esteem for the philosopher, and understood his doctrine, caused a magnificent palace to be erected for him, which is still seen at *Pe-king*. *and prince*
Kanmala.
A. D.
1303.
Konfusius
honoured.

JENGHIZ Khân brought with him into *Tartary*, from *Persia*, *Khorassan* and great *Bukhâria*, a considerable number of *Mohammedan* families, among whom there were many excellent officers; and, ever after, the *Mohammedans* were very powerful at the *Mungl* court. There were, of that religion, generals, and whole bodies of troops; chiefs of merchants, and mandarins in all the tribunals, especially that of the mathematics; doctors, and even ministers of state, of whom, in *July*, *U-tû-pû-ting* was nominated one.

IN 1303 *Timûr*, ever attentive to the good of the empire, sent judicious persons into all the provinces, to inform themselves how things stood. One of his views was, to procure an exact account of the misery of the people; and to find out men of merit, who were not employed, either for want of money, or friends at court. The emperor, in regard to the evils which had been occasioned by the long wars with *Hay-tû* and *Towa*, appointed generals to command in the territory of *Qua-chew* and *Sha-chew* (I). There he ordered magazines to *Timûr's*
humanity.

* GAUBIL, ubi sup. p. 228, & seq.

(I) Cities to the north-west of the west end of the wall, and *China*, between *Kya-yu quan*, at *Khamû*, or *Hamû*, in *Little Bukharia*.

Scyth. to be erected for the troops, and lodgments for them in several places between *Kan-chew*, in *China*, and *Sha-chew*. This *Ching*-monarch grew daily more beloved; and the *Tatar* princes long were charmed with his integrity, clemency, and liberality.

All Tartary submitted. PRINCE *Towa*, tired with so long a war, assembled all the lords, his vassals, and declared he was resolved to acknowledge *Timûr*, whom he highly praised. *Chapar*, eldest son of *Hay-tû*, did the same. The other princes followed their example; and, after having caused the emperor to be recognized in their respective territories, sent deputies in their names to implore his pardon, and reckon them in the number of his subjects. *Timûr* granted their request, and, by that act, saw all *Tartary* united to his empire; a design which his grandfather *Hû-pi-lay* could never compass. *Timûr*, on this occasion, conferred great honours on the prince *Choangûr*, in *July*. He gave him, with his own hand, a gold seal, jewels, and habits, in presence of the whole court: he praised his merit, and bestowed on him the principal posts in the army. But that which redounded most to this prince's honour, was what passed in the assembly; where the princes leagued with *Hay-tû* and *Towa* resolved to submit. One of them said, that, *Choangûr* being appointed to govern *Tartary*, they reckoned they should be more soundly beaten than they were in the time of *Pe-yen* and *Tû-tû-ha*; which reflection was one of the chief motives that induced them to a submission. In *October* this year the *Han-lin*, who were appointed to examine the *Chinese* history, and write annals, presented the emperor with the annals of *Jenchiz Khân*, *Ogotay*, *Quey-yew*, *Toley*, and *Mengko* (K).

Religious ceremonies fixed. THE *Twân*, or *Mungls*, had, by tradition, their certain rites and rites for the worship of Heaven: but they had neither fixed ceremonies, places, nor times, for sacrificing thereto. Therefore, in 1305, *Timûr* set able persons to examine what had been the practice on that head, from the foundation of the *Chinese* empire to his own time. *Alaafun*, with some others who were *Chinese*s, reported to the emperor the result

Baria. *Sha-chew* is the *Sachin* of *Marco Polo*, according to *Gaubil*, who observes, that this city and *Qua-chew* have always had *Chinese* garisons to cover the western frontiers.

(K) These are the *Chinese* names for *Jenghiz Khân*, *Ok-tay*, *Kayûk*, *Tuli*, and *Mungo*.

The work spoken of is, according to *Gaubil*, one of the best which the *Chinese* have on the subject of their history; and therefore, in great esteem. He has spoken of it at large in a dissertation on the ancient history of the *Chinese*s.

of

of their researches, and settled the ceremonies which were thenceforth to be observed in the worship of Heaven. The history speaks this year of precious stones called *Ta-u-to*, sold by the western merchants for sixty van (L). Seventh.
Hayshan,
or Vâ-
tsong.

TIMÛR had one son called *Te-shew*, and one daughter by *Pe-yeu*, the princess of *Hongkita*. *Te-shew* was appointed heir: but died without children during the life of his father; who died himself in *January* 1307, in his forty-second year, without either leaving issue, or naming a successor. Timûr
dies.

THIS prince passed, in the judgment of the *Chineses*, for a perfect emperor. The wise conduct which he observed in the war against *Hay-tû* and *Nayen*; the judicious choice which he made of generals and ministers; the constant aversion which he showed for the vices which reign but too often in the courts of princes; and the extraordinary care which he took to comfort the people; give a high idea of this prince's abilities in government. He was sixth khân of *Tartary*, and second emperor of *China*^d. His cha-
racter,

CHAP. VII.

The Reign of Hayshan, called by the Chineses Vâ-tsong.

WHEN the emperor *Timûr* died, *Hayshan*, eldest son of *Talamapala* (A), the son of *Cheng-kin*, the son of *Hû-Khân* *ji-ky*, was lieutenant-general in *Tartary*, and at the head of a great army to the north of *Karakorum*. This prince was esteemed by most of the princes of his family, whom he had seen in *Tartary*, and had gained reputation in the war with *Hay-tû*. He had likewise a considerable interest among the grandees, many of whom expressed a desire to see him emperor; while none seemed to think of setting any of the sons of *Kanmala*, eldest son of *Cheng-kin*, on the throne. Mean time the empress *Pe-ya-h*, widow of *Timûr*, having conceived a hatred against a princess of her own house, the wife of *Talamapala*, caused her to be banished to *Whay-chew*, at present *Whay-kin Fû*, in *Honan*, with her son *Ayyulipalipata*;

^d GAUBIL. ubi sup. p. 230.

(L) That is, three millions of livres, or about 150,000 *l.* sterl.

(A) These, and other names, tho' *Tatarian*, yet being transcribed from the *Chinese* characters, differ more or less from the true pronunciation: nor is it in our power to give them in their true orthography; since neither our author *Gaubil* has done it, nor have we any account of them, except a few, in our extracts from the oriental writers.

and,

Seventh. and, fearing the resentment of *Hayshan* (who was also her son, and secretly enraged at her treatment), in case he became emperor, sent for the minister *A-û-tay*, prince *Mingli Temur*, with several other princes and grandees of her court. To them she proposed the prince *Honanta*, eldest son of *Mangkola*, third son of *Hû-pi-lay*, who then governed the provinces of *Shen-si*, *Se-chwen*, and *Tibbet*, as his father had done before; and usually resided at *Si-gan Fû*, capital of the first of those provinces. *Honanta*, who readily embraced the offer of the empress, came by post to *Ta-tû*; while the parties above-mentioned took measures to hinder *Hayshan's* return.

Honanta THE first thing they did, was to go to the palace, and in-
his compe- treat the empress to pull down the curtain (B), in order to
titor. give audiences, and govern the state, till *Honanta* was installed. After this, *A-û-tay* assembled the grandees at the palace of the ancestors; and, under pretence of consulting about the succession, they began by force to perform the ceremonies which are usually observed after the recognition of a new emperor. Two great mandarins opposed this attempt; and insisted, that they ought first to see the name of the new emperor. *Ho-whey*, one of the prime mandarins, declared the same thing. Hereupon *A-û-tay* fell in a passion, and threatened with death the opposing lords: but, as they stood firm to their principles, the assembly dissolved.

Alaafun's ON the other side, *Alaafun*, as prime minister, seizing the
policy. seals of the tribunals, caused the treasury to be shut up; likewise the chambers where were kept the robes, and jewels of the crown. Then, in concert with the officer of the inner guard of the palace, suffered no-body to enter. At the same time he feigned himself sick; and, in spite of the repeated orders and threats of the empress, remained firm; sending underhand some trusty lords to *Hayshan* and *Ayyulipalipata*, to hasten to the court. This latter, having received the express in *February*, was at a loss what course to take. Hereupon *Li-meng* his master quoted him the law of *Shi-tsu* (C), which excluded bastards from the succession; and repre-

(B) This is in allusion to an ancient custom observed by the Chinese princesses, who governed during the minority of the princes their sons. *Gaubil*.

(C) The Chinese title for *Hû-pi-lay*. But it is difficult to know with certainty whether the law of *Hû-pi-lay* excluded

the children of other ladies than the first empress, or those born of his other wives, excepting those five who had the title of empresses; but it is clear, that *Honanta*, who was the eldest son of *Mangkola*, *Hû-pi-lay's* third son, was looked on as illegitimate. *Gaubil*, p. 238.

sent to him, that, as his brother *Hayshan* was above a *Seventh*. thousand leagues from the capital, he ought to set out with *Hayshan*, the princess his mother for *Ta-tû*. *Li-meng*, who was but *or Vû-tsong*. little known at the court, went before; and, counterfeiting the physician, as such, was brought into the chamber of *Ala-asun*. A lord, sent by the empress to know how the minister did, was with him when *Li-meng* entered; yet, nobody suspecting him to be other than a physician, he had opportunity enough to deliver what he had to say on the part of *Ayyulipalipata*. After this, he took post-horses; and, while *Ala-asun* prepared every thing necessary for the reception of that prince, *Li-meng* travelled day and night; so that the empress was much surprised, when soon after she was informed, that *Ayyulipalipata*, and his mother, were arrived in the city. They made their entrance into the palace early in the morning, followed on horseback by their retinue in deep mourning; and were introduced, by the officers of the guards, into their old apartment².

THE partisans of *Honanta* agreed to declare him emperor *Palipata* on the third of *March*; and chose that day, under pretence of celebrating the birth of *Ayyulipalipata*. *Ala-asun* promised *Honanta* to assist at the ceremony; and, the same night, gave *Ayyulipalipata* notice; acquainting him, that it was necessary to prevent the authors of the plot, without waiting for the arrival of *Hayshan*. Prince *Fûla*, who was great captain, undertook forthwith to conduct an army; and, two days before, entered *Ta-tû* at the head of a considerable body of troops, without declaring on what design: but the empress could easily perceive, that the prince would never suffer *Honanta* to be proclaimed emperor, and, from that time, was in very great fear. *Ayyulipalipata*, seeing himself strengthened by an army at his devotion, caused a report to be spread, that *Hayshan* had sent a commissioner to inquire into what had passed with respect to *Honanta*. Then prince *Mengli Temûr*, being seized, *The con-* was carried in chains to *Shang-tû*. *A-û-tay*, and the other *spirators* mandarins his accomplices, were condemned to death; but *seized*. execution was stayed till the arrival of *Hayshan*. Guards likewise were placed at the gates of both the palace and city; so that the empress, and prince *Honanta*, saw themselves quite disabled from proceeding in their design; and, as it were, prisoners in their own palace.

MEAN time the princes of *Ayyulipalipata*'s party proposed *Li-* to him to assume the empire: but he refused; and declared *meng's* plainly, that the crown belonged to his elder brother. He *modesty*.

² GAUBIL, ubi supra, p. 233, & seqq.

Seventh. added, that the prosecutions he had set on foot were in favour of *Hayshan*, and to punish those who had the audacity to attempt to violate the rules of the succession. *Li-meng* or *Vü-tsong* was nominated for one of the chief employments, and to have had a general inspection over all; but he declined the same. He had never seen *Hayshan*; and, as soon as he heard that prince was on the road, he disappeared: nor was the place of his retreat known, the love of study and retirement having induced him to conceal it.

Hayshan's resolution. As soon as *Hayshan* received advice of his uncle *Timûr's* death, he repaired from the mountain *Antay*, or *Altay*, to *Karakorum*; where he assembled as many princes and great men as he possibly could, in order to deliberate what he had to do. The troops, who loved him, were desirous that he should be acknowledged emperor in that ancient capital; but *Hayshan* would not agree to it. He received an express from the princess his mother, by which he found, that she was inclined to have *Ayyulipalipata* elected; induced thereto by the words of an astrologer, who had promised the empire to that prince, at his departure from *Whay-chew*. On this advice, *Hayshan* sent for *Toto*, who had brought him the news of *Timûr's* death, and told him: "That, as he was older than *Ayyulipalipata*, the speech of an astrologer ought not to disturb the order of the succession: that he knew how to punish those who had infused such sentiments into his mother; and that he was resolved to set out for *Shang-tû*, there to take possession of the throne of *Jenghiz Khân*." Having spoken thus, he ordered *Toto* to go before, to acquaint his mother, brother, and *Alaafun*, with the other princes and faithful lords, with his resolution.

Marches towards Ta-tû. *HAYSHAN* chose 30,000 soldiers out of the army at *Karakorum*, appointing the prince *Ganwhey* and *Choangûr* to command them. Then, putting himself at their head, made them march in three bodies, and at an easy rate, to avoid fatiguing them. The princess, *Hayshan's* mother, charmed to hear from *Toto* the true intentions of her son, sent that lord back; requesting him to speak in her behalf to *Hayshan*, and especially to explain to him fully in what sense she seemed to wish to see *Ayyulipalipata* on the throne. Mean time this latter prince caused his brother's approach to be published in *Ta-tû*; and, after he had provided for the security of that city, set out with the guards, accompanied by several princes and grandees, for *Shang-tû*, to prepare every thing for the reception of *Hayshan*.

THIS prince expected with impatience the return of *Toto*; *Sevemeb.* and, seeing him at a distance, rose up in his chariot, and ordered him to come and sit by him. *Hayshan,* *Toto* was accompanied by his brother *Afbapwba*, sent by the princess. *Hayshan* or *Va-tsong.* was never tired with hearing *Toto* relate what his mother and brother had said to him. He appointed *Afbapwba* to be one of his ministers; and, being near *Shang-tá*, drew up his troops. He entered that city in *May*, attended by his generals, and was conducted to the palace by the imperial guard, through the acclamations of the people. As soon as he saw his brother, he advanced to embrace him, both shedding tears; thanked him for his zeal, and praised his management. After this, the two princes went to pay their duty to the princess their mother, who reckoned this the most glorious day of her life. *Hayshan* was then acknowledged emperor with much pomp. He declared his mother empress; and gave to his father the title of emperor: He likewise appointed his brother hereditary prince: which ceremonies being over, the court set out for *Ta-tá.* *Proclaim'd emperor.*

WHEN they were arrived there, *Hayshan*, attended by the *Honours* princes of his house, went to the palace of his ancestors, to honour the memory of *Tay-tsu* or *Jenghiz Khán*, *Ogotay,* *Quey-yew,* *Mongko,* *Tokey,* *Shi-tsú* or *Há-pi-lay,* *Timúr,* *Cheng-kin,* and *Talamapala*, who, by the advice of *Ho-whey* and *Alaafun*, were ranged in the following order. The tablet of *Jenghiz Khán* being placed in the middle, on the east were, 1. *Talamapala*; 2. *Timúr*: to the west, 1. *Tokey*; 2. *Há-pi-lay*; 3. *Cheng-kin*. *Tokey* and *Cheng-kin* had, besides, particular palaces, where they were honoured. The above arrangement was made apart from the tablets of the emperors *Ogotay*, *Quey-yew*, and *Mongko*. Hereupon the history blames those two mandarins for committing two essential faults, contrary to the *Chinese* ceremony; in which they were thoroughly versed: first, to build palaces, to honour those princes as emperors, who had not been emperors: secondly, to place princes, who had not been emperors, above those who had been. Those princes, tho' brothers or fathers of emperors, were no more than subjects, and therefore were intitled only to the honours due to subjects. *his ancestors.*

AFTER this ceremony of respect paid to his ancestors was *Conspira-* over, *Hayshan* ordered the sentence of death, obtained by *Ayyulipalipata* against the mandarins of *Honanta's* party, to be carried into execution: he likewise put to death the empress *Pe-ya-á*, and prince *Honanta*, as well as the minister *A-á-tay*. In *July* he caused to be distributed through the empire the *Mungl* translation of the book written by *Konfusius.* *tors put to death.*

Seventh. fuis, intituled, *Hyau-king*; with an exhortation to the *Tatar* Hayshan, princes and grandees to read that book, and conform to the doctrine contained in it. Afterwards, alluding to the pains that philosopher had taken to put the classical books in order, he says: "That, but for *Konfusius*, they would have known nothing of the antient sages; nor would the sages of the times posterior to those of *Konfusius* have had examples of the antient and true virtue to imitate."

Hayshan's character. THE year 1308 is reckoned the first of the emperor *Hayshan*, whom the *Chinese* intitle *Vü-tsong*. He was warlike, equitable, generous, mild, and a patron of learned men: but he had three faults; was too much attached to the lamas, loved wine, and was fond of women. In *January* *Asbapüwha*, a faithful minister, fell on his knees, and, with tears in his eyes, conjured him "to take care of his health, which was so dear to the empire; assuring him, that wine and women would soon put an end to his life." As the emperor loved *Asbapüwha*, he did not take that lecture ill, and would have him drink in his presence a glass of good wine. A few days after, the great mandarins came in a body, to felicitate his majesty on having a subject so sincere as *Asbapüwha*. To this latter, who was brother^c of *Toto*, and grandson of the king of *Kangli*^d, *Hayshan* gave the title of count of *Kang*.

Insolence of lamas. LI-P I, one of the great mandarins of *Shang-tü*, intending to punish a lama, who had abused some of the commonalty; that lama, and several others, armed with sticks, entered his tribunal, beat and confined him in a little room: yet, on complaining, he had no redress. At the same time another lama had the impudence to stop the chariot of a princess on the road, and get before her; and, when her attendants attempted to seize him, he beat the princess, and then went on. Neither could this great personage obtain any satisfaction from the emperor: on the contrary, an imperial order was published, importing, that the hand should be cut off which struck a lama; and the tongue of him who abused any of them: but the prince appointed heir revoked that order. The historians speak with great vehemence against these acts of injustice; and add, "that the lamas ruined the empire of the *Ywen*: that the dynasty of the western *Han* was destroyed by the relations of the queens; that of the eastern *Han* by the eunuchs; that of the *Tang* by the great mandarins; and that of the *Song* by bad subjects."

^c GAUBIL, ubi sup. p. 238, & seqq.
the years 1257 and 1258.

^d See before,

THE *Mungl* emperors laid out a great deal of money in *Seventh*. rare birds, jewels, pearls, precious stones, and rarities of all *Hayshan*, kinds. As they had given commissions to the foreign merchants of the west to search for such things in the provinces, the sea-ports, and elsewhere; those strangers travelled over the country with a mark at their girdles. (D), to shew that they belonged to the emperor; and, in that quality, took post-horses where-ever they came, under pretence of searching for curiosities for the court: but, in *November*, there appeared an edict, forbidding thenceforward to furnish the western merchants with post-horses. In the same month, *Chapar*, eldest son of *Haytu*, the eldest son of *Tatâ* (E), and others, came in person to the court, to acknowledge *Hayshan* for their sovereign. At the end of the year *Alaafun* died at *Karakorum* in *Tartary*, where he had been removed on the following occasion:

or *Vâ-tsong*.
Foreigners
restrained.

A-U-TAY, the minister before-mentioned, who was for in- *Alaafun* stalling *Honanta*, being a person of so great strength, that *disgraced*. no-body durst attempt to seize him; it was feared he would have escaped. Upon this, prince *Tâla*, descended from *Ogotay*, by *Myeli*, undertook the task; took him with a great deal of resolution, and bound him. In consideration of this piece of service, *Hayshan* conferred on him the title of regulo of the country of *Ywe*. *Alaafun*, on this occasion, represented, that it was against the rules of the imperial family to give that title to a prince of so remote a branch as *Tâla* was. *Tâla*, in revenge, accused *Alaafun*; and shewed his name among those who were to have installed *Honanta*. The emperor knew the charge to be false; yet, seeming to be angry with *Alaafun*, reduced his titles some degrees: but appointed him governor-general and prime minister at *Karakorum*, which was one of the first posts in the empire.

ALAASUN repaired to that antient capital of *Tartary*; *Death and* and it was there that he displayed his talents in their full *Character*. light. He began by putting to death a *Tartar* lord, the head of a gang of robbers who destroyed the country: he bestowed large gifts on the poor officers and soldiers: took a great number of oxen, cows, sheep, and horses; giving, in exchange, silks, linen, rice, and tea: he sent for skilful fishermen, plowmen, labourers, and peasants, from *China*; taught the *Tatars*, who dwelt along the lakes and rivers, to fish; caused canals to be dug for watering the lands, and rendering

(D) Perhaps they wore a sometimes allowed to the em-
yellow girdle, or sash, which is peror's envoys.

(E) Perhaps it should be *Toua*.

Savensh. them fit for culture; likewise corn and rice to be sown; and
Hayshan, established public granaries, posts, and carriages. In the dis-
or Vû- tance of twenty-five or thirty leagues there were ten post-
tsong. houses, where one met with victuals and drink, voitures and
guards. In a word, the emperor was agreeably surprised to
understand, that the department of *Karakorum* was in a con-
dition to furnish subsistence to the army, and fill magazines.
Alaafan was of the hord of *Walano* (or *Alano, Alans*), who,
Marco Polo says, were Christians. *Likisili*, his great grand-
father, was an intimate friend of *Jenghiz Khân*, and had
saved his life upon a certain occasion: they two loved each
other as if they had been brothers.

New mo- In *January* 1309 prince *Tula* was guilty of want of re-
ney. spect to the emperor: he was brutish, as well as addicted to
A. D. wine; and, as very bad consequences were to be feared from
1309. his outrageous temper, he was put to death. *Hayshan*, about
this time, examined into the state of his finances; and or-
dered kashes, or copper deniers, to be cast. New tickets
were likewise issued, each bearing the value of an ounce of
silver. The kashes were of three sorts: each of the first
sort was worth one *li* (F): one of the second kind contained,
within a small matter, ten of the first; and each of the third
sort was worth several kashes, current under the dynasties of
the *Tang* and *Song* (G).

A plot In *February* a conspiracy was discovered, at the head of
discovered. which was *Kokoy*, son of the emperor *Hô-pi-lay*, and the son
of prince *Tula*. Twenty-four lamas, who were in the plot,
were punished with death, and the two princes banished. In
June the lands of the bonzas of the sects of *Fo* and *Tau*,
which had been exempt from paying tribute, were declared
thenceforward liable to the tax, as well as those of other
people. In *November* the dispute, which had arisen in the
reign of *Timûr*, touching an article in the worship of Hea-
ven on the days of the two solstices, was at length decided.

Unjust ex- ONE of the great mandarins of *Ta-tâ* was a foreigner,
ecution. named *Arslân*, who was much loved by the people, and
esteemed by the soldiers: but being accused, by some of his
enemies, of a design to revolt, was beheaded, with his bro-
ther, and seventeen other persons. The people cried out
aloud, That *Arslân* was innocent; and, in effect, his inno-
cence appeared, when it was too late. On this occasion the
history blames *Hayshan* much, for having, on such slender

(F) Ten *li* make a *fen*; ten kashes of all these kinds, which
fen one *tsyen*; and ten *tsyen* are preserved by the curious.
one ounce. *Gaubil.* *Gaubil.*

(G) There are still extant

grounds,

grounds, put to death a foreign nobleman, invested with a *Seventh.* great employment, and in reputation for his virtue. Hayshan,

IN *January* 1311, the emperor *Hayshan* died, at the age of thirty-one. He had no children by the empress *Chenko*, *or Vũ-tsong.* princess of *Hong-kila*; but he had two by two of his queens, *Hayshan* who were both afterwards emperors: the eldest was named *Hofbila*, the other *Tútémár* *. He was the seventh *khân* of the *Mungls*, and third of the *Chinese* dynasty of the *Twen*. *dies.*

CHAP. VIII.

The reign of Ayyuli-palipata, styled by the Chinese Jin-tsong.

AS soon as *Hayshan* was dead, his brother *Ayyuli-palipata*, *Eighth.* who had been early declared the hereditary prince, was *Khân* acknowledged emperor, and styled by the *Chinese Jin-tsong*. *Ayyuli-palipata.* Several ministers, during the reign of his predecessor, had abused their power, and taken advantage of that prince's inclination to pleasure, in order to enrich themselves, and committed a thousand acts of injustice, which the emperor knew nothing of: the new monarch began his reign, by making examples of these bad ministers; he put some to death, and banished others, not sparing even the princes of the blood. Orders had been given to new-cast the ancient walls of *Yen-king* (A), and enlarge it; but, as this work had been very inconvenient to the inhabitants, *Ayyuli-palipata* caused what had been already built to be demolished, and satisfaction made to those who had been sufferers. After this, he chose mandarins, remarkable for their integrity, to act at the head of affairs.

IN *January* 1312, the emperor gave orders concerning the *Several* tribunal of historians of the empire; and had always a great *regula-* inclination for the study of history. In *February* the famous *tions.*

(B) stones on which *Sven-vang* (C), emperor of the *Chû* race, had caused many *Chinese* characters to be cut, were, by his command, deposited in the imperial college at *Tatû*. The department which depended on *Si-gan Fû*, called that of *Gan-si*, was thenceforth ordered to be named the department of *Tong-*

* GAUBIL, ubi supra, p. 240, & seq.

(A) Now *Pe-king*, or very near it. See Vol. IV. lib. ii. c. 5. sect. 1. or ten of them still seen in the college at *Pe-king*. The diameter is one foot, and the height

(B) They are called *Sbe-kû*, three. *Gaubil*.

that is, *stone drums*, on account of their figure. There are nine before the Christian æra. (C) Or *Sven vang*. He lived

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B

ywen

Eighth. *ywen* (D), and *Ho-lin* (or *Karakorom*), was called *Ho-ning*. As *Ayyuli-palipata*, be placed in the temple of *Konfufius*, to honour their memories at stated times, *Ayyuli-palipata* commanded, that, for the future, those ceremonies should be performed to *Tse-ma-quang*, *Chû-hi*, *Shau-kang-tsye*, *Nan-hyen*, *Chew-tung*, *Ching-hau*, *Chang-tsay*, *Lu-tsû-kyen*, and *Hyu-heng* (E).

Public calamities ; THE emperor *Hûpilay* had promised the literati to institute the examination of men of their class : but that design was never put in execution, till *November* this year, when *Ayyuli-palipata* issued a mandate for that purpose. About the same time, *Alimating*, a foreigner, presented the emperor with a new kalendar, which, he said, would serve for ten thousand years ; but no mention is made either of the author, or the principles it was formed upon. As this emperor loved the people, he beheld, with grief, the ravages which epidemic diseases made in his capital : with no less grief he saw, that, since his accession to the throne, the sun had been eclipsed, a comet had appeared, and there had been two earthquakes ; besides, the famine, drought, and inundations of rivers, had ruined several provinces. On occasion of these calamities, he assembled the grandees : some said his majesty ought to imitate the example of *Ching-tang*, founder of the *Shang* dynasty ; others, that the false worship of *Fo* had caused so many evils. The emperor readily drew up writings, wherein he deplored the misfortunes which befel his people ; and even declared, they were sent by way of punishment, for the faults which he had committed in government, and promised to correct : but whether it was that he believed the worship of *Fo* to be good, or that, in policy, he ought to tolerate it, for fear of causing a revolt in the princes of his family, and his *Mungl* subjects, who were bigotted to the doctrine of the bonzas, he would not hear of abolishing that superstition ².

* GAUBIL, p. 243, & seq.

(D) The changes often made in the names of cities and countries, by order of the *Chinese* emperors, is one of the greatest difficulties in the *Chinese* history and geography. There are indeed lists of those names ; and if a man, who writes on those subjects, would be exact, he must have them continually before him. *Gaubil*.

(E) All these authors were of

different provinces, and wrote under the *Song* dynasty, excepting *Hyu-heng*, spoken of before, in the reign of *Hûpilay*, at which time he flourished. *Tse-ma-quang* is one of the best historians of the empire ; and most of his works are still extant. *Chû-hi* composed the great work on the history called *Tong-kyen-kang-mu*, besides others on the classical books. *Gaubil*.

FIN

IN *January* 1314, the emperor ordered a search to be made after such men of learning and virtue, as were either unknown, or without employment; and in *March*, made new regulations for the imperial college at *Tatú*, and that of the *Whey-hú* (F), both of which were much declined. In *June*, taking into consideration the evils which had, by their authority, been brought on the preceding dynasties, he ordered, that they should not be made mandarins. Commissaries were likewise sent into the southern provinces, to examine into the saleable and cultivated lands: they found many reforms to make; and rectified the land-tax according to the price of goods.

Eighth.
Ayyuli-
palipata,
or Jin-
tsong.

IN *March* 1315, Ayyuli-palipata instituted examinations among the doctors, who were divided into two bodies, one of *Mungls*, the other of *Chineses*; and, having assembled them, made them compose, in his presence, upon a subject, which he gave them himself. Three of each body were to be chosen, that they might have titles and rewards conferred on them. The same custom is still in force; but no distinction is made between the *Chineses* and *Tartars*. The *Chinese* historians, on this occasion, are lavish of their eulogies on Ayyuli-palipata, and consider him as the most illustrious emperor of the *Yuen*: however, they censure him, for having, the next month, constituted an eunuch a great mandarin, after the prohibition which he had issued to the contrary.

Learning
encou-
raged.
Examina-
tions esta-
blished.
A. D.
1315.

THE-MU-TTEL, one of the principal mandarins for the finances, finding fault with the taxes imposed in 1314, augmented them in the southern provinces. One of his chief commissioners, named Ni-cha-ma-ting, a Mohammedan, committed all sorts of vexations in *Kyang-fú*; and his avarice carried him so far, as to rob the sepulchres, in hopes of enriching himself. The city of *Kan-chew*, in *Shen-fí*, revolted; and one of the seditious assumed the title of emperor. The great mandarins of the province stifled this rebellion in the beginning: the *Mahammedan* was punished; and the people were eased, not only in *Kyang-fú*, but also in *Che-kyang*, *Kyang-nan*, and other provinces; which happened on the following occasion.

IN the beginning of this year, Ayyuli-palipata sent commissioners into all parts of the empire, to examine into the conduct of the mandarins: he knew that the people in the south had suffered several grievances from those magistrates; and that the revolt of *Kan-chew* was the effect of their ill conduct. The emperor, who feared nothing so much as an intestine war, became very uneasy; and his apprehensions increased, on the ap-

(F) *Whey-hú* is one of the names given by the *Chinese* to Mohammedans, and denotes, in general, the people of the west

of *Asia*. The sciences and characters taught among the *Whey-hú* are called *Ye-se-tí-fy*. Gau-

Eighth.
Ayyuli-
palipata,
or Jin-
tsong.

pearance of a comet, which happened in *November*. The people were struck with the sight of this phenomenon, which they considered as sent to inform them, that heaven designed to punish the emperor (G), by taking from him the dominion, to give it to a person more worthy of it. *Ayyuli-palipata*, who was one of those princes best acquainted with the genius of the *Chineses*, as soon as he saw the comet, caused a general pardon to be published; and discharged the provinces of *Kyang-fi* and *Che-kyang*, which had suffered most, from all kinds of taxes, for two years: declaring, that it was to indemnify them for the wrongs which they had suffered. The other provinces (H) were eased in proportion; and the literati took care everywhere to bestow great encomiums on the emperor (I), who had attached them to him by his love for the sciences, as well as the examinations instituted for their order in general, and the doctors in particular.

Meng-tse
honoured.

IN 1316, the prince *Hofbila*, eldest son of *Hayshan* the late emperor, was appointed to govern *Yun-nan*: at which, being discontented, he left *China*, and went to reside to the north-west of the mountain *Kin* (K). Several great men followed him; and he was received with open arms by the princes of the imperial house, particularly by prince *Chakotay*. Mean time, *Ayyuli-palipata* ordered a palace to be built at *Wey-why*, in *Ho-nan*, to honour the memory of the celebrated *Pi-kan*; and another at *Chang-ping-chew*, a city of *Pe-che-li*, to honour that of *Ti-jin-kyay*. He declared the famous *Meng-tse*, or *Mençius*, a count; and gave a title to his mother. At the end of the year, he appointed his son, a prince of high esteem, to be his heir^b.

^b GAUBIL, p. 245, & seq.

(G) The remarks which the literati have made on the original and sense of the title of *Son of heaven*, which is given to the emperor, have often afforded occasion to deceive the people, and induce them to revolt: and the great men have frequently abused this notion of the *Son of heaven*, as well as the celestial appearances, to seize the empire, take up arms, excite troubles, and the like. *Gaubil*.

(H) The imperial commissioners found a book in the district of *Jau-chew*, in *Sben-fi*, which is a bibliothéque of au-

thors, books, and sciences. It was written by *Ma-tu-on-lin*, of *Lo-ping*, in the same county, towards the end of the *Song* dynasty; and, being a very elaborate work, was ordered, by the emperor, to be printed, in 1314. *Gaubil*.

(I) It is well known that, in *China*, the literati are in great credit with the people, and have no small ascendant over their minds. *Gaubil*.

(K) A celebrated mountain in *Tartary*; but I know not its distance from mount *Altay*. *Gaubil*. See before, p. 36.

IN

IN *February* 1317, the emperor caused the public granaries, through all the provinces, to be visited, and put in good condition. This year that monarch discovered his love for wine; and several times drank to excess: but he was brought off that vice by *Ma-tsû-chang*, a foreigner, of the west (L); who was one of the censors of the empire, and esteemed for his knowledge in mathematics and other sciences. Eighth. Ayyuli-palipata, or Jintsong.

IN *February* 1318, the classical books of the sect of *Fo* were written out, in gold characters. A mandarin likewise crossed the sea to *Korea*, carrying back an exiled prince, with design to stir up the people in his favour: but that officer was taken, and condemned to death, with seven of his accomplices. Classic books of Fo.

IN 1319, the emperor, who tenderly loved the prince his heir, had an inclination to cede the empire to him; and most of the grandees approved of his design. But one of the great lords of the court having induced them to change their sentiments, his majesty desisted: however, he declared the prince lieutenant-general of the empire, and gave him the management of all affairs. *Shotepala* had a great soul, as well as a true filial affection for the emperor and the empress. A. D. 1319.

IN *January* 1320, *Ayyuli-palipata* fell sick; and his disease being judged mortal, the young prince never left his father's chamber, day nor night, so overwhelmed with grief, that it had like to have killed him. Without acquainting any person, he one day retired to his own apartment, fell on his knees, and addressing himself to heaven, offered to die in the room of his father: but a few days after his father died (M), being in the thirty-sixth year of his age. The history praises him for his aversion to hunting, and other pleasures; his application to affairs; his duty to the princess his mother; and the protection which he gave to the sciences, and learned men. A. D. 1320. The emperor dies.

AYYULI-PALIPATA married *Ansofsobeli*, princess of *Hongkila*, by whom he had *Shotepala*, the appointed heir. He had also another son, called *Utûfû-pûwha*, and a daughter; but it is not said that he had them by the princess of *Hongkila*: however that be, this emperor never was given to women.

IN the beginning of his reign he had war with a prince of his house, called *Iſſyen-pûwha*, supported by several other princes: but their army was defeated in the country of *Ite-ploits*. *haymifb*, by *Choanggûr*, then one of the generals of the troops, which were very numerous about *Karakorum*. He afterwards

(L) Born in the country of *Yong-kû*: but *Gaubil* knows not where it is.

(M) There happened a total eclipse on the first day of the first month: and we have already seen how much the superstitious *Chin:ses* have, for a long series of ages, dreaded such phenomena. *Gaubil*.

Eighth. Ayyuli-palipata, beat their general *Uth Temûr*, in the country of *Chemeykan*; and pursued the enemy as far as the country of *Chayr*, near the defile called the *iron gate* (N). The account of this war, which the *Chinese* history makes no mention of, is taken from the eulogiac history of *Choanggûr*. This last was prince of *Kinchâ* (or *Kipjak*), and had been loaded with honours by the emperors *Hû-pi-lay*, *Timûr*, *Haysban*, and *Ayyuli-palipata*. He died under *Ing-tsong*, president of the privy-council *.

AYYULI-PALIPATA was eighth khân of the *Mungl* empire in *Tartary*; and fourth emperor of the *Chinese* dynasty of the *Ywen*.

CH A P. IX.

The Reign of Shotepala, called by the Chinese Ing-tsong.

Ninth.
Khân
Shotepala.

AS soon as *Ayyuli-palipata* was dead, the appointed heir was saluted emperor; and, to gratify the empress his mother, declared *Tye-mû-tyel* prime minister. This *Mungl* lord had been often employed in affairs under the late monarch. He understood the finances; and had frequently paid great sums of money. He had, besides, a great deal of wit and cunning. He was hated by the people, as well as the great men; and although he was in disgrace at the death of the late emperor, yet he was supported under-hand by the empress. This evil minister, grown proud with his new elevation, committed all sorts of oppressions, and threw every thing into disorder. In February, under false pretences, he caused *Syan-pay-châ* and *Yang-tûrchi* (A), two of the most judicious lords of the court, to be put to death: they had belonged to the tribunal of ministers, and often made known the flagrant acts of injustice which he had done. He put to death several other persons; and threatened to give the wife of *Yang-tûrchi* to a slave. As soon as this lady, who was no less remarkable for her wisdom, modesty, and honour, than her beauty and high birth, had notice of his menace, she caused her hair to be cut off, disfigured her face, and took an oath to remain a widow.

The minister's violences.

So many violent proceedings incensed the grandees; but they dared not complain, either to the empress, or *Shotepala*, who was acknowledged emperor in March. After the installation, *Tye-mû-tyel* became more powerful than before; and

* GAUBIL, p. 248, & seq.

(N) A famous gorge of the mountains to the west of *Samar-kand*, in *Great Bukbaria*, where the war here spoken of was carried on. *Gaubil*.

(A) The first a *Tartar*, of *Nyu-che*, or *Eastern Tartary*; the other of *Ning-hya*, in *Shen-fs*. *Gaubil*.

to revenge himself on the sage *Li-meng*, his enemy, put him a degree lower in the class of mandarins; and demolished a stone monument, which the emperors had raised in honour of him and his ancestors, in the place of their sepulchres. *Li-meng* seemed very little concerned at the disgrace which was put upon him; and the emperor was surprized to see, that he did not so much as utter one murmuring expression against the author of it. Taking from thence an occasion to inform himself of *Li-meng*'s actions, he repaired the monuments of stone and marble, restored him to his titles and employments, and warned *Tye-mû-tyel* to be very careful, for the future, not to accuse persons of so much virtue^a.

WICKED men vested with power can never reform. This *Pay-chû* minister saw, with great uneasiness, that the emperor had much esteem for *Pay-chû*, general of the imperial guard. *Pay-chû*, descended from the famous *Mû-hû-li*^b, by *Gan-tong* (B), was a young lord, learned, brave, handsome, modest, and irreproachable in his manners. *Shotepala*, who was of the same character himself, had always a great liking to *Pay-chû*, which increased, in proportion as he became acquainted with the excellent qualities of his favourite. The emperor resolved, at last, to do nothing without the advice of his dear *Pay-chû*; and, after several refusals, obliged him to take on him the charge of prime minister. This lord began his ministry, by making known the injury which *Tye-mû-tyel* had done his majesty, and concealed nothing of what had passed. The emperor *Shotepala* was equitable, and very sensible on the point of honour. He caused an inquiry to be made after those who had been sufferers, and resolved to make them satisfaction, as far as he was able. He did not indeed think it yet convenient to remove *Tye-mû-tyel*; but he put no manner of confidence in him, and took care that he should not treat any body ill.

MEAN time, sending for such lords and princes as he knew were men of most wisdom, he employed them about him. After this, he made himself thoroughly acquainted with the ceremonies which are observed in the temple of ancestors, without disclosing his design: but, when they least thought of it, he sent for the princes of his house, and declared to them that, in *November*, he would go to the hall or palace of an-

^a GAUBIL, p. 250, & seq. ^b See before, Vol. IV. l. ii. c. 5.

(B) The mother of *Pay-chû* was a princess of the *Que-tye* tribe, of the family of the princess *Sarkutna*, wife of *Toley*, and mother of the emperors *Mengko* and *Hûpilay*. She was a widow at the age of twenty-two years, yet never would marry again, resolving to employ her time wholly in educating her son *Pay-chû*. *Gaubil*.

Ninth. cesters, in habit of ceremony. The *Chinese* great men had Shotepa- orders to make every thing ready ; and habits were prepared la, or Ing- for the guards, grandees, and all the officers. This news created a general joy in the city among the *Chineses* : the emperor and his retinue appeared in the streets on horseback, magnificently dressed. This sight charmed the people ; but, when they found that they were not hindered from seeing the emperor, they made the streets ring with acclamations, and wept for joy. Shotepala was the first of the *Mungl* monarchs who performed this ceremony ; and, as he had not appeared in public before, every-body was delighted to see their prince discover such an air of grandeur, mixed with popularity : nor did ever any monarch receive from his subjects more encomiums, and sincere wishes, than Shotepala did on this occasion. It was known that Pay-chû had counselled the emperor to perform this ceremony : the palace of that lord was continually filled with the *Chinese* great men and literati ; the people congratulated him loudly as he passed along ; while every honour done to Pay-chû, gave Tye-mû-tyel the greatest anguish. A general pardon had been already published throughout the empire ; and, from Ta-tû, the rejoicings spread over all the provinces. Both *Chineses* and *Tatars* promised themselves everything from the reign of Shotepala, whose first year was 1321.

Takes good
advice.
A. D.
1321.

As this prince, called Ing-tsong by the *Chineses*, loved hunting, he proposed, at the beginning of that year, to aggrandize the places set apart for that exercise in the neighbourhood of Shang-tû, by building, at proper distances, palaces, stables, and lodges, for the men assisting in the chace. Pay-chû, tho' he loved hunting also, yet did not approve of this design. He represented to the emperor, that it could not be executed without great expences, and incommoding the people. Hereupon Shotepala dropped his project ; and protested, that he would think of nothing but easing the empire. In April a conspiracy was discovered, formed by Asan (C), and several other great lords ; who, by the advice of Pay-chû, and the empress grandmother, were condemned and executed. Tye-mû-tyel, who, by means of the empress, mother to Shotepala, still maintained his ground, caused the prince Tûtemûr, second son of the emperor Hayshan, to be banished to Kung-chew (D),

(C) This *Asan* seems to be the same spoken of in a note, p. 249, by our author *Gaubil* ; who says, he was a foreigner of the west, very understanding in affairs, and one of the principal ministers of state.

(D) Latitude, by observation of *du Tartre*, 20° 0' 37" ; Longitude, by the bearings, and measured distances, from *Kanton*, near three degrees more west. *Gaubil*,

capital

capital of the island of *Hay-nan*. Towards the end of the *Ninth*. year, the emperor judged it would be for his honour to make *Shotepa-* magnificent presents to the lama who had been his master, *la, or Ing-* and had a mind to return to *Tibet*. *tsong.*

SHOTEPALA, who was a zealous believer in the doctrine of *Fo*, in the beginning of the year built a magnificent temple to that false deity, in the mountains to the west of *Pe-king*. While the work was going forward, several censors of the empire made very smart representations upon the occasion. The emperor, contrary to his custom, falling into a passion, caused some of them to be put to death, and banished others. One of the most illustrious among the former, was *To-yau-el Hatimisbi* (E), a native of *Hami*, or *Khamil*, in *Little Bukharia*. The historical elogy of this lord ascribes his death to the calumnies of *Tye-mû-tyel*, and his son *Sonan*; who, bearing him, as well as the other censors, an ill-will, told his majesty, that, instead of giving him notice of what passed, they did nothing among themselves but speak ill of him. The *Chinese* literati, who were great enemies to *Fo*, but full of esteem for *Shotepala*, praise exceedingly the courage of these censors. Some time after, the memory of these mandarins was re-established; and the emperor was too wise not to repent having so imprudently followed the motions of his anger. In *April* he caused the temple which the *Whey-hû*, or western *Mohammedans*, had at *Shang-tû*, to be demolished; and afterwards forbade those foreigners to buy young boys and girls of the *Mungls*, in order to give or sell them again for slaves to the *Chineses*.

IN 1322 *Pay-chû* had obtained leave to go into *Lyau-tong*, *The court* to raise a monument of marble, with an inscription on it, in *reformed* praise of *Gantong* his grandfather, who died in the reign of *Hû-pi-lay*. *Tye-mû-tyel*, who, thro' vexation, kept for some time in his palace, without stirring out, took the opportunity of *Pay-chû*'s absence to go to court; but the guards stopped him at the gate, and told him, they had orders not to let him enter. The anguish which this disgrace gave him, threw him into a fit of sickness, of which he died in *August*, hated by every body. In *June* 1323 he was deprived of his titles; A. D.

1323.

* GAUBIL, ubi sup. p. 251, & seqq.

(E) His grandfather, in the other expeditions. His grandfather, in the third, second, and first degree, as well as his father, were all illustrious officers. *Pe-king*; and afterwards in his *Gaubil*.

the

Eighrb. the monuments of stone and marble, inscribed with his elogy,
Shotepa- were pulled down, and his goods confiscated. Mean time
la, or Ing- *Pay-chû* caused the taxes and annual tribute, payed by the pro-
dong. vinces, to be remitted; and, withal, considerable sums of
 bounty-money to be distributed every-where. Debauchery,
 avarice, luxury, and other vices, were banished from court;
 so that the *Chinese* great men could not but admire such wise
 conduct in a *Tatar* prince only twenty-one years of age.

Pay-chû
and the

WHILE things seemed thus to promise happy times, *Tye-*
sbe, the adopted son of *Tye-mû-tyeh*, and one of the principal
 lords of the court, bent his thoughts wholly on contriving how
 to be revenged for the affront done his father, and the confisca-
 tion of his effects. In order to this, he first founded the in-
 clinations of several discontented princes, with those of the
 relations and friends of the mandarins who had been put to
 death in *April* 1320: after which, he engaged several officers
 and soldiers in his interest. On the third of *September*, the
 emperor, being at *Shang-tû*, and not able to compose himself
 to sleep, ordered prayers to be said to *Fo*. *Tye-sbe*, and his
 accomplices, were seized with fear. They had prevailed on
 the lamas to require that sacrifices should be offered to *Fo*,
 as the only means to avoid the evils which threatened the em-
 pire. *Pay-chû* sent away the lamas, treating them "as men
 " who thought of nothing but how to get money, and, in
 " reality, protected wicked people." These words being
 heard by the associates of *Tye-sbe*, who was one of the com-
 manding officers in the guards; the lords *Chinkin Temûr*, *Syen*
Temûr, formerly ministers, prince *Ganti-purwha*, and others,
 immediately met, and consulted how to prevent the measures
 of *Pay-chû*, whose probity, vigilance, and valour, they feared.
 The same night, therefore, *Tye-sbe*, followed by several soldiers,
 slew that lord; and then entering the tent of the emperor,
 who was in bed, killed him with his own hand. The place
 where this assassination was committed, is called *Nan-po*, to
 the south of the city *Shang-tû*.

emperor
 assassin-
 ated.

THE emperor *Shotepala* married *Sukopala*, princess of the
 tribe of *Ikilye*, and daughter of *Ilihaya*, daughter of the em-
 peror *Timûr*: but he had no children by her; nor does the
 history speak of his having any other wife^d. He was ninth
 emperor of the *Mungls*, and fifth of the *Chinese*s.

^d GAUBIL. ubi sup. p. 252, & seqq.

C H A P. X.

The reign of Yesun-temûr, styled by the Chinese Tay-ting.

AT the time when the above-mentioned conspiracy was carrying on at *Shang-tû*, *Yesun-temûr*, eldest son of prince *Yesun-Kanmûla*, brother of the emperor *Timûr*, commanded to the north of the *Great Kobi*, or *Sandy Desert*, in *Tartary*; and *Tay-ting*, encamped near the river *Long-kû*, or *Panchûni* (A), famous for the oath made there by *Jengbiz Khân*, and his adherents. This prince had in his court a lord named *Taulasba*, whose son *Hafun* was an officer in the imperial guards under the command of *Pay-chû*; but, as he knew of a long time, that *Tye-sbe* intended to kill his general, he quitted his service. In March this year, 1323, a mandarin, called *Tan-te*, leaving the court, informed *Taulasba*, that the emperor did not care for *Yesun-temûr*; and, it was to be feared, would, in a little time, put him to death. After this intelligence, the two became intimate friends. *Tye-sbe*, before he put his design in execution, sent a mandarin, named *Walû-tse*, to acquaint *Taulasba*, *promotes* that he, *Alasan*, *Yesun-temûr*, and others, as soon as they had the *conspira-* *tors*; brought their plot to bear, would proclaim the young prince *Yesun-temûr* emperor.

As soon as this affair was communicated to *Yesun-temûr*, he caused *Walû-tse* to be arrested; and instantly dispatched several couriers to inform the emperor of what was plotting against him: but the messengers arrived too late. The prince *Gantî-pûwa*, and *Yesun Temûr*, having seized the seal, and imperial robes, hastened over the desert; and, on their arrival at the river *Long-kû*, *Yesun-temûr* caused himself to be proclaimed emperor in *September*. After this, he published a general pardon, and declared *Taulasba* his prime minister: he likewise appointed *Tye-sbe*, and his accomplices, to be his principal mandarins.

As *Shotepala* was the delight of the people, the news of *but, from* his death spread a general sorrow among the princes, grandees, *after,* and chiefs of tribes, as well as the *Chinese* mandarins and literati. On the other hand, the princes and lords of the family of *Mubûli*, which was one of the most powerful and considerable among the *Mungls*, were impatient to obtain justice for a murder committed on one of the principal persons of their house, who was general of the imperial guards, and prime minister.

(A) Our author, *Gantîl*, does not know the exact situation of this river.

The

Tenth. The new emperor might easily see, that he was in danger of suffering, for having had a hand in the assassination of the *Yesun-temûr*, or prince, and his minister. Prince *Maynû*, descended from the *Tay-ting* grandfather (B) of *Jenghiz Khân*, finding the emperor inclined to make use of *Tye-sbe*, and his accomplices, and even to advance them to be great mandarins, represented to him, that such a conduct would not only lose him the affections both of the *Chineses* and *Tatars*; but that posterity would reproach his majesty with dipping his hands in the blood of his sovereign, and that of a minister sprung from the great *Mûhâli*, to whom the *Mungls* owed the empire of the *Tatars*. *Yesun-temûr*, struck with this idea, ordered *Yesyen Temûr*, *Wang-che*, *Tumeni*, and other lords, to be put to death that instant, in the camp of *Long-kû*. He likewise dispatched officers to *Ta-tû*, to seize *Tye-sbe*, and his associates; who were all executed on the spot, their families extirpated, and their effects confiscated. *Sonan*, son of *Tye-mû-tyel*, had only been sentenced to be banished; but, on representing that he was the first who struck *Pay-chû* on the shoulder with his sword, the emperor ordered him also to be put to death, and his goods to be forfeited; altho' the latter part of the sentence was not put in execution.

puts them to death:
others banished. THE lives of *Ganti-purwâ*, and other princes who were in some sort parties in *Tye-sbe*'s treason, were spared; but they were all banished, and carried the brand of their infamy along with them. *Yesun-temûr*, arriving at *Ta-tû* in November, restored the memory of the two lords whom *Tye-mû-tyel* had caused to be put to death in January 1320. The emperor did the same justice to those impeached the year following by that minister, and his son *Sonan*; some of whom were put to death, and others banished, on their accusations, which were declared to be malicious.

Lectures on government, A. D. 1324: IN 1324, which is the first year of *Yesun-temûr*, styled by the *Chineses* *Tay-ting*, one of the ministers proposed to his majesty to appoint doctors, whose business should be to expound daily, in the palace, such books as were most proper to form the princes and grandees for government. The emperor approved of this design; and ordered his son, as well as those of other princes, to go every day to hear the lectures. The first book pitched upon was the *Chinese* history, written by *Tse-ma-quang*; and this custom is still observed. *Chang-quey*, the

(B) *Maynû* was the fifth descendant of *Talichin*, fourth son of *Palistan*, father of *Yesun-kay*, father of *Jenghiz Khân*. *Yesun-temûr* augmented his revenues and titles; which exceedingly pleased the family of *Pay-chû*, and all the grandees. *Gaubil*,

projector

projector of this fine institution, was one of the most steady *Tenth.* and discerning ministers the *Ywen* ever had. He was the son *Yefun-* of general *Chang-hong-fan*, and educated by a great mandarin *temâr, or* of the *Song* empire^a. This mandarin, being in the fleet of *Tay-ting.* *Chang-sbi-kyay*, near the mountain *Ay-sban*, when *Hong-fan* came to attack it^b, was going, with others, to throw himself *procured* into the sea : but the general hindered him ; and, finding that *by Chang-* he was a great lord, and a man of merit, kept him, and de- *quey.* fired his friendship. The mandarin, out of gratitude, would never quit the house of *Chang-hong-fan*, and undertook to educate his son.

SOON after the above-mentioned lectures were established, *His fa-* the emperor declared his son *Asûkepa* the prince inheritor. *mous me-* Mean time the *Chinese* grandees and literati, who were watch- *morial* ing for an occasion to make known to posterity their sentiments touching the treason of *Tye-sbe*, the worship of *Fo*, and several other abuses, met with one in *April* ; for, during that month, wherein the emperor made a progress to *Shang-tû*, there happened a violent storm, an earthquake, and a total eclipse of the moon. These, they publicly declared, were sent in punishment of the murder of *Shotepala* and *Pay-chê*. The emperor, seized with fear, sent for the grandees, and ordered them to draw up a memorial, sincerely setting forth their sentiments. *Chang-quey* was pitched on by them to perform this task ; which he did with much freedom, and addressed it to the emperor.

HE demanded, in the name of the empire, “ that, in time, *against the* “ justice should be done on all concerned in the horrible *conspira-* “ crime of *Tye-sbe* : that the sons of *So-nan*, who still ap- *tars,* “ peared at court, and were even in the guards, should be “ banished ; and the effects of their father, which had been “ restored them, confiscated : that *Ganti-purwha*, and the “ other princes who had been convicted of being accomplices “ in the treason, and were only banished, should be put to “ death, as unworthy subjects, who dishonoured the imperial “ family : that prince *Toto* (C), governor of *Lyau-tong*, hav- “ ing, in the time of the troubles, taken away the lives of “ several princes and princesses of the blood, and confiscated “ their goods, instead of being rewarded, as he was, ought “ to be punished, by confiscating his own effects, resuming his

^a GAUBIL, ubi sup. p. 255, & seqq.
Vol. IV. l. ii. c. 5. sect. 2.

^b See before,

(C) He was descended, in the fifth degree, from *Tyemûko*, brother of *Jengbiz Khân*. *Gaubil*.

“ titles,

Tench. "titles, and banishing himself; for that, if such crimes were
Yefun. "left unpunished, there would be reason to fear the ruin of
 the empire, or "the empire was near at hand: that as, during the ministry
Tay-tiang. "of *Tye-mü-tyel*, and since *Tye-she*'s conspiracy, many innocent
 evil mi- "persons had been put to death, an inquiry ought to be made
 nisters, "after such, and satisfaction made to their families: and
 "that, considering how many villains those evil ministers em-
 "ployed, as well as acts of injustice they committed them-
 "selves, it was to be feared many innocent persons still groaned
 "under oppression; the prisons, therefore, ought to be visited,
 "and the state of the cities and villages inquired into: that
 "commissioners ought to be sent to the frontiers, and regard
 "had to what the troops had suffered: that care should be
 "taken to send the bodies of the dead into the countries where
 "their parents lived; and to give them wherewithal to interr
 "the corps: that remedies, and other assistance, ought also
 "to be administered to the sick poor: and the fishing for
 "pearls in the province of *Kanton* prohibited, as occasioning
 "the death of too many people."

and other
 manda-
 rins;

BESIDES these demands, the memorial of *Ching-quoy* pointed
 out several abuses which required a reform. He complained,
 "that two mandarins, who had been convicted of counter-
 "feiting the emperor's orders, and carrying off an officer's
 "wife, had been pardoned: that, under pretence the court
 "wanted precious stones, a sordid commerce was carried on
 "by certain persons, who were not ashamed to make his ma-
 "jesty pay ten times more for them than they cost: that such
 "persons cared not if whole families and provinces were ruined,
 "so they could make their court by presenting precious stones,
 "which, in reality, were of no use: that a prince ought not
 "to think of governing the empire any other way but as a
 "father of his subjects; and that it was not by the bonzas,
 "or priests of *Fo*, that he should seek to be happy: that
 "since the bonzas, the lamas, and the *tau-tse*, made so many
 "prayers and sacrifices to *Fo*, heaven had shewed continual
 "marks of its displeasure; and that, till such time as they
 "saw the worship of *Fo* abolished, and all the bonzas driven
 "out, they might expect to be unhappy: that the palace of
 "the emperor was filled with idle persons, eunuchs, astrolo-
 "gers, physicians, and others, whose maintenance amounted
 "to exorbitant sums: that, as the empire was a family, of
 "which the emperor was father, it was not fit that any of his
 "children should die for want of care and assistance; much
 "less was it fit that a prince should think it inconsistent with
 "his dignity to listen to the cries of the miserable."

religion of
 Fo,

and useless
 officers.

THE emperor read this discourse of *Chang-quey* with pleasure: but durst not abolish the worship of *Fo*, for fear the *Yesun-Mungls* should revolt: nor would he put to death prince *Ganti-temür*, or *puruha*. With regard to the other articles, he appeared to be pretty indifferent: on which occasion the history, on one side, praises the lords, at the head of whom *Chang-quey* spoke with so much zeal; and, on the other, deplores the unhappiness of the times ^c.

PRINCE *Tütemür*, youngest son of *Haysban*, who had returned from his exile in *Hay-nan*, was ordered to go to *Kyen-divided*. *kan*, now *Nan-king*, there to reside. *Yesun-temür*, this year, divided into eighteen great governments the empire, which was before parted into twelve. Those twelve governments depended on a council (D) called *the lords of provinces*. It is remarked also, that the rice sent by sea from the southern provinces, for provisions of the court, amounted to 170 *van* of *tan*; and, the following year, to 335 *van*, and 1000 *tan*.

IN 1326 there was a great famine in *Pe-che-li* and *Shan-tong*; of which the emperor having received the particulars from *Chang-quey*, at his return from *Pau-ting Fû*, where he had been to see his relations, that prince followed his sage advice, in succouring the people of those two provinces. The *Lamas* *in-* *solence* *curbed*. *lamas* were all-powerful at court, especially with the princesses. They had patents to take post-horses (E), and ran about with the equipage of princes. They were a great charge to the people, who were obliged to furnish them with horses and provisions. Their lives and manners were often very disorderly; and the *Chinese* on all sides made most bitter complaints of them. The emperor, being at length informed of these abuses, put a stop to them. It being found, that more money had been given to the occidental merchants, who traded in precious stones, than they ought to have had, the same was confiscated: but *Upetula* (F) and *Taulasba* (G), who, either through interest or inclination, were much attached to them, caused the money to be returned them; and put many mandarins, who had been turned out, into their places again.

^c GAUBIL, ubi sup. p. 257, & seqq.

(D) *Marco Polo*, chap. 22, *lab*, or *Obeysollab*, a *Mohamedan* name. *Gaubil*.

(E) They carried news everywhere, and even as far as the frontiers. *Gaubil*. (G) Doubtless *Yesun-temür's* prime minister, mentioned before.

(F) This seems to be *Abd'ol-*

Tenth. IN 1327 the grandees invited the emperor to go in person, Yefun-temûr, and sacrifice to heaven : but his majesty refused ; and cited a law of *Hû-pi-lay*, importing, that the emperor should perform *Tay-ting* that sacrifice by a deputy. On this occasion the history represents *Yefun-temûr* as a prince who was not exact in observing the duties of his station ; and that he was punished for his faults by the shortness of his reign (H). It is added, that this year all sorts of evils afflicted the empire ; drought, famine, inundations, the falling or sinking of mountains, an earthquake, and an eclipse of the sun. In *June* the emperor caused the great work of *Tse-ma-quang*, intituled, *Tse-chi-tong-kyen*, containing what passed under the emperors from before Christ to a long time after, with very elaborate notes, to be translated into the *Mungl* language. In *December* (I) died the illustrious *Chang-quey*, regretted by all the men of worth in the empire.

Care about silk. IN the beginning of the year 1328 the emperor caused prints to be distributed through the empire, whereon was delineated the art of rearing silkworms, and making silk, with the manner of cultivating lands. Besides these prints, he ordered a book to be printed, and distributed, consisting of fourteen chapters, wherein the antient method of doing those things was treated of. In *February* his imperial majesty went from *Ta-tû* to *Shang-tû*, and left the guard of the former to *Yen-temûr*. His majesty at the same time ordered *Tûtemûr*, son of *Haysban*, to go to *Kin-chew*, a city of *Hû-quang* : but, in *July*, *Yefun-temûr* died, at the age of thirty-six, leaving the court full of intrigues and factions.

Emperor's death, *marriages,* THIS emperor married *Papûhan*, princess of *Hongkila*, who had the honours and titles of empress. Besides this princess, he likewise married his own niece, by one of his elder sisters ; and two other ladies, of the house of *Hongkila*, near relations of the empress. The history gives him four sons, of whom *Afûkipa*, the prince inheritor, was the eldest. It likewise remarks, that the emperor *Shotepala*, thro' bad advice, removed from court *Hosbila* and *Tûtemûr*, the two sons of *Haysban* ; so that, after his assassination, *Yefun-temûr*, taking

(H) Yet the reign of amiable *Shotepala* was not only as short, but his death tragical ; which shews the absurdity of such superstitious conclusions.

(I) It is related, that, in this year, 1327, a stranger from the country of *Pusayn* presented the

emperor with a lion and a leopard. The cities of *Nichapûr*, *Terpen* (or *Derbend*), *Baghdâd*, *Isfaan*, *Kû-fa*, *Sûntania* (or *Soltania*), and others, are put in the kingdom of *Pûsayn*. *Gauhil*.

advantage

advantage of their absence, had himself proclaimed emperor: farther, that *Ayyuk-palipata* and *Hayshan* made an agreement, whereby the two families were alternately to possess the empire; and that the former broke his word, in declaring his son *Shotepala* hereditary prince. Tenth. Yefun-temür, or Tay-ting.

YESUN-TEMÜR was tenth khân of the *Mungls*, and sixth emperor of the *Chinese Twen*.

CH A P. XI.

The Reign of Hoshila, known to the Chinese by the title of Ming-tsong.

AFTER the death of the emperor *Yefun-temür*, the empress *Papühan*, in the name of the prince inheritor, her Khân, son, sent the minister *Upetala* to *Ta-tü*, in order to secure the *Hoshila* feals, as well as appease and gain the people. On the other hand, *Yen-temür*, as governor and commander-general in that capital, posted troops in all the quarters, reinforced the guards at the gates both of the city and palace, and resolved to raise to the throne *Hoshila* and *Tütemür*, the two sons of *Hayshan*. *Yen-temür*, one of the greatest captains of his time, was the third son of *Chohangür*, prince of *Kin-cha* (or *Kipchak*). His fine personal qualities, joined to his birth, and the services which his father and grandfather had done, made him esteemed at court. As he had been raised by *Hayshan* to the prime dignities, and was loved by that prince more than any other lord of his court, *Yen-temür* thought himself bound in gratitude to be attached to his family. A. D. 1328.

IN these sentiments *Yen-temür*, in concert with the regulo of *Yen-Gan-si*, great grandson of *Hü-pi-lay*, by *Mangkola*, having picked out his officers, and most resolute soldiers, on the day *Kyaw* of the eighth month, summoned the great mandarins to one of the halls of the palace. All the lords being assembled, *Yen-temür*, followed by seventeen men of his party, proposed the two sons of *Hayshan* to be emperors; and said, he would put to death on the spot any who should oppose that resolution. After these words, he ordered his men to seize *Upetala*, and several other of the great mandarins, who did not concur with him, and conduct them to prison. He then appointed mandarins of his own party; and gave full power to general *Chau-sbi-nen* (A) (or *Chau-sbi-yen*). The subaltern offi-

^a GAUBIL, ubi sup. p. 260, & seqq.

(A) A descendant of general *Ganchor*, who served with much glory in the wars of *Tajik Khan*. *Gaubil*.

Eleventh. cers knew nothing of what was intended; and the generals Hoshila, who were in the secret, having assembled the troops, ordered or Ming- them to kneel, with their faces to the south, and beat the tsong- ground with their heads: by which ceremony they perceived that *Yen-temûr* designed to proclaim *Tûtemûr* emperor, at that time banished into *Hû-quang*. For a whole month this general appeared always on horseback, and but a few persons knew where he slept at night. He had taken right measures to hasten *Tûtemûr* to *Ta-tû*, and give *Hoshila* notice, who was in *Tartary*: at the same time he spread a report, that the first was advancing by great journeys; and that the latter would soon return from the north, with the princes of his family (B).

His great activity.

WHEN *Pe-yên*, governor of *Ho-nan*, a *Merkit* by nation, and one of the best officers of the *Ywen*, knew *Yen-temûr*'s design, he entered into his views; and, putting to death several officers whom he distrusted, made the troops declare for *Tûtemûr*. *Sâtân*, brother of *Yen-temûr*, seized the important post of *Ku-yong-quang*; and *Tang-ki-sbi*, *Yen-temûr*'s son, took *Kû-pe-kû* (C). Mean time that general used the necessary precautions for executing his design at *Ta-tû*: on which principle he put to death prince *Koko-chû*, and some other great lords, who went about to supplant him: but he compassed all which he undertook, by his resolution, activity, genius, and the reputation he had gained in the opinion of the troops.

Asûkipa set up.

WHILE *Yen-temûr* was thus busy at *Ta-tû*, in favour of *Tûtemûr*, *Taukasba* caused *Asûkipa*, known to the *Chinese* by the name of *Tyen-sbun*, to be proclaimed emperor. This party was powerful: for, besides many princes of the blood, and governors of provinces, most of the western officers and foldiers were inclined to follow it; and, according to the *Chinese* law, *Asûkipa* was the lawful emperor; having been acknowledged for the prince inheritor in the life-time of the emperor his father. Prince *Wang-chan* (D) also had given an army to general *Tasbe Temûr*, son of the minister *Toto*, prince of *Kangli*, in order to oppose that of *Yen-temûr*.

Tûtemûr proclaimed.

AT length, in *August*, *Tutemûr* arrived at *Ta-tû*, and, by his presence, exceedingly strengthened his party. He made a promotion of mandarins; and bestowed a great dignity on *Timû-pûwba*, a prince descended from *Itûbû* (or *Idikû*), prince of *Tûrfân*, who put himself under the protection of *Jenghiz*

(B) He had a brother called the wall of *China*, to the north *Macbartay*, the father of *Toto*, of *Pe-king*. both famous for the great posts they held. *Gaubil*. (D) Son of *Song-shan*, son of *Kanmala*, and cousin-german to

(C) A fortress and gate in *Asûkipa*. *Gaubil*.

Khân.

Khân. In September *Tûtemûr* put *Upetâla* to death; and *Elevenib*. banished several other mandarins, whom *Yen-temûr* had im- *Hofbila*,
prisoned. This general pressed him to be proclaimed emper- *or Ming-*
ror. He put it off, saying, he would wait the return of his *tsong*.
brother *Hofbila*, and yield the empire to him. However, at
last he suffered himself to be prevailed on, and was declared
emperor. *Yen-temûr* was immediately declared generalissimo;
and *Pe-yen*, governor of *Ho-nan*, was likewise much advanced.
Manifestos were sent into all parts; and it was affirmed, that
Tûtemûr was resolved to surrender the empire to his brother
Hofbila.

PRINCE *Wang-chan*, being advanced as far as *Tulin* (E), *Asûkîpa*
was there stopped by *Satûn*, brother of *Yen-temûr*, and re-proclaim-
ceived some losses: but taking advantage of *Yen-temûr*'s ab-
sence, who had been sent to the frontiers, to oppose prince
Tesyen-temûr, reduced *Ku-yong-quan*. On advice of this, that
general returned; and, in two battles, defeated the prince, near
the river *Tu* (F), and obliged him to retire into *Tartary*.
Wang-chan, though full of courage, yet being young, and
without experience, was no match for an old warlike com-
mander, like *Yen-temûr*. Prince *Koko*, who declared for *Asû-*
kîpa, with the troops of *Shen-si*, seized the important post of
Tong-quan. Prince *Tesyen-temûr* likewise entered *Shen-si*, and
proclaimed him emperor. *Tyemûko*, the *Tatar* general, fol-
lowing the same party, advanced with a great army to the bor-
ders of *Ho-nan* and *Hû-quang*, where he made great conquests.
Ho-nan was at this time full of formidable armies of both
parties^a.

MEAN while *Tesyen-temûr*, who had marched from *Shen-si* His troops
into *Pe-che-li*, reduced *Tong-chew* (G); and, being reinforced defeated.
by many succours, drew near *Ta-tû*, in order to besiege it.
On this news, *Yen-temûr* took his best troops, and, attacking
the prince vigorously, cut his army in pieces. The most valu-
able officers belonging to *Asûkîpa* were slain in this battle; and
the prince had much ado to escape with the ruins of his army.
Prince *Ulatay*, who also declared for *Asûkîpa*, made great
marches with his troops, in order to join *Tesyen-temûr*. He

^a GAUBIL. ubi sup. p. 262, & seqq.

(E) A small city of *Pe-che-li*, and falls into the *Pe-bo*, or river
about five miles east of *Whay- Pe. Gaubil*.

(F) A little river which passes of the river *Pe*, some leagues
to *Ku-yong-quang*, in *Pe-che-li*, (about twelve miles) to the east
of *Pe-king*.

Eleventh. Had taken *T'ia-kin-quan*, an important post in *Pe-che-li*, and *Hoshila*, alarmed the whole country : but when he came to the bridge or *Ming-tsong* of *Lû-kew-kyau*, he there heard of the prince's total defeat ; and, fearing to be overwhelmed by *Yen-temûr*, retired.

Shang-tû taken. WHEN *Pû-wha-temûr*, paternal uncle of *Yen-temûr*, who was great general of the *Mungls* in *Tartary*, to the west, north, and north-east, of *Lyau-tong*, knew that *Tû-temûr* had been installed at *Ta-tû*, he invited prince *Ywelû-temûr* (H) to join him with his troops ; and both went, in *October*, to lay siege to *Shang-tû*. *Taulasba* defended the place at first with much courage ; and, followed by the princes and great men of *Asûkipa's* party, several times attacked the besiegers, but was always repulsed ; and, being at length reduced to extremity, surrendered at discretion. He delivered up to *Ywelû-temûr* all the jewels, precious stones, and whatever else belonged to the emperor *Asûkipa*. Prince *Wang-chan* fled ; prince *Tota*, heretofore governor of *Lyau-tong*, was killed : but it was not known how *Asûkipa* died.

Asûkipa slain.

ON the news of *Asûkipa's* death, and taking of *Shang-tû*, the princes and great lords, who were leagued against *Tûtemûr* in *Shen-si*, *Shan-si*, *Hû-quang*, *Che-kyang*, *Lyau-tong*, and other countries, laid down their arms ; and, in *November*, *Tûtemûr*, seeing himself without a rival, sent a lord to his brother *Hoshila* ; banished to *Tong-gan-chew* (now called *Tong-gan-hyen*) (I) the empress *Papûhan*, wife of *Yesun-temur* ; and put to death the general *Taulasba*, with the princes *Wang-chan*, *Yesyen-temur*, and others. He would have done the same by all the *Tatar* and *Chinese* grandees taken at *Shang-tû*, if a great mandarin had not told him such a proceeding was unjust, and might cause a general disaffection. The history, on this occasion, speaks of *Tûtemûr* as an usurper, who, without reason, put to death the princes and great men, for having supported their lawful sovereign. He is blamed likewise for exiling the empress *Papûhan*. Mean time *Nankyatay*, one of the commanders in *Yun-nan*, got himself proclaimed emperor, and appointed ministers to act in affairs.

Princes put to death.

Hoshila installed. : PRINCE *Hoshila*, having been informed of what had passed, in *January* 1329 decamped (K) ; and, marching southwards,

A. D.

1329.

(H) *Ywelû-temûr* was descended, in the fifth generation, from *Sho-chi-ban*, second son of *Yesûkay*, and brother of *Jenghiz Khân*. *Gaubil*.

(I) A city in *Pe-che-li*, a little to the south-east of *Pe-king*.

(K) The history says *Hoshila* encamped in summer on mount *W'a-lo-û-chay*. I know not if this be the mount *Altchay*, which *M. Polo* speaks of, and where he says *Jenghiz Khân* is buried. This (*Altchay*) is mount *Altay*. *Gaubil*

encamped

encamped to the north of the city *Ho-ning* (L) (or *Karako-Eleventh. rom*), and caused himself to be proclaimed emperor. This *Hoshila*, installation was performed with the concurrence of *Tütemür*, or *Ming-tsong*, and the lords of both courts made great rejoicings on the occasion. In *March* *Tütemür* sent *Ten-temür* to carry the seal of the empire, with the imperial habits and ornaments, to *Hoshila*, who declared him prime minister, and general of the troops; and *Tütemür* was appointed the prince inheritor. For all this, *Tütemür*, in reality, carried himself as emperor, independent of his brother. He sent a lord into *Se-chwen*; who publishing that the emperor *Tütemür* would pardon *Nan-kyasay*, who, towards the end of last year, was proclaimed emperor, that general submitted; but was immediately put to death. Mean time *Hoshila* prepared to go to *Shang-tü*; and being arrived, in *August*, within two days journey of that city, *Tütemür* went thither to salute him: but, soon after, *Hoshila* was found dead in his bed. The second of that month he gave a great entertainment to the lords of both courts; and, on the sixth, died suddenly. The historians accuse *Tütemür* with having, out of ambition, procured his brother's death. *His sudden death.*

HOSHILA is the emperor whom the Chinese call *Ming-tsong*: he gave the title of empress to the princess *Papishka*, who was of the tribe of *Naymanchin*, by whom he had a prince named *Ilinchipin*, who was proclaimed emperor, as the reader will see hereafter. When he was in *Tartary*, he married also the princess *Maylayti*^b, daughter of *Nabunlata*, descended from prince *Arslan*^c, who came from the west to submit to *Jenghiz Khan*, and had large territories given him to the north of the *Great Kobi*, or *Désart*. *Hoshila* had, by the princess *Maylayti*, *Towhan-temür*, who was the last emperor of the *Mungs* in *China*. He had likewise another son named *Han-chi-pan*, who reigned before his brother about two months^d.

HOSHILA was the eleventh *khán* of *Tartary*, and seventh emperor of the *Twen*, who reigned over the *Chineses*.

^b GAUBIL, ubi supra, p. 265, & seqq.
Vol. IV. l. i. c. 1. sect. 1.

^c See before,

^d GAUBIL, ubi sup. p. 267.

(L) Otherwise called *Ho-lin*. *Gaubil*.

C H A P. XII.

The Reign of Tûtemûr, styled by the Chinese Ven-tsung.

Twelfth.
Tûtemûr,
or Ven-
tsung.

AS soon as *Hosbila* was dead, *Tûtemûr* sent for the seal of the empire; and, after he had performed the last duties to the deceased, he returned to *Shang-tû*, where, on the fifteenth of the same month of *August*, he was acknowledged emperor; and appointed that the year 1329 should be reckoned the second of his reign. This same year *Tûtemûr* ordered the book, intituled, *King-shi-ta-tyen*, to be composed in *Chinese* by the most able doctors of the empire. It is often cited in the great history of the *Mungls*; by which quotations it appears (A) to contain many curious matters relating to the origin, government, conquests, and geography, of the *Mungls*. One of the doctors, appointed to be concerned in this grand work, was *Shen-se*, a native of *Khorassân*, and a *Mohammedan*: but, as he could never agree with the other doctors about several articles, treated of in that book, which yet are not mentioned, he obtained leave to write on other subjects: among the rest (B), he composed, in *Chinese*, a geography of the western countries of *Asia*, to which he has subjoined remarks upon their doctrinal books, with a large catalogue of their eminent men.

Rebellion
in Yun-
nan.

IN *March* 1330 prince *Tûkyen* revolted in *Yun-nan*, and assumed the title of king. He committed a thousand disorders; took the cities, slew the mandarins, and stirred up the *Myau-tse*, with other people who live independent in the neighbouring provinces, to rebel against the emperor. Hereupon the prince *Alatenasbeli*, son of prince *Tûla*, was ordered to march with an army to oppose the designs of *Tûkyen*. Mean time the empress *Pûtasili*, or *Pûtasbeli*, of the house of *Hongkila*, and wife of *Tûtemûr*, not able to endure the empress dowager *Papûsba*, employed an eunuch to make away with her. The historians take occasion from hence to represent the dangerous consequences of a bad example in princes. *Tûtemûr*, say they, caused his brother *Hosbila* to be sent out of the world; and that wicked example induced *Pûtasili* to destroy *Papûsba*.

(A) The author, when he wrote this, had not yet found that book.

(B) He composed several other works on the *Chinese* classical books; the great men an-

der the *Kin* dynasty; the books of *Lau-tse* and *Chwan-tse*, &c.: the books of *Shen-se* remain in his family; nor does *Gaubil* know if they were printed.

IN

IN *October* the emperor went to the temple of heaven, and there sacrificed in person, honouring at the same time *Jenghiz Khân*, founder of the dynasty. *Tutemür* was the first of the *Twen* (or *Mungl*) princes who in person had been at the temple of heaven, and made the solemn sacrifice, which, before that time, had been performed by others. After this ceremony was over, a general pardon was published; and a law was made, that, among the emperor's wives, only one should bear the title of empress. It is remarked in a note, in the great history of the *Mungls*, that *Jenghiz Khân* had twenty-one ladies, who, besides the princesses of *Hongkila*, his principal wife, had the title of empresses; and that the other emperors, down to *Shi-tsu*, or *Hü-pi-lay*, had five or seven; which custom was followed by his successors, till *Tutemür*, who limited their number to one.

Twelfth.
Tutemür,
or Ven-
tsong.

The emper-
or sacri-
fices.

IN *December* the emperor declared his son the prince *Alate-Yun-nan* prince inheritor: but, in *January* 1331, this prince died, to his father's great affliction. Mean time the prince *Alate-nasbeli*, with an army of more than 100,000 men, carried on the war against prince *Tü-kyen*, who defended himself with courage; but, having been beaten in above twenty battles, in *April* both *Yun-nan* and *Se-chwen* submitted to the victor. However, soon after one of the rebels, named *Lü-yu*, who had lain concealed for a while, excited new troubles, supported by the brothers and sons of *Tü-kyen*. But *Kyay-lye* (C), great general of the *Mungls*, made a terrible slaughter of his followers, and intirely dispersed them. Two brothers and three sons of *Tü-kyen* were killed; and another of his brothers fled as far as the sea, where he perished.

submits.
A. D.
1331.

MEAN time one of the lamas, of the country of *Igür*, which abounds with them, was then chief of the lamas of the empire, and what regarded their religion; several of the bonzas of *Igür* formed a conspiracy in favour of *Twelü-temür*, son of the prince *Honanta*, whom the emperor *Hayshan* put to death.

A new
conspiracy.

YEN-TEMUR, who had been created a vang, or regulo, by the emperor, had a son called *Targay*; which young prince was so beloved by his majesty, that he would have him educated in his palace, and sent his own son *Yentye-kütse* to be bred up in the palace of *Yen-temür*. He likewise this year conferred on *Pe-yen* the *Merkit* the title of *Vang* (or *Wang*), which is the greatest honour that the emperor can bestow

(C) Or *Que-lye*, is the name of a general from the west, who did great services for *Hü-pi-lay* in

Yun-nan; but I know not if this be the same, or one of his family. *Gaubil*.

Twelfth. on one of his subjects; and is attended with pensions, but Tütemür, not estates.

or Ven-efong. IN 1332 *Tütemür*, according to custom, removed in the spring to *Shang-tü*; where he fell sick, and died, in *August*, in the twenty-ninth year of his age; ordering, that one of the sons of his brother *Hosbila* should be proclaimed emperor.

Tütemür dies. *TUTEMUR* was the twelfth khān of the *Mungls*, and eighth of the *Xwen* dynasty in *China*, where he was known under the title of *Ven-tsung*.

A. D.
1332.

* GÄUBIL. ubi sup. p. 267, & seqq.

C H A P. XIII.

The Reign of Towhan-temür, styled by the Chinese Shun-ti.

S E C T. I.

The distractions and rebellions which attended his bad government.

Thirteenth. AFTER the death of *Tütemür*, the minister *Ten-temür* went to the empress *Pütäsbeli*, and proposed to advance her son *Tentye-küfse* to the empire: but she rejected that motion; and, pursuant to the intention of her deceased husband, caused the prince *Ilinchpin*, second son of *Hosbila* (by the empress *Papüfba*, whom she had put to death), then no more than seven years old, to be proclaimed. This new emperor, known in *China* under the title of *Ning-tsung* (A), dying in *November*, *Ten-temür* again proposed to enthrone *Tentyeküfse*: but *Pütäsbeli* would by no means consent to it; declaring, that the empire belonged to *Towhan-temür* (B), son of *Hosbila*, by the princess *Maylayti*, who was at this time thirteen years of age. After the death of the empress *Papüfba*, he was banished into *Korea*, from whence he had been removed to *Quey-lin Fä*, the capital of *Quang-fä*.

Reports of him. THE emperor of the *Song*, who was carried into *Tartary*, and became a lama^a, had lands in that country, where, it is said, he married a princess, and had children by her. This princess, according to some, was *Maylayti*; and had, by him, *Towhan-temür*. After this, prince *Hosbila* contracted a friend-

* See before, Vol. IV. l. ii. c. 5. sect. 2.

(A) But, as he lived only two months, he is not reckoned among the Chinese emperors. See *Du Halde, China*, Vol. I. p. 217. (B) Written *Toboantemur* by our author *Gäubil*.
sol. edit. We shall observe in a

ship with the deposed monarch ; and, having taken an inclination for *Maylayti*, married her, and adopted *Towhan-temür*. These reports were, without doubt, false ; but they were not the less current, for all that, at court, and in the provinces. However this be, the president of the tribunal of mathematics, being consulted about his election, declared it very dangerous to make that prince emperor. Notwithstanding all that could be said to the contrary, *Pütasbeli*, persisting in her resolution, sent a great lord to bring the prince from *Quey-lin-fü*, and declare him emperor.

At the entrance of the year 1333 the empress, having received advice, that *Towhan-temür* was arrived at *Lyang-hyang*, a city some leagues short of *Ta-tü*, sent thither the guards, the princes, and grandees, to meet him. *Yen-temür*, as generalissimo and prime minister, appeared at their head, and complimented the prince in the name of the empress regent. After this, placing himself by the prince's side, he spoke to him about the state of the court, and manner in which the ceremony of the installation should be performed. *Towhan-temür* appeared afraid at the sight of *Yen-temür* ; and did not speak a single word : the lords of his retinue seemed likewise to be seized with fear. No wonder the prince should be suspicious of him ; since many believed that he was the person, who, by *Tütemür's* direction, put his father *Hosbila* to death. However that be, *Yen-temür*, touched to the quick at *Towhan-temür's* silence, delayed the ceremony of his inauguration ; resolving, if possible, to exclude him from the throne, and place the crown on the head of *Yentye-kütse*.

THE discontent of *Yen-temür* gave no small uneasiness to the regent, and the prince. This latter, being sensible of the fault he had committed when that lord went out to meet him, endeavoured to repair it, by marrying his daughter *Peyaw*, and making her his principal wife. *Yen-temür* had grand qualities ; but he was cruel, and void of modesty. He became enamoured with one of the wives of the emperor *Tosun-temür*, and had the rashness to marry her ; a thing almost without example. In March he died of his excesses ; and his death secured the empire to *Towhan-temür* : who, removing with his court to *Shang-tü*, the empress regent declared the last will of *Tütemür* ; and the grandees agreed to declare the prince emperor.

TOWHAN-TEMÜR (C), whom the Chinese name *Shun-ti*, is proclaimed at first gave all power to the empress *Pütasbeli*, and conferred on

(C) The Chinese books of *Shun-ti's* daughters espoused *Tamerlan*, to whom they give the title

Thirteenth. on her the title of empress-grandmother ; but, from that time, Towhan- resolved to get rid of her. This princess informed her son temûr, or *Yentye-kûtse* of *Tûtémûr's* will, and of what had passed between Shun-ti. *Ayyuli-palipata* and *Haysban*. The new emperor, to gain the family of *Yen-temûr* to his interest, in *August* caused his wife *Peyaw* to be declared empress.

*Neglects
affairs.*

TOWHAN-TEMUR soon discovered his inconstant and wavering temper ; his aversion to state-affairs, and his inclination to pleasure. *Alûwhentemûr*, the eighth in descent from the emperor *Ogotay*, perceiving his natural indolence, shewed him the great number of faults he would commit, in case he governed by himself : he therefore advised him to leave that toil to his ministers ; and, by that pernicious counsel, was the first cause of the destruction of the empire of the *Ywen* (D). *Towhan-temûr* followed his advice, and thought of nothing but gratifying his passions. *Satûn*, eldest brother of *Yen-temûr*, was honoured with the title of regulo (or vang) as well as *Tangkisbi*, eldest son of *Yen-temûr*, and brother of the empress *Peyaw*. *Satûn* and *Pe-yen* were the prime ministers ; and were, besides, the great generals of the troops. The history loudly exclaims against the advancement of *Pe-yen* to this high post, representing him as a man of bad principles, debauched, and void of honour : it adds, that heaven shewed marks of its displeasure the same day that so much honour was conferred on him ; for the earth quaked, and a mountain fell.

*Calamities
of his
reign.
A D.
1334.*

THE history likewise records several presages, in 1334, of the unfortunate reign of *Towhan-temûr* : as that, in the southern provinces, no fewer than two millions two hundred and seventy thousand families, that is, more than thirteen millions of people, died ; and that, in *August*, there was an earthquake at *Ta-tû*. The *Chinese* historians, who composed the history of the *Ywen*, or *Mungl* race, lived at the beginning of the dynasty of the *Ming* (E), who ruined that of the *Ywen*. These authors

title of *Tû-ma*, that is, son in-law of the emperor. *Gaubil*.— This answers to the title of *Kur Khân*, given to that prince by the oriental historians, which signifies son-in-law of the khân, See *D'Herbelot*, Bibl. orient. art. *Timûr*, p. 878.

(D) The history blames the prince *Alûwhentemûr*, and makes an odious comparison between him and *Kau yau* and *Cherw-*

kong, who rendered themselves famous by the sage advice which they gave the emperors of their respective times. *Gaubil*.

(E) Among the *Chingse*, the rule is, daily to commit to writing the actions of their princes, and drop the papers into close chests, which are never opened while the family then reigning possess the empire. On the accession of a new family, the chests

authors have taken great pains to render this emperor odious on all occasions: they have represented his faults in their full light; and set down all the famines, inundations, popular sicknesses, earthquakes, falls of mountains, comets, eclipses, and other events: which they thought proper, to shew, that *Towhan-temûr* ought not to have been emperor; and that the *Ming* (or *Ta-ming*) wrested the empire from the *Mung's* with justice ^b.

IN *October* a question was decided, which had exercised the wits of all the *Chinese* literati. Several empresses, and, among the rest, *Ching-ko*, first wife of *Hayshan*, had no tablets in the hall of ancestors, near those of their husbands, under pretence that they had no children; while princesses, who were only the second or third wives of emperors, were honoured with tablets, because they had borne sons who afterwards enjoyed the title of emperor. The mothers of *Hosbila* and *Tûtemûr* had their tablets, and were there respected as empresses; although they lived in the time of *Ching-ko*, who was the chief wife, as well as the princess who had the rank and title of empress. One of the great mandarins, whom *Pe-yen* consulted, answered, that *Ching-ko*, altho' without issue, ought to enjoy, after her death, the honours of empress; and that it was an indécency to honour as empresses those who, in reality, were no more than concubines. Another mandarin, enemy to him who spoke in favour of *Ching-ko*, cited the example of *Tay-tsong*, emperor of the *Tang* dynasty, who, he said, gave two of his ladies the title of empress. The mandarin, who wanted *Ching-ko* only to have tablets, no-way embarrassed with the objection, instead of staying to consider the passage of history cited by his adversary, ran for another, to oppose it, as high up as the emperor *Tau*; affirming, that the prince did not put the tablet of his mother near that of *Ti-ko* his father, because the

^b GAUBIL, hist. Gentchis, p. 270, & seqq.

chests are opened, and the history of the preceding is compiled from the memoirs found inclosed therein. Altho' the custom of having a palace, with halls, for honouring the ancestors of princes, is as antient as the monarchy itself; yet it is not easy to fix the time when the several ceremonies for that purpose were settled, much less of the changes that have been made

in them. It is said, that *Ti-ko*, father of *Tau*, had four wives; but 'tis difficult to prove that, in his time, there were tablets in the palace of ancestors; and that, in case there were, none but the tablet of the first wife, who was empress, was placed near his. The series of facts and times before *Tau* is uncertain. Gaubil.—and, in our opinion, for many ages after.

mother

Thirteenth. mother of *Tau* was not an empress. Every-body applauded *Towhan*-this answer: *Pe-yen* rewarded the mandarin; and *Ching-ko* *temür*, or had her tablet set up near that of her husband *Haysban*.
Shun-ti.

Tanki-shi's conspiracy.
 A. D. 1335. IN 1335 *Satün*, brother of *Ten-temür*, died; and that death occasioned the ruin of his illustrious and powerful family. *Tangkishi*, a prince naturally fiery, and apt to speak his mind, finding all his uncle's places, of which he expected no small share, given to *Pe-yen*, who, by that means, became the first lord of the court, complained loudly of the injustice done him; and, on this occasion, cried up the services which his ancestors had done the empire, more than became him. At the same time he ran down *Pe-yen*, saying, he was too inconsiderable a person to be raised so high; and, in concert with *Talyentali*, his paternal uncle, took measures for setting on the throne *Whang-bo-temür*, son of the rebel prince *Siliki*, slain in *Tartary* in the reign of *Hü-pi-lay*. *Talyentali* had often refused to obey the orders sent him to come to court. The plot was discovered by a prince of the blood; and *Pe-yen* was commissioned to seize the conspirators. In June *Tangkishi* concealed a troop of soldiers to the east of *Shang-tü*, where the court then was; and, the thirtieth of the same month, designed to attack the palace on all sides. But *Pe-yen* prevented him, and seized both him and his brother *Targay*, who were then in the palace. *Tangkishi* was killed immediately; but *Targay* fled, and, trembling, ran to the chamber of the empress his sister. This young princess was frightened to see her brother wounded, and, with tears, begging his life of her. The empress, being informed of what had passed, sought to save her brother: but she sought in vain; for presently the lords entered her chamber with their naked swords, and slew him in her presence.

Empress put to death.

WHEN they had done their work, *Pe-yen* went and informed the emperor: who, instead of severely punishing them for daring to enter the chamber of the empress with arms in their hands, consented that *Pe-yen* should even take, and put her to death. Pursuant to this horrid permission, that bloody minister turned executioner, went directly to the apartment of that princess; who, perceiving that he came to seize her, set up a loud cry, and fell on her knees before the emperor, intreating him to spare her life. The hard-hearted husband, after reproaching her with the revolt of her uncle and two brothers, told her he could not save her. These cruel words were her sentence of death. *Pe-yen* took her away, led her to a house in a neighbouring village, and there slew her with his own hands. *Talyentali* defended himself the best he could; and, after several fruitless efforts with the lords of his conspiracy,

racy, took refuge with prince *Whang-ho-temûr*; where being taken, and killed, the prince slew himself.

NOTWITHSTANDING the representations of the literati, a great *Mungl* lord caused the examination of their order to be suppressed. The *Chineses*, who every-where testified their discontent at this proceeding, set themselves to inquire into the life of that *Tatar*; and soon found faults enough in his conduct, to render him suspected by *Pe-yen*, who thereupon sent him into banishment, where he died not long after.

IN 1337, troubles arose in the provinces of *Quang-ton*, *Honan*, *Se-chwen*, and the province of *Koko-nor*, where the people appeared discontented with *Towhan-temûr*, and censured his conduct. The *Chineses* were forbidden to instruct the *Mungls*, and to keep arms. Mean time, the emperor declared a princess of *Hong-kila* empress. In *May*, a comet appeared, which was visible for sixty-three days, and had its course from the *Pleiades* to the head of *Scorpio* (F).

MACHARTAY, youngest brother of *Pe-yen*, had the good qualities of that minister, without his faults: he was a good general; and esteemed by the troops. The emperor would have given him the title of wang, or regulo, but he constantly declined it. As one of *Pe-yen*'s bad qualities was cruelty, and a bloody disposition, he proposed to the emperor to have all those put to death, whose *Se-ing* (G) was *Chang*, *Kang*, *Lyew*, *Li*, and *Chau*. The occasion of this barbarous demand is not mentioned; but it was rejected, and drew on *Pe-yen* an infinite number of enemies^c.

TOTO, son of *Machartay*, was one of the officers of the guards; and, by his prudent behaviour, soon became esteemed by the emperor, as well as the great men at court, with whose intrigues he was thoroughly acquainted. He knew that *Towhan-temûr* was grown suspicious of his uncle *Pe-yen*, ever since *November* 1339; when that lord, under a false pretence, had put to death *Che-che-tû*, great grandson of *Mengko*, by *Yulung-tasbe*, his fourth son. *Pe-yen* was hated by all the world; and had an intolerable pride: for some time he went abroad with the state of a great king; and *Toto* was one day witness of his pompous train, at a time when that of the emperor was very moderate. The *Mungl* monarch himself observed it, and was offended. More than this, he believed that *Pe-yen* had ill de-

^c GAUBIL, p. 272, & seqq.

(F) This *Chinese* manner of expressing the course of the comet, deserves explanation. GAUBIL.

(G) We think this passage needs explanation, as much at least as that relating to the comet.

Thirteenth. signs in his head (H); and *Toto* knew for certain, that *Towhan-temûr*, or *Machartay* of what had passed; and consulted *U-chi-vang*, a *Shun-ti*. Chinese literato, in whom he had much confidence, as having been his governor. *U-chi-vang* cited the passages, which teach, *That a man must sacrifice his family to justice; and that a great mandarin ought to have no other object in view, than fidelity to the empire.*

seize his uncle.

TOTO, who was a lord of parts, having found a favourable opportunity to speak to the emperor, fell on his knees, and said, *That he renounced his family to serve his majesty.* *Towhan-temûr*, who believed there was dissimulation in his words, pretended not to understand his meaning. Most of the lords who were about the emperor were creatures of *Pe-yen*. *Shi-kyay* and *Alû* were almost the only two with whom he durst intrust a secret. These he ordered to sound the fidelity of *Toto*, whose motions they narrowly inspected; and then acquainted his majesty, that they would answer for his integrity. Hereupon *Towhan-temûr* sent for *Toto*, and shed tears while he spoke to him of his uncle's behaviour. After this *Toto* and *Shi-kyay*, having become intimate friends, resolved to seize *Pe-yen*; which they did, with the emperor's approbation, in the following manner.

Pe-yen's death.

TOTO placed new guards in all the posts, and augmented the number of them; ordering them to give him an exact account of all who either entered or went out. *Pe-yen* was surprized to see the guard reinforced, without having had notice of it, as great general; and, on that occasion, chid his nephew: who answered, boldly, "That too good a guard could not be kept in the palace where was the emperor." On these words, *Pe-yen* thought fit to strengthen his own guard; and concluded, that he could not depend on *Toto*. After this, *Pe-yen* acquainted the guards, that he wanted to speak to his majesty: they asked what his business was; and understanding that it was to invite him to a hunting, *Toto* dissuaded the emperor; so that *Pe-yen* repeated his instances in vain. *Towhan-temûr* ordered *Yentye-kotse* to encamp without the city: at the same time, *Pe-yen* heard, with astonishment, that *Toto* and *Shi-kyay* had caused the city gates to be shut, and kept the keys, after posting troops, devoted to them, in all the quarters of *Tatû*. At night those two lords advised the emperor to change his apartment; and made prince *Yentye-kotse* to return into the city. They ordered *Pe-yen* to be watched; and, in Fe-

(H) *Pe-yen* was accused of a design either of seizing the emperor or killing him, and setting another on the throne. *Gaubil.*

bruary,

bruary, on the day named *Ki-bay*, all the titles and places, *Thirteenth*. which that minister had at court, were taken from him; and *Towhan-* he was ordered to set out for *Ho-nan*, there to exercise the *temür, or* office of a mandarin. He designed, before he went, to salute *Shun-ti.* the emperor, which was refused him; and, when he was on the road, a second order overtook him, to let him know, that he was banished. After this, he continued his journey: but fell sick near *Nan-chang-fu*, capital of *Kyang-si*, where he died, hated by all the great men, as well as the people (I).

UPON this change, *Toto*, and his father *Machartay*, had *Affairs at* new employments; but the latter still refused the title of *vang*, *court.* and even that of *targhan*, or *tarkan*, which implies being exempt from imposts and service. However, the change of ministry went no farther: public notice was given the mandarins, that they had nothing to fear, and would be continued in their employments. In *June*, *Towhan-temür* being at *Shang-tu*, caused a manifesto to be published through the empire: wherein he set forth all which the emperor *Tütemür* and the empress *Putasbeli* had done against *Hosbila* and the empress *Papûsba*: he complained bitterly, for that they had exiled him, without having committed any offence; and endeavoured to make him pass for the son of another person than *Hosbila*. After this, he deprived *Putasbeli* of the title of empress grandmother, and banished her; which treatment she did not long survive. Prince *Yentye-kotse* was ordered to depart for *Korea*: he set out accordingly; but was killed on the way (K). The tablet of *Tütemür* was taken out of the temple of ancestors; many of the mandarins, put in by him, were discharged; and several of the lords punished, who had served him. In *August*, *Towhan-temür* returned to *Tatû*; and, in *December*, re-established the examination of the literati ^{*Examina-*} ^{*tions re-*} ^{*stored.*}

IN 1342, the famine was so great, that the people ate human flesh (L). Two or three leagues to the north of the *A. D.* *1342.*

^a GAUBIL, p. 276, & seqq.

(I) When he came to *Cbingting-fu*, he asked some old men, who presented him wine, if they had heard the affair of a son who would have killed his father? alluding to what *Toto* had done: one of them answered, They had not; but that they heard there were subjects who would have killed their sovereign. *Gaubil.*

(K) *Yen-tye-kü-tse* had been at first declared prince inheritor by *Towhan-temür*. The death of that prince is the only thing which the history reproaches the emperor with, in what he did against *Putasbeli* and *Tütemür*. *Gaubil.*

(L) The history mentions, for the reason before recited, eclipses of the sun, which happened in *August* and *October*. *Gaubil.*

Thirteenth bridge *Lé-kew-krau* (M), is a place called *Kin-kew*, on the east side of the river *Wên*. The *Kin* emperors formerly made a canal of communication between *Tong-chew* and *Kin-kew*, in order to bring up the provisions and merchandizes which came by water to the first city: but this canal, which passed to the north of *Yen-king*, being found to endanger that capital, was destroyed. In *January* this year, *Tai*, son of *Machartay*, undertook to open it again, with a view to join the river *Wên* and *Pe*, as before; and although this project was opposed by one of the *Chinese* ministers, on the same reasons which caused it to be stopped up the first time, yet *Tai*'s advice was followed. However, the sand and mud, as the mandarin had demonstrated, soon rendered it useless; and the fear of inundations obliged them afterwards to close it up a second time. 'Tis related, that a present was made the emperor this year, from the kingdom of *Fa-lang* (N), of a horse eleven feet six inches long, and six feet eight inches high; the body black, with spots of different colours; and the hoofs of the two hind feet white; the present was much esteemed.

A. D. 1343. *Histories finished.* *HU-PI-LAT*, at the beginning of his reign, commanded the memoirs for the history of the *Lyau* and *Kin* to be put in order. He likewise, after the destruction of the *Song* dynasty, gave directions to compile the history of the *Song*: but, notwithstanding the orders of this prince, and his successors, those histories were not finished. Hereupon, in 1343, *Tato*, son of *Machartay*; *Tinartab*, son of *Tato*, prince of *Kangli*; *Ghew-yang-fwen*, historian of the empire (Q); *Chang-ki-yen*, *Lu-tse-cheng*, *Kye-hi-tse*, and other able doctors; were appointed for this great work; which was, at length, completed, under *Towhan-temür*, each dynasty having its history apart. The greater part of what is well executed in them, is owing to the labour of *Ghew-*

Account of yang-fwen. In this work, besides the annals of the emperors belonging to the three dynasties, there are separate chapters, which contain the several kalendars, and astronomical methods, with the astronomical observations of the mathematical tribunal. There is likewise an ample catalogue of the great men of the respective dynasties, with a concise account of what they have done; and it is there you meet with the works which the learned of the time have composed. The authors have there inserted what they knew of foreign geography; and there you find descriptions of the countries subject or tributary to the princes, whose history is set forth. The history of the *Song*

(M) A few leagues to the west of *Pe-king*. Europe is to be understood. *Gaubil*.

(N) By which, without doubt, (Q) Native of *Cheng-cha*, in *Hu-quang*. *Gaubil*.

hath.

hath, besides those accompaniments, a kind of *Chinese* biblio-^{Thirteenth}theque, where the books composed in *China*, on all sorts of *Towhan*-subjects, are divided into classes (P). 'Tis from these three hi-temûr, or stories, that the *Nyen-i-tse* and *Tsu-pyen*, inserted in the *Tong-*Shun-ti.
kyen-kang-mâ, have taken the greater part of what they relate concerning the dynasties of the *Lyau*, *Kin*, and *Song*.

In *October* this year, the emperor *Towhan-temûr* went to the *Ancestors* palace of ancestors, to honour the princes of his family: but *honoured*. when he was before the tablet of *Ning-tsong* (or *Ilin-chipân*), his youngest brother, he made a difficulty to kneel. Here-upon the great *Chinese* mandarins alleged the example of the two brothers *Hi* and *Min* (Q), counts of the country of *Lâ*, in *Shan-tong*; saying, that *Hi*, though the elder, did not scruple to perform the ceremony to *Min*, who reigned before him. To support this passage of history, another mandarin reasoned thus; *Your majesty was no more than a subject, when your brother was emperor; now, a subject ought to kneel before his sovereign.* *Towhan-temûr's* objection being thus removed, he fell on his knees, and honoured his brother *Ning-tsong*, by nine beats with the head.

In *May* 1344, *Toto* was honoured with the title of regulo; *Toto made* and *Alâtâ*, the fourth descendant from *Po-eul-chû*, or *Porji, vang*. one of *Jenghiz Khân's* four intrepids, proposed by him to fill his place of minister. In the same month next year, died A. D. 1345.
Nau-nau, son of *Pâ-hâ-chû*, of *Kangli* (often mentioned before), much regretted by the emperor; who highly esteemed him, and was not offended at his frequent admonitions to love virtue, and govern by himself. He passed for a man of great virtue, and was withal one of the most learned doctors of the empire. He had likewise a younger brother, named *Whey-whey*, or the *Mohammedan*, who was a person of great abilities.

In 1346, *Perku-phûwha*, son of the minister *Aâ-tay*, slain His father by order of the emperor *Hayshan*, having lodged an accusa-banished. tion against the great general *Machartay*; *Towhan-temûr* banished that officer to *Si-ning*, a city of *Shen-fi* (at the end of the great wall): and *Toto*, having in vain endeavoured to ward off the blow, followed his father. The general being, by a second order, exiled to *Sa-se*, in the west, a lord of the country of *Tûrfân*, a great mandarin, exclaimed against those who thus maltreated a great lord of merit, innocent of the crime

(P) The author forbears mentioning an infinite number of other articles treated of in those three histories; because he designs to speak of them elsewhere.

(Q) Two of the twelve princes of *Lû*, whose annals *Konfusius* has written, intitled, *Chun-tsyew*. *Gaubil*.

Thirteenth. laid to his charge: hereupon *Machartay* was ordered to live at *Towhan-Kan-chew*, in *Shen-fi*, where he soon after died. But the *temûr*, or world did him justice: every body was persuaded of *Perkû-Shun-ti*. *pû-wha's* malice, *Machartay's* virtue, and the emperor's weakness.

A. D. 1348. *In* 1348, *Kya-lâ*, native of *Kau-ping*, in *Shan-fi*, who knew something of geometry and levelling, was sent to examine the course of the *Whang-ho*, and its antient bed, in *Pe-che-li*. He made a map of it, accompanied with a discourse; wherein he proposed raising banks along that river, and turning it into a new channel. *Kya-lâ* was supported by some great lords; and had inspection over the tribunals which were erected for carrying on of public works. We shall see hereafter what were the consequences of this project. *In* August, *Yu-chi*, one of the most renowned doctors of the empire, died, at *Li-chwen*, in the district of *Fû-chew*, in *Kyang-fi*, his native country: he had a considerable hand in the work, intituled, *King-chi-ta-tyen*. *In* 1333, *Ma-tsh-chang*, a great mandarin, originally of the west of *Asia*, gave out, that *Yu-chi* was the person who had written an edict of *Tûtemûr*; wherein that prince related what he had said touching the birth of *Towhan-temûr*. *Yu-chi*, upon this aspersions of his enemy, retired, of his own accord; and although the emperor invited him to return, he always declined it.

The ministers corrupt.

In November this year, a great lord, following the example of those who, in all times, have hazarded both their estates and lives, to tell the emperors their faults, laid before *Towhan-temûr* the evils which the empire suffered: he complained, that the misdemeanors of the great men were not punished; and affirmed, that such neglect would ruin the empire: he reminded him of the crimes of *Pe-yen* the *Merkit*, and said, it was a scandal to see still at court his brothers, sons, and grandsons. Another mandarin prayed the emperor, to deprive his wife, the princess *Ki*, who came from *Korea*, of the honour and title of empress, which he had given her, although the empress, princess of *Hongkila*, was still living (R); alleging, in support of what he demanded, a writing of *Hâ-pi-lay*, in which he took an oath, never to contract affinity with the *Koreans*. The emperor was passionately fond of the princess *Ki*, who was mother of the prince whom he designed for his heir;

* GAUBIL, p. 278, & seqq.

(R) *Towhan-temûr* had three wives, who, at the same time, paid no regard to the order of *Tûtemûr*, not to give that title to more than one wife. *Gaubil*.

whereas

whereas the children which he had by the princefs of *Hong-kila* were all dead. In effect, he rejected the petitions of both mandarins.

Thirteenth
Towhan-temür, or Shun-ti.

IN 1349, *Tay-ping*, a lord of great wisdom, moderation, and integrity, was at the head of affairs; and, as he could not bear to see innocence oppressed, he, in spite of the difficulties which lay in the way, demanded, and obtained, the recall of *Toto*. This prince, on his return, was restored to his place of minister; and, not knowing that he owed his good fortune to *Tay-ping*, who made no mention to him of the service he had done him, joined with that lord's enemies in an accusation against him. *Tay-ping* was hereupon turned out of place; and his accusers were going to push their malice farther, when *Toto*'s mother threatened to renounce him, if he did not desist; telling him, that *Tay-ping* was not culpable, and that he had done him no injury. *Toto*, who loved his mother tenderly, and did not care to give her any uneasiness, ceased to prosecute that lord. Some time after this, *Toto* came to know the obligations which he had to *Tay-ping*, and was extremely sorry that he had done so much injury to his benefactor. A friend of *Tay-ping* having advised him to kill himself; he answered, *I have committed no fault: for me to kill myself, would be to confess myself guilty; let us leave the matter to heaven* (S). Hereupon he retired, with his family, to *Si-gar-fu*, in *Shen-si*.

Remark-
able case

Towhan-temür being desirous that his son should learn the *Chinese* characters and literature, *Toto*, who was well skilled in both, was pitched on to direct the education of the young prince; and *Li-hau-wen* was appointed his preceptor. Some lamas were, at the same time, chosen, to instruct the prince in the doctrine and books of *Fo*. *Li-hau-wen* took much pains with his pupil: he made an abridgment of the *Chinese* history to his own time, and of the classic books; with reflections on the causes of the ruin of dynasties, and other remarks, in the *Chinese* taste, proper to form a prince for government. But his scholar had no inclination for the sciences; and was much taken with the worship of *Fo* (T). He was an enemy to pains; and the study of the *Chinese* books required a great deal of application. All that his preceptor uttered, appeared to him obscure,

The prince
averse

(S) He speaks here of the emperor, whom the *Chinese* call the *Son of heaven*. They believe that his power comes from heaven; and that his orders ought to be obeyed like those of heaven. *Gaubil*.

of a different character from *Ay-jewsbilitata*, the prince inhemtor mentioned hereafter, page 58: but, for want of the name of the prince mentioned here, we cannot pretend to determine the point.

(T) This prince seems to be

Thirteenth full of empty words, and very unprofitable. One day he said, Towhan- in *Li-hau-wen's* presence, " That he did not yet understand *temür*, or " any thing which he had explained to him; whereas, in one *Shun-ti*. " night's time, he had comprehended the whole doctrine of " *Fo*." These words set all the literati and *Chinese* doctors against the prince, of whom they ever had but a contemptible opinion; judging him not fit to govern their country: because he either would not, or could not, understand the books, which, according to them, are so proper to teach the art of governing well.

Arbitrary proceeding. *AMA* and *Swe-swe*, two brothers, natives of the country of *Kangli*, were at this time very powerful at court; and, though remarkable for their disorderly courses, had free access to the palace of the empress *Ki*, which they were continually going to. The censors of the empire, and the *Chinese* grandees, exclaimed against such liberties; and two of them made their complaints of it to the emperor. *Ama*, upon this, by artful stories, stirred up the resentment of the empress; who complained to *Towhan-temür*, requiring, that he would punish the two mandarins, as calumniators, who endeavoured to stain her reputation. The emperor, enraged at what he had heard, banished the mandarins, one of whom died in the place of his exile. This conduct appeared tyrannical to the *Chinese*, since the mandarins had done no more than their duty. *Ama*, who, besides many other bad qualities, was excessively lewd, appeared to them to be the person who contributed most to corrupt the emperor, whom they saw devoted to the most enormous debaucheries, and intirely to neglect affairs of government; placing all his confidence in men of dissolute morals, and without either honour or capacity.

The Whang-ho project IN 1351, the resolutions taken with regard to the new course proposed to be given the *Whang-ho* (U), or *yellow river*, considerably augmented the troubles and discontent. *Kya-lá*, supported by *Toto*, as hath been already mentioned, had persuaded the emperor to make that river pass, as formerly, through the country of *Tay-ming-fú*, in *Pe-che-li*, and fall into the sea of *Tyen-tsin-wey*. Mean time *Cheng-tsun*, president of the tribunal of public works, with the mathematicians of *Kay-fong-fú*, in *Ho-nan*, went to *Tay-ming-fú*, and other places in *Pe-che-li*, to examine the ground; and, after taking the level of

† GAUBIL, p. 281, & seqq.

(U) On this occasion, our author *Gaubil* gives an account, from the *Chinese* authors, of the several changes which the *Whang-ho*, or *yellow river*, has suffered in its course, from the earliest times.

it,

it, affirmed, that to clear the old channel was impracticable; *Thirteenth.* that it would require too great an expence; and that *Shan-Towhan-*
tong would be ruined. All sorts of means were tried to pre-
 vail with the president to change his opinion; but he an-
 swered, that he would rather die than speak contrary to his
 judgment in a matter of so much importance to the public. *Shan-ti.*
causes in-
surrections.
Cheng-tsun was hereupon dismissed, and his place given to
Kya-lu, whose advice was followed; and to the titles of his
 patron * *Toto*, was added that of *targhan* ^h.

THE works, which were made for turning the *Whang-ho*,
 ruined an infinite number of people, and caused new taxes to
 be imposed; while the peasants could not bear to see their
 lands taken away, and themselves transplanted elsewhere. The
 discontent becoming general, different chiefs of parties in every
 province stirred up the people; so that the mandarins were
 greatly embarrassed.

HAN-SHAN-TONG, born in the district of *Ching-ting-Han-*
fu (in *Pe-che-li*), who had been banished, for his misdeeds, *Shan-tong*
 into *Shan-tong*; taking advantage of the troubled state of *and*
 things, prevailed on great numbers of people to rebel, in *Shan-*
tong, *Ho-nan*, and *Kyang-nan*. They made him pass for a
 descendant of *Whey-tsong*, eighth emperor of the *Song*; and
 took an oath to obey him, sacrificing an horse, and a black
 ox. Those concerned in this association were distinguished by
 a red cap. The mandarins found means to seize *Han-shan-*
tong; but his wife and children escaped. *Lyew-fu-tong* also, *Lyew-fa-*
 an intrepid man, who supported *Han-shan-tong*, in *May*, ap-
 peared in the field, near *Fong-yang-fu*, in *Kyang-nan*. *tong r. bel.*
 He was presently joined by more than 100,000 men, and fortified
 himself in the districts of *Nan-yang-fu* and *Ju-ning-fu*, in *Ho-*
nan. At the same juncture, a pirate, named *Fang-que-chen*,
 scoured the coasts of *Che-kyang* and *Kyang-nan*, with a great
 fleet, entered the rivers, plundered the towns and villages, and
 ruined trade. One of his designs was, to hinder the trans-
 portation of corn, rice, and merchandizes, to the court. The
 armies sent first against *Fang-que-chen* were destroyed, and their
 generals taken prisoners. After this, the pirate making a sham
 accommodation, the great mandarins concealed his revolt:
 they even caused titles of honour, and employments, to be
 given to him and his brothers. Mean time, the rebel kept the
 ports continually blocked up; and did, with impunity, what-
 ever he pleased, for want of honest captains and soldiers to op-
 pose him at sea.

* GAUBIL, p. 284. & seqq.

^h See before.

Thirteenth. THE emperor having, on his return from *Ta-tû*, in *August*, *Towhan-temûr*, or *Shun-ti*, and march against *Lyew-fû-tong*, that general retook several places in *Ho-nan*, and put to death some rebels; but, in reality, *Lyew-fû-tong*'s party grew in strength. In *October* *Tsû-chew-whey* took arms in *Hâ-quang*, and caused himself to be proclaimed emperor at *Ki-sû-i*, in the district of *Hong-chew-fû*. He gave a name to the dynasty which he proposed to found: and the year 1351 is set down, in the history, for the first of his reign. In *November* a comet appeared, whose tail pointed towards the west: on which occasion it was industriously reported throughout the empire, that heaven, by several visible marks, made known, that it would take the empire from *Towhan-temûr*; and the history relates the superstitious reflections which were made upon the appearance of this comet.

proclaimed emperor. IN 1352 *Tsû-chew-whey* took *Han-yang* and *Vâ-chang* in *Hâ-quang*; and, after having seized other posts of importance, caused a fleet to be fitted out, and undertook the siege of *Kyew-kyang-fû*, on the *Grand Kyang*. Whether through treachery, cowardice, or disgust with *Towhan-temûr*'s service, a great number of *Tatar* mandarins in *Hâ-quang* and *Kyang-fû* fled at the approach of the *Chineses*; and *Polotemûr*, general of a great body of troops which encamped along the *Kyang*, abandoned his post, with his *Mungls*, who dispersed merely for fear of *Tsû-chew-whey*: these things passed in the first months of the year. On this occasion *Li-fû*, a *Chinese* grandee of *Fong-yang-fû* in *Kyang-nan*, set the *Mungls* a fine example of fidelity to their sovereign: he sent couriers to all the neighbouring villages, to cut off the retreat of *Polotemûr*'s forces, and oblige them to do their duty. *Yesyen-temûr*, a *Tatar* officer, seconded *Li-fû*; and, having joined their troops, defeated a detachment of *Tsû-chew-whey*'s army, consisting of 20,000 men. After this, *Li-fû* ordered a great number of trees to be cut down, and to be thrown, tied together, into the *Kyang*, to hinder the passage of the rebel fleet: which, coming down the river soon after in full sail, met with this unexpected obstacle; so that they could neither approach *Kyew-kyang-fû*, nor escape the fiery arrows, which, shot by *Li-fû*'s troops, burnt several barks¹.

Glorious behaviour. WHILE *Li-fû* was so zealously employed to serve *Towhan-temûr*, the general *Tâkyen-purwha* fled out of the city by the north gate. Most of the *Tatar* officers followed his pernicious example; and the army of *Tsû-chew-whey* were preparing to enter *Kyew-kyang-fû*. Upon this, *Li-fû*, taking what troops remained faithful, and with one of his nephews, who was al-

¹ GAUBIL, ubi sup. p. 285, & seqq.

ways near him, mounted the ramparts, to prevent any surprise. *Thirteenth.* The enemy first burnt the west gate; then came to attack the *Towhan-* eastern; and, spite of all *Li-fu's* efforts, entered the city. *temûr, or* That brave man still defended himself in the streets on horse- *Shun-ti.* back; but, wanting forces, he called out aloud, *Kill me, but spare the inhabitants*: at these words he and his nephew were cut to pieces. The citizens lamented his death; and *Towhan-* *temûr* conferred great titles of honour on him. *Li-fu* was one of the principal mandarins of *Kyew-kyang-fu*, and the annals of that city have ranked him among the most illustrious of its governors.

THIS year there happened an extraordinary earthquake at *Long-si* in *Shen-si*, which felt its shocks for one hundred days *Public calamities.* successively. Bones were also found nine or ten feet long, whose antiquity could not be determined. At the beginning of the year 900,000 souls perished by famine and sickness (W). The emperor ordered likewise, that employments should be given, in the tribunals, to the *Chineses* in the provinces south of the *Kyang*; who generally, till then, were preferred to places which only concerned commerce and literature. His majesty, about *Rebels suc-* the same time, heard with great concern of the death of ge- *cessful.* neral *Tay-puwha*, who was slain by the troops of *Fan-que-chen*, on the coast of *Che-kyang*; being led, by a relation of that pirate, into the snare unawares: but, when he perceived that he was betrayed, he slew the traitor, with others whom he distrusted; and then, being surrounded on all sides, was killed himself, after a brave resistance. Mean time the army of the rebel *Lyew-fu-tong* dispersed that of *Tesyen-temûr*, brother of *Toto*; who abandoned the open country to the enemy, and shamefully fled to *Kay-fong-fu*, capital of *Hè-nan*.

THE emperor sent another general in his stead; and was content to say, that *Tesyen-temûr* did not understand the business of war: but several great mandarins accused him of having destroyed an army, and, by his cowardice, dishonoured the empire of the *Mungls*. *Towhan-temûr*, instead of making an *Toto's* example of so great a misdemeanor, intrusted the examination *injustice.* of the affair to *Toto*, who behaved very ill on this occasion; for he not only defended his brother, but even accused and turned out several mandarins who had accused *Tesyen-temûr*. Among the lords of merit, and most capable of serving the state, was *Tor-chipan*, descended, in the sixth generation, from the illustrious *Moholi* (or *Mahali*). He had at first been mini-

(W) In the district of *Ta-ming-fu* in *Pe-che-li*, only, there died of famine, in *June*, 500,000 persons. *Gambil.*

Thirteenth. ster, and was very capable of re-establishing affairs : but he was Towhan-temür, or Shun-ti. those who governed the mind of Towhan-temür. Tor-chipan was versed in the Chinese sciences : was learned in mathematics, and the art of war. But, as he was one of those who appeared most incensed against Yesyen-temür, Toto caused him to be banished : soon after which he died at Whang-chew-fû, in Há-quang, at the age of forty. This severity towards one of the first and most illustrious lords of the empire did much injury to Toto, and infinite hurt to the emperor's affairs.

The rebels oversted, THE court was greatly alarmed at the news of the taking of Hang-chew-Fû, capital of Che-kyang, in July, by the troops of Tfu-chew-whey. Hereupon Towhan-temür, fearing the loss of the southern provinces, sent a great army under the command of Kyau-wha and Tong-po-syau. The army having crossed the great Kyang, Kyau-wha demanded the advice of the other general officers. Tong-po-syau said, that, as the rebels were infallibly plunged in all sorts of debaucheries in so rich and delightful a city, they could not be in a condition to resist ; from whence he concluded, that they ought to go and attack Hang-chew Fû. After much debate, this advice was followed, and the city was assaulted with great resolution. On the other hand, the rebels often sallied, and fought seven most bloody battles : but, after a cruel slaughter of them, the city was taken. This great check much weakened the party of Tfu-chew-whey, who lost there excellent officers, and more than 40,000 men. In the enemy's army they found many magicians, bonzas of the sect of Tau, whom they put to death, and burned their books of magic^k.

on two occasions. *Defeat the Mungls ;* In August Toto asked leave to go and besiege Tfu-chew, a city of Kyang-nan, possessed by the troops of Lyew-fû-tong ; which was granted him : and, on this occasion, Mieulmahomo (X), president of the tribunal of war, made extravagant eulogies upon that minister. Toto attacked the city by the west gate : the

^k GAUBIL, ubi sup. p. 288, & seq.

(X) This is a single word : he was a foreigner. *Gaubil.*— This seems to imply, that the names of persons which our author has given, for the general, consist of more words than one, altho' joined together, as if but one. However, we have seldom

divided any but such as are Chinese names ; altho' all the rest must consist of two or more monosyllables, as being written commonly from the Chinese characters, and according to the Chinese pronunciation.

besieged

besieged made a great folly; but, being repulsed, *Tsu-chew* ^{*Thirteenth.*} was taken and ruined. The minister was hereupon rewarded, ^{*Towhan-*}
 and ordered to return to court immediately. ^{*temûr, or*}
^{*Shun-ti.*}

GENERAL *Arslân*, who commanded the *Mungls* in *Kyang-fi*, being much beloved by the *Myau-tse* (Y), on hearing of *Tsu-chew-whey's* revolt, enlisted 50,000 of those mountain people, and went with them to *Lâ-chew*, a city of *Kyang-nan*. An army of *Myau-tse* in the heart of *China* was a very odious sight; so that they were dismissed, upon the remonstrance of *Tu-que*, who had orders to command the troops in that province. This mandarin fortified *Gan-king* on the *Kyang* exceedingly strongly, and kept his ground in the midst of the rebels: for at that time most of the province *Kyang-fi* was in the hands of *Tsu-chew-whey's* party. On the other hand, the general *Sing-ki*, having re-assembled the troops, reduced *Kyew-kyang* and *Hâ-kew*. He then marched to attack the rebels, who plundered all the places along the rivers; but, being surrounded, and wounded by an arrow, he was taken. *Sing-ki* ^{*general.*} had the reputation both of a good man and a hero. As soon as the rebels knew his name, they fell on their knees, and set victuals before him: they treated him for seven days, in a hut, with all sorts of respect; and were greatly concerned that they could not cure his wound. The general, perceiving death to be near, made a shift to raise himself up; and, having made his reverence to the north, expired: this happened in *November*. *Sing-ki* was of an antient family of *Ning-hya*, at the great wall in *Shen-fi*; and had done great services to the empire.

TOTO, who was under obligations to *Ama*, being become *Ama* ^{*made*} prime minister, brought that lord into the management of ^{*minister;*} affairs, and got him appointed one of the ministers of state. A. D. *Ama*, supported by the empress *Ki*, by degrees made himself ^{1353.} independent of *Toto*, and intirely corrupted *Towhan-temûr*. He brought into the palace several young debauchés, and lamas of *Tibet*, whose hearts were corrupt, and minds poisoned with superstition: their heads were filled with notions of magic and sorcery, the consequence of which was revelling and lewdness. They persuaded the emperor, that he should be ^{*debauches*} overwhelmed with happiness, if he would but practise their ^{*the court;*} abominable art, which is called by them *Ten/ber* and *Pimi* (Z).

(Y) A sort of wild and independent people, mentioned before, who possess the mountainous parts of several provinces of *China* to the south-west.

(Z) The signification of these two words was not known to our author *Gaubil*.

Tötemür. This unfortunate prince, insensible to the evils of the state, Towhan- and ruin of his dynasty, thought of nothing but to perfect *temür*, or himself in the art which the lamas taught him. It grieved *Shun-ti*. all the *Tatars* and *Chinese*, who had any zeal for the empire, to see that all sorts of debaucheries were by him committed in the palace, in company with *Ama*, and his brother *Swe-fwe*, *Tötemür*, his brother-in law, and several other lords, besides the lamas. *Ayyewsbilitata*, son of the emperor, and empress *Ki*, never would give into the debauches of his father, and did all in his power to drive the lamas from the court; but his attempts were fruitless. The history observes, on this occasion, that, had the bones of *Ama* been cut in a thousand pieces, he would not have been sufficiently punished, as having been the first cause of all the evil.

supplants
Toto,

For some time the pirates had taken every thing which came by sea; so that *Ta-tü* suffered much. To remedy this, *Toto* sent for a great number of husbandmen from the south, on whom he bestowed utensils, cattle, and a good deal of money. His view was, to have corn sown in the environs of the capital, and thence be supplied with provisions, which before came by sea; but this expedient did not answer the purpose. And now things fell into greater confusion than ever. That minister quarrelled with *Ama*; and this latter, to be revenged, supplanted him.

A. D.
1354.
who is
banished.

In December 1354, *Ama* impeached *Toto* of having carried on the war very ill, and converted the revenues of the empire to his own use. His brother *Yefyen-temür* was at the same time accused of being a debauché. At this juncture *Ama* was absolute master of the emperor's will; so that, to destroy a man, it was sufficient to accuse him, without proving the charge. They began by depriving *Toto* of his titles; after which, he and his brother were removed at a distance from court.

The emperor's effect-
minacy.

MEAN while the emperor thought of nothing but entertainments, parties of pleasure, and new ways of gratifying his passions. Sixteen young girls, called the sixteen celestial spirits, were appointed for the dance; other persons were continually employed in prayers and sacrifices to *Fo*; others to discover what was to come, by sorcery; others to sing, and play on music: these were all the affairs of importance which *Towhan-temür* troubled his head about. This prince caused a bark to be made 120 feet long, and twenty broad. It was rowed by twenty-four men magnificently dressed, and designed either for carrying his majesty along a great lake, from the palace of the north to that of the south; or else for going a pleasuring with him on the same lake; and, while it passed along, one beheld a dragon, whose eyes, head, and claws, were in

in motion. In the palace was a large press, on which was a *Thirteenth*, niche called that of *the three sages*. In the middle of the press Towhan-
was the representation of a girl holding a needle, to shew the *temér, or*
hours of the day and night, according to the *Chinese* division *Shen-ti.*
of time. When the needle was at the hour, water issued out. *Piece of*
On each side was the figure of an angel: one holding a bell, *clock-*
the other a copper basin. When the time of night came, those *work.*
two spirits beat the *Chinese* watches, conformable to the hour
marked by the needle; and, at the same time, several statues,
representing lions and eagles, were in motion on the sides. To
the east and west of the press was seen a representation of the
course of the sun and moon thro' the zodiac. Before the
figure representing the twelve signs stood six antient immortals;
who, at noon and midnight, marching two and two, passed a
bridge called *the holy bridge*, and, entering afterwards the
niche of the three sages, returned to their first post. They
highly extolled the contrivance, as well of the bark, as the other
machines, the like of which they had never seen before; and
the emperor himself passed for the inventor of them!

At the beginning of the year 1355, a body of rebels, from Han-lin-
Ho-nan, crossed the *Whang-ho*; and, in February, *Lyew-fá-tong* *pro-*
caused *Han-lin-eul*, son of the rebel *Han-shan-tong*, to be *claimed.*
proclaimed emperor. This new usurper named ministers and *A. D.*
generals: he gave to his dynasty the title of *Song*, and fixed 1355
his court at *Po-chew*, a city in *Ho-nan*. The history has mark-
ed the years which this power continued.

TOTO, upon his disgrace, was first appointed one of the
mandarins of *Whay-ngan Fá* in *Kyang-nan*, and afterwards of
Etsina (A). But, this being represented as too slight a pu-
nishment for his faults, his goods were confiscated, and he
was banished to *Yun-nan*. *Ama*, not content with this, coun-
terfeited an order from the emperor, for killing him as soon as *Toto*
he arrived in that province. This order was sent to an officer *slain.*
of the army, who had his family with him; and, instead of
killing the banished minister, treated him with honour and
distinction. But this benevolence did not continue long: for
the officer, having proposed one of his daughters in marriage,
on *Toto's* refusing the offer, thought it done in contempt; and
caused him to be slain, in the forty-second year of his age.
This unhappy great man was a *Merkit* by nation, and very
knowing in the *Chinese* literature, as well as affairs of govern-

! GAUBIL. ubi sup. p. 293, & seq.

(A) A city of Tartary, now in ruins, to the north of *Kan-*
chew, in *Shen-fi*.

Thirteenth. ment : but the love of glory, and his brother *Tesyen-temür*, *Towhan*-made him commit many faults. His conduct, particularly *temür*, or with regard to *Tor-chipan*, had rendered him odious to the *Shen-si*. *Mungl* princes and grandees.

To return to the civil wars. The general *Tashepa-tü*, arriving, in *October*, at *Huy-chew* in *Ho-nan*, obtained a great victory over *Lyew-fü-tong*. But altho' this rebel was defeated a second time by another *Tatar*, yet he always retrieved his losses ; and, after being beaten, still found himself in a condition to undertake new designs. The emperor, having ordered a great council of war to be held in *July*, to consider of means for security of the provinces attacked by the rebels ; a great mandarin laid hold of the occasion to admonish him of his faults : he said, " that those measures were unavailing, " while his majesty continued to live in disorder, and without " minding the affairs of government ; adding, that he ought " to begin by looking into the state of the court, and of the " empire, with his own eyes. In the provinces, said he, the " officers and mandarins think of nothing but pleasure, mo- " ney, and good cheer ; and, after the example of the prince, " appear insensible at the loss of cities and provinces." The discourse of the mandarin was commended : but *Towhan-temür* never thought of mending his conduct ; and left to others the care of reforming the mandarins.

The emperor
admonished ;

but in
vain,

S E C T. II.

The Rise of Chü, or Hong-vü, and Ruin of the Ywen Dynasty.

Rise of
Chü.

IT was in *June* this year that the head of a party named *Chü* (A), setting out from *Ho-chew* (B), passed the *Kyang*, and took *Tay-ping* : let us hear what the history says on this occasion. The *Twen*, coming from the north of *Sha-mo* (C), made themselves masters of *China* : the love of pleasure caused them to degenerate ; and on all sides they saw revolts. Among the troops, there was no subordination : the years were bad, and the people could not live. It was in the year of the *Black Dragon* (D) that *Tay-tsu* raised troops in the city of

(A) This is the famous *Chinese* who afterwards assumed the name of *Hong-wü*, and founded the dynasty of the *Ming*, or *Tay-ming* ; to whom the *Chinese* give the title of *Tay-tsu*.

(B) A city of *Kyang-nan*.

(C) The great *Sandy Desert* called *Sha-mo*, or *Sha-mü*, by the

Chinese ; and, by the *Mungls*, *Kobi*, or *Gobi*, which signifies a desert.

(D) Which is the twenty-ninth of the *Chinese* sexagenary cycle, and fifth of the *Mogul* cycle of twelve years, answering exactly to that of Christ 1352. *Gau-bil*.

Hau

Hau (E) : his intention was, to give peace to the world, and re-^{Thirtieth.} lief to the people. With this view, he associated to himself men Towhan- of virtue and courage : at the head of whom he reduced *Tu-temür*, or *chew*, a city of *Kyang-na*; and, the next year, took *Ho-chew*, ^{Shen-fu.} where he gave evident marks of his love for the people, his ^{Tu-chew.} greatness of soul, and his knowledge in the art of government. He was quite at a loss how to pass the *Great Kyang*, for want of barks, when an unexpected succour of 10,000 men, and 1000 vessels, came to his assistance. On board of these *Chu* embarked, with his best officers (F) ; and, passing eastward, they reduced *Nyew-chu-ki* and *Tay-ping* (as before-mentioned).

AMA, who, since the banishment of *Toto*, was prime mini-^{Ama's} ster, in 1356 became struck with the melancholy state to which ^{plot disco-} the empire was reduced ; and ashamed to see that he himself ^{vered.} had been the principal cause of it, by what he had done to ^{A. D.} debauch the emperor's mind, and divert him from affairs of ^{1356.} government. He was informed of the severe reflections which were made, in all places, on his conduct ; and saw that he was abhorred by all the honest men in the empire. Night and day these thoughts troubled his mind ; and he thought seriously how to remove the evils which he had brought in. He judged that the best way would be, to oblige *Towhan-temür* to resign the throne to the prince appointed heir ; by whom, and the empress *Ki* his mother, he was sure to be supported in his design. But, as he stood in need of other helps, he opened his mind to his father ; and, after praising the talents of the prince, assured him, that the emperor was become stupid, and incapable of governing *.

THIS discourse happened to be overheard by *Ama's* sister, ^{Banished,} who was married to *Toto Temür*, a companion of the emperor ^{and slain.} in his debauches ; and she told her husband of it. This lord was sensible that he was hated by the prince, who did not love debauchery ; and, judging that he had reason to fear his displeasure, in case he should become emperor, discovered to *Towhan-temür* the design of his minister. The emperor, who was more than any thing piqued with what *Ama* had said of his stupidity, was for putting both him and his brother *Swe-*

* GAUBIL, ubi supra, p. 293, & seqq.

(E) Now *Fong-yong-fü* in mentioned in the text, are, *Su- Kyang-nan* ; of whose district was *ta*, *Fong-que-yong*, *Shau-jong*, *Chü*, or *Hong-wü*, and most of *Tong-bo*, *Li-shan-chang*, *Chang-yu-chan*, *Teng-you*, *Keng-kun-yong*, the generals who at first asso- *Mau-quang*, and *Lyau-yor-g-gan*. ciated with him. *Gaubil*.

(F) The names of them, as

Thirtieth-five to death that instant : but, as both had been companions *Towhan* in his debauches, and their mother had nursed the emperor *semür, or Ilkchihan*, he changed his resolution ; and was content to for-
Shun-ti. bid them the palace, and have them watched. After this, *Sbo-se-kyon*, one of the ministers, was ordered to prosecute them ; and, on the repeated accusations of the great men, they were sentenced to be banished. They set out accordingly, but were killed on the road. Every body believed that *Ama* had been destroyed for putting *Toto* to death ; and few people knew the real cause of his misfortune.

Chû takes In March *Chû* defeated the *Mungls* near *Nan-king*, capital
Nan-king. of *Kyang-nan*, and took that city, into which he made his entry. Being thus become possessed of it, he did no hurt to any person : he continued the mandarins in their employments, and did good to all the poor. From this time it was easy to foresee, that, in a little while, he would be master of the greater part of *China*. With regard to the other chiefs who were in arms, the rebels had been now five years besieging the city of *Whay-gan-fü* in *Kyang-nan*, defended by *Chû-purwa* the governor, assisted by *Lyew-kyä*, an officer of merit, with a courage and constancy almost without example. But *Chû-purwa* having accused to the emperor a general, in the neighbourhood, of neglect of service ; this latter, to be revenged, resolved to sacrifice the good of the state, by giving him no assistance. For
 A. D. 1356. this purpose, at the beginning of the year 1356, he ordered *Lyew-kyä* to decamp from before *Whay-gan-fü*, under pretence of sending him to attack a detachment of the rebels ; who thereupon invested the city on all sides, dug trenches, and laid the environs under water.

Whay-gan yields. MEAN time the treacherous general remained quiet, without sending the least succours to the place, which he might easily have done. *Chû-purwa*, upon this, applied to the neighbouring governors of cities for aid, no fewer than nineteen times, yet received no answer. The inhabitants and soldiers, finding themselves thus abandoned, resolved to die with their commander, whom they loved as their father. After they had eaten all the animals, vermin, and leather, to be found in the city, they were reduced to kill those who fell down through weakness, in the streets, and feed on their flesh. At length *Whay-gan-fü*, which, before the siege, was very populous, surrendered, for want of inhabitants to defend it. *Chû-purwa* was taken, with his son *Pan-ko*, fighting to secure the western gate, and both were cut to pieces. The eulogiac history of his life says, that, during the siege, he sustained more than one hundred engagements with much valour. Altho' a foreigner, yet
 the

the Chinese still boast of the courage and fidelity of *Châ-puwa*, *Thirrenah*, and compare him to the celebrated *Chang-tsun* (G). Towhan.

In February the Song rebels having ravaged the district of *temür*, or *Si-gan-fû* in *Shen-si*; the general, and prince *Alatnasbeli*, descended from *Jagatay*, second son of *Jenghiz Khân*, had thoughts of leaving the city, when a mandarin proposed sending for *Chohantemür*, governor of *Ho-nan*. This general came with 5000 cuirassiers, and cut in pieces the body of rebels; but he was surprised to hear that *Kay-fong-fû*, capital of that province, had been taken in August by *Lyew-fû-tong*: and, for all the loss which the Song received near *Si-gan-fû*, other rebels of the same party appeared near *Fong-tfyang-fû*; but *Chohantemür*, marching twenty leagues in one day and night, fell upon and defeated them, when they least expected an attack. Mean time *Châ* made great advances in *Kyang-nan*, and, among other cities, took *Chang-chew-fû* and *Tang-chew-fû*. While the rebels of *Tsu-chew-why*'s party seized, this year, the capital of *Se-chuen*, and became very powerful in that province. Shun-ti.

THE general *Yü-que* was exceeding strongly fortified in *Gan-Gan-king*; and had placed good troops in the posts which are on taken the two banks of the Great *Kyang*, in the part where that river passes between the mountains *Sya-kû*, in the district of *Syew-fong-hyen* in *Kyang-nan*. However, *Chen-yew-lyang*, the general of *Tsu-chew-why*, attacked these important posts; and, fighting for four days continually both by land and water, made himself master of them, in spite of the stout resistance of the commander. The passage of the *Kyang* being thus laid open, the rebel general went and laid siege to *Gan-king*. *Yü-que* drove him off at first: but the rebels, who were encamped at *Jau-chew-fû* in *Kyang-si*, came and attacked the west gate, while *Yew-lyang* assaulted that of the east; and both parties had actually scaled the walls, when *Yü-que*, at the head of the townsmen, who were willing to hazard their lives, falling boldly on, slew a great number of them, and made the rest give way. For all this, the rebels returned to the charge with more fury than before; so that there was a great slaughter on both sides.

In January 1358 the body of rebels which was at *Chi-chew-by Yew-fû* in *Kyang-nan* came and attacked the east gate; that of the *lyang*.

(G) He was of *Nan-yang-fû* tained at several times in the year 757, is one of the finest actions to be met with in the Chinese history. *Gaubil*.
in *Ho-nan*, and one of the best officers of the *Tang* dynasty. The siege of *Quey-te-fû*, in the same province, which he suf-

fourth

Thirteenth South was undertaken by the troops come from *Jau-chew-fû*; *Towhan* and *Tew-lyang* assaulted that of the west; while the enemies *temür*, or fleet covered the *Great Kyang*. *Yü-que*, invested thus on all sides, after placing the officers in their respective posts; at the head of his bravest soldiers, fell on the enemy, of whom he made a great slaughter: but, while he fought with greatest ardour, the rebels forced the three gates, and took the city. *Yü-que*, perceiving this misfortune by the fires which were lighted on the occasion, and having already received ten wounds from the multitude of enemies who beset him, ran himself through with his own sword. His wife, sons, and daughters, threw themselves headlong into a well: the officers of the garrison likewise slew themselves, rather than surrender; and a considerable part of the inhabitants chose rather to cast themselves into the fire, than be subject to the rebels. *Yü-que* was esteemed and beloved by every-body: his tomb is still to be seen at *Gan-king*. He was born at *Lu-chew* in *Kyang-nan*; but was originally of the country of *Tan-gü* ^b.

Rebels
plunder
Shan-
tong.

Take the
capital.

In *March* one of the generals of the *Song* rebels spread an alarm far and near, by the reduction of *Tsi-nan-fû*, capital of *Shan-tong*. The *Tatar* commander of *Tong-chang-fû* (in the same province) abandoned both the city and country. About the same time *Mau-quey*, one of the best *Song* officers, came from *Ho-kyen-fû* (H); and, joining with him who had taken *Tsi-nin-chew* and *Tsi-nan-fû* (I), the rebels plundered *Shan-tong*, and the country about *Ta-tü*. The first detachment of the *Song* attacked an important post near that imperial city, whose commander was slain; and, the rest of the *Song* troops arriving, the court was in great apprehensions. Several of the *grandees* counselled the emperor to retire, and remove his residence elsewhere. The minister *Tay-ping* opposed that advice, and called in troops on all sides. *Lyew Kara-purwha* attacked the enemy some few leagues from the city; and, defeating them, constrained *Mau-quey*, who commanded them, to retire back to *Tsi-nan-fû*. *Tay-purwha*, a *Tatar* general in *Pe-che-li*, of

^b GAUBIL. Hist. Gentel. p. 296, & seqq.

(H) A city in the province of *Pe che-li*.

(I) In the *French* it is only *Tsi-nin* and *Tsi-nan*. The author frequently leaving out the last syllable, which distinguishes the rank of the city, the reader is not only deprived of that useful information, but

may be often led into a mistake. For instance, meeting with *Tsin-chew*, he would be apt to take it for a city of the second rank; whereas it is a city of the first rank in *Shan-tong*, only the final *Fû* is omitted: but this defect we have generally supplied.

the

the illustrious family of *Hong-kila*, being an enemy to *Tay-Thirteenth*, would not obey his orders; hereupon that minister accused him of neglecting the service, for which he was condemned to die. *Towhan-temûr*, or *Shun-ti*.

MEAN time *Chû* became admired in the southern provinces. In *December*, at the head of 100,000 men, he took *U-chew* (K); and, assembling his generals, it was determined neither to commit slaughters, nor plunder. While this head of a party (L) took good measures to maintain his footing in the south, *Quan-syen-seng*, one of the *Song* generals, penetrated into *Lyau-tong*, plundered *Lyau-yang*, and then marched into *Korea*. On his return from that country, he attacked *Shang-tû*, which he took, and burnt that beautiful city, with the magnificent palace which the emperor *Hû-pi-lay* had built there. *Shang-tû burnt*. On this occasion a mandarin presented a memorial to the emperor, wherein he exhorted his majesty to reform his manners, and follow the law of heaven (M). The mandarin was praised for his zeal, but that was all the effect of his harangue. The love of pleasure had rendered *Towhan-temûr* quite insensible of the evils which afflicted the empire; and there are but few instances to be met with, of a prince, so powerful as he, who saw his dominions lost with so little concern.

MAU-QUEY, one of the principal *Song* generals, was killed, at the beginning of the year 1359, by a *Chinese* in *Shan-dwindle*. *tong*. Hereupon several officers, who had served under him, A. D. came on purpose from *Lyau-tong* to revenge his death, and 1359. slay the murderer. These assassinations begat divisions in the *Song* party, which from that time dwindled every day.

PEREN-PUWHA Tekn, an *Igûr* prince, descended from *Itûgû* (or *Idikûr*) spoken of in the reign of *Jenghîz Khân*,

(K) This, we presume, is *U-chew-fû*, in the east borders of *Quang-fi*; but are less sure, as our author is not punctual in adding the final syllable which distinguishes the rank of cities, as we have just now observed in the preceding note.

(L) It is observable, that *Chû* is no-where called a rebel, as the other heads of parties are, nor his followers rebels, because he proved successful; and the *Chinese* looked on him as their deliverer from the *Mungl* yoke.

(M) By the law of heaven is

not to be understood the sacred books of *Fo*, or any other revelation: for the *Chinese* literati, who follow the doctrine of *Kon-fusius*, their chief philosopher, pretend to none: but by those words is meant the law of nature, or reason, which is, or may properly be called, the established religion of *China*; and of which the emperor, as well as all the officers both civil and military in the government, must be, by the constitution of that great and happy monarchy.

Thirteenth in the year 1358 commanded at *Ku-chew-fû* (N), a considerable Towhan-ble city of *Che-kyang*. When this prince, who was brave and temûr, or experienced, knew that *Sin-chew* (now *Quang-sin-fû*) in *Kyang-Shun-ti*, *fi*, was besieged, he set forward to succour that place. At his approach, *Ta-sbing-nâ*, a prince of the blood, and general *Hay-lâ-ting*, a foreigner from the west, came to meet, and *Sin-chew* gave up to him the command. After this he entered the city with his troops, in spite of *Chen-yew-lyang*, who lay before it; and, having visited all the posts, took an oath to defend it to the last extremity. *Ta-sbing-nâ*, *Hay-lâ-ting*, and the other officers, did the same: such an impression had the gallant defence of *Gan-king* and *Whay-gan-fû* made on the mind of many commanders. It is needless to relate here in detail the assaults that were sustained, and the sallies which were made: the adverse parties were continually fighting; and *Pû-wha Tekin*, with the other officers, shewed their valour in its full lustre. At length, provisions failing, the inhabitants fed on human flesh: at the same time one of the rebels got into the city by a subterranean passage. Ten days together both parties fought with great obstinacy; after which, for want of soldiers and provisions, the place was taken in June 1359; when the three commanders before-mentioned, and other officers, chose rather to die than surrender.

Kay-fong-fû *retaken*. WHILE these things were doing in *Kyang-fi*, the general *Chahan-temûr*, who had rendered himself illustrious in 1358, by several victories gained over the rebel *Song* in *Shen-fi*, assembled troops from several places; and in 1359, at a time when least expected, went and besieged *Kay-fong-fû*, capital of *Ho-nan*. This great city was then quite unprovided of every thing; and *Chahan*, after the example of *Su-pe-tay*, caused it to be inclosed with a strong palisade. One day he gave a general assault at all the gates, and took the places: but *Tsu-chew-why*, with his master *Han-lin-eul*, made their escape.

MEAN time *Peyen Temûr*, president of the tribunal of war, and *Tasbe Temûr*, general in *Che-kyang*, arrived at *Hang-chew-fû*, capital of that province; and, having gotten together great quantities of rice, sent it up the *Whang-ho* into *Ho-nan*, where it was conveyed by land to the river *Wey*: by which it arrived safely at *Tong-chew*, and from thence at *Ta-tû*. A considerable number of troops were employed to convoy this

^c GAUBIL, ubi sup. p. 299, & seqq.
Vol. IV. l. i. c. 1, & 6.

^d See before,

(N) Or *Kyu-chew-fû*, written only *Ku-chew* in the French.

provision ; so that the rebels never dared to attack them. As^{Thirteenth.} the scarcity of victuals had, for several years before, occa-^{Towhan-}sioned great famines in the imperial city, this relief came very^{temür, or} opportunely.^{Shun-ti.}

HOWEVER, the joy which this supply gave the court was damped by the loss of *Nan-chang-fu*, capital of *Kyang-si*,^{Yew-} taken by *Chen-yew-lyang*. As soon as the news reached *Tsu-*^{lyang's}
chew-why, the rebel emperor of the *Song*, he embarked on^{success.} the *Great Kyang* for that city, resolving to keep his court there. But his general, who had other designs in view, being determined to prevent him, hastened to *Kyew-kyang-fu* (in the same province) ; and, having ordered the gates to be shut, slew those who were about *Tsu-chew-why*, whom he afterwards kept as a prisoner, leaving him nothing-but the title of emperor.

THE ambition of *Ayyewshilitata*, the prince appointed heir,^{Disfranch-} caused no less troubles this year at the court of the emperor^{tions at} *Towhan-temür*, which, besides, was full of intrigues. The^{court,} prince took a great deal of pains to get his father to renounce the empire ; and this was the view also of his mother the empress *Ki*, who left no stone unturned to gain the minister *Tay-ping*, without whose concurrence nothing that way could be done. But all her efforts were ineffectual. The minister answered neither one way nor the other. The prince, upon^{caused by} this, thought to get *Tay-ping*, and other lords, accused : but^{the prince.} the great men made the emperor such pompous eulogies of this minister, that the prince found he only lost time in attempting to remove him. However, to be revenged of those grandees, he caused several of them to be accused ; and had his ends so far, that some of them were imprisoned, and sentenced to die : among them were men of wisdom and authority. This unjust proceeding gained the prince powerful enemies, and sowed division among the great men, and generals of the army.

ONE of the principal ministers was *Nyew-ti-hay*, who de-^{The minis-}scended from *Porchü*, and had governed both the eastern and^{ter retires.} western *Tartary*. His air, his prudence, and experience, joined to his high birth, and post of minister, made him appear to great advantage. He was *Tay-ping*'s intimate friend ; and it was he who supported that minister against the attacks of the prince, and the empress *Ki*. *Nyew-ti-hay* fell sick ; and, A. D. finding himself near his end, at the beginning of the year 1369, 1360. spoke in praise of *Tay-ping* ; and, told his friends, that minister could not continue long at court. He died much regretted by the emperor, and the grandees who had at heart the honour of their sovereign. *Tay-ping*, seeing himself now without a prop, and every day exposed to the intrigues of his enemies,

Thirteenth. retired to his own house. Thus *Towhan-temûr* lost his best *Towhan-servants*; and all the authority fell into the hands of two *temûr*, or miscreants: one an eunuch named *Pû-pûwha*; the other, a *Shun-ti*. great lord of *Que-lye*, called *Sho-se-kyen*. These execrable men let all be lost, never acquainting the emperor with any thing, nor minding any thing but to enrich themselves.

Two mis-
ants suc-
ceed.

Han dy-
nasty.

New dis-
tractions.

CHEN-YEW-LYANG, general of the rebel emperor *Tsû-chew-why*, having taken from his master all his authority, as before has been mentioned, in *May* this year caused him to be killed, and assumed himself the title of emperor; giving the name of *Han* to his new dynasty. Mean time new feuds daily arose among the *Mungls*. *Chahan-temûr*, governor of *Honan*, having recovered from the rebels a considerable part of *Shen-si*, pretended that those conquests ought to make a part of his government: on the other hand, *Polo-temûr*, general of the troops at *Tay-tong-fû* in *Shan-si*, alledged that *Shen-si* was in his department. These two generals were alone able to have re-established the affairs of the empire; but their disputes made a noise, and caused an irreconcilable hatred between their families. The emperor undertook to settle the limits of their jurisdictions: but *Polotemûr* thought himself injured, and took up arms against *Chahan*: his majesty afterwards gave *Polo* content, and discontented *Chahan*, who, in his turn, made war upon *Polo*: so that both parties had armies in the field to oppose each other. The prince inheritor at length brought about an agreement between them; but it was only a counterfeited one, as will appear by the sequel.

IN *August* 1361 *Chahan-temûr* retook *Tsi-nan-fû*, capital of *Shan-tong*, with the greater part of that country. At the same time *Chû* wrested *Kyew-kyang-fû*, and *Nan-chang-fû*, in *Kyang-si*, out of the hands of *Chen-yew-lyang*.

A Mungl
rebel

THE emperor *Towhan-temûr* having often sent officers into *Tartary*, to desire the princes of his family to send their troops to his assistance; *Alûwen-temûr*, eighth grandson of *Ogo-tay*, by *Myeli*, came at length with a formidable army. When this prince was some days march from the great wall, he sent to let *Towhan-temûr* know, that he came to recover the empire, which he (the emperor) held in wrong to him; and required that he would surrender to him all his right and title. Here-upon *Towhan-temûr*, instead of receiving aid against his old enemies, found himself obliged to send an army against this new one: but his forces were beaten, and forced to retire to *Shang-tû*. *Alûwen-temûr*, encouraged by this success, proposed to enter *Pe-che-li*; and was already in the neighbourhood of *Shang-tû*, when the prince inheritor marched to meet him. The officers of *Alûwen-temûr*, who certainly imagined they

delivered
up.

came

came to succour the emperor, delivered their general to the prince, ^{*Thirteenth.*} by whose order he was slain in *September*. ^{*Towhan-*}

MING-YU-CHEN, general of *Tshu-chew-why*, who had ^{*temür, or*} subdued the province of *Yun-nan*, being informed that *Chen-* ^{*Shun-ti*} *yew-lyang* was proclaimed emperor, was resolved also to be independent; and, proceeding to make conquests on his own ^{*New rebel*} account, took several places in *Se-chwen*, and the western parts ^{*emperor.*} of *Shen-si*.

In *June*, while *Chahan-temür* was besieging *I-tü* in *Shan-tong*, *Tyen-fong* proposed to visit the quarters of the imperial camp. *Chahan* followed his advice; but, when he was entered ^{*Chahan-*} into the traitor's tent, an officer ran him through with his ^{*temür*} sword. *Koko-temür*, his nephew, but son by adoption, having ^{*slain.*} succeeded him in his titles and dignities, swore to revenge his father's death. By a passage which he caused to be made under-ground, he entered *I-tü*; then seizing the principal rebels, particularly *Tyen-fong*, and him who had murdered his father, he sacrificed them to his manes. The emperor, by the death of that illustrious general, suffered a very great loss, for he was the best officer in the whole empire.

It has been observed before, that the empress *Ki*, mother ^{*Affairs of*} of the prince inheritor, was a *Korean*, and had a great ascend- ^{*Korea.*} ant over the mind of *Towhan-temür*. The relations of *Ki*, proud to see in their family a lady of so much dignity and authority, assassinated *Reyen-temür* king of *Korea*. The emperor degraded *Peyen-temür*, named another king, and declared a lord of *Ki's* family prince inheritor of that monarchy. But the *Koreans* ordered *Towhan-temür* to be told, that they could neither suffer these new impositions, nor the memory of the old king to be defamed. The empress *Ki* caused their memorial to be rejected; and a general to march into *Korea*, with forces, to execute the emperor's orders. The general, being arrived with 10,000 *Mungls* near the river *Ya-lü*, within the borders of that country, was surrounded by an army of *Koreans*, who cut them all to pieces; excepting seventeen horse, who ran full-speed to carry home the news of this misfortune.

In *January* 1363 *Ming-yu-chen* took the name of emperor ^{*The Hya*} at *Ching-tü-fü*, capital of *Se-chwen*, and gave his dynasty the ^{*dynasty.*} title of *Hya*. Mean time *Lyew-fü-tong*, who had made so great a noise, and was the foul of the *Song*, was killed in *Kyang-nan*. The rebels, who followed this party, again plundered *Shang-tü*; that is, what little the flames had left of it. What was still worse, the animosities between *Koko-temür* and *Palo-temür* every day increased, each party raised troops to oppose

• GAUBIL. ubi sup. p. 301, & seqq.

Thirteenth. the other; and these domestic quarrels did more hurt to *To-Towhan-
whan-temûr* than the revolt of the *Chineses*.

temûr, or THE most formidable enemy *Chû* had to deal with in the
Shun-ti. south was *Chen-yew-lyang*, styled emperor of the *Han*: who,
being sensibly grieved for the loss of *Nan-chang-fû* in *Kyang-
fi*, exhausted his coffers to raise new forces, and equip a fleet,
Yew-lyang with a resolution to besiege that city; which was furnished with
a good garrison, commanded by *Chû-ven-cheng*, one of the
best generals belonging to *Chû*. He caused bucklers to be made
for defence of his soldiers against arrows and stones: after
this, he undertook the siege, which he commanded in person;
and, having given several assaults, at length mounted the
walls, from whence he shouted for joy, concluding that he
was already master of the city: but he was much surprised
to see new retrenchments within, very strongly fortified, and
consequently that he had new fatigues to undergo.

defeated MEAN time *Chau-te-sbeng*, one of *Chû-ven-cheng's* lieute-
by Chû; nants, found a conveniency of sending expresses to inform *Chû*
of the danger they were in. On this notice, *Chû*, without
delay, caused a fleet to be fitted out at *Nan-king*; on which he
embarked 200,000 soldiers, commanded by his best officers,
and put himself at their head. Then setting sail, soon arrived
with his forces at *Hû-kew* (O). As soon as *Chen-yew-lyang*
was informed of his enemy's approach, he raised the siege of
Nan-chang-fû, which for eighty-five days he had closely be-
leaguered; and gave orders to go and attack *Chû*, whose arma-
ment he met in the lake *Po-yang*, near the mountain *Kan-lan*
(P), on the fourteenth of *September* (Q). *Chû*, having di-
vided his naval force into twelve squadrons, *Su-ta*, *Chang-yu-
chun*, and other of his commanders, attacked and routed the
first troops of *Chen-yew-lyang*; who began to fear the conse-
quences of this first defeat. Next day all the squadrons united,
in order to come to a general battle. During the fight, *Chû*
took advantage of a high north-east wind, and burnt one
hundred of the enemy's ships; in which several of *Yew-lyang's*
brothers perished.

routed and ON the seventeenth (R), *Yew-lyang* attacked *Chû* with fresh
gain. fury: but, after the fight had continued from seven in the

(O) *Hû-kew*, signifies the
mouth of the lake; for here one
enters from the Great *Kyang* in-
to the *Po-yang Hû*, or lake of *Po-
yang*. It is a town of *Kyang-fi*,
twelve or thirteen leagues to the
east of *Kyew-kyang-fû*. *Gaubil*.

(P) In the lake, five or six
leagues south-west, or S. S. W.
of *Jau-chew-fû*. *Gaubil*.

(Q) Called the day *U-ise* of
the seventh month. *Gaubil*.

(R) The day called *Sin-man*.
Gaubil.

morning

morning to eleven o'clock (S), he was defeated; and his loss^{Thirteenth.} was so great, that his insupportable pride was confounded at^{Lowhan-} the sight of his army. One of his generals attempted to seize^{temûr, or} the post of the mountain *Hyay* (T); but *Châ* ordered him to^{Shun-ti.} be inclosed, so that he could not retire. The same night his fleet cast anchor at *Tso-li*, and continued three days facing that of *Yew-lyang*; who, on the eighteenth of *October* (U), resolving to break thro' his enemies at any risque, made an attempt: but *Châ* prevented his design, and attacked him on all sides from five to seven in the evening (X). The battle was fought with equal obstinacy on both sides: at length, *Yew-lyang* having been killed with an arrow, his fleet dispersed. The son, whom he had appointed his heir, was taken prisoner; and his generals, with their troops, their horses, and barks, surrendered to the victor. However, *Chang-ting-pyen*, one of his generals, escaped by night, in a small bark, with the corpse of *Yew-lyang*, and one of his sons, named *Chen-li*. This famous victory did great honour to *Chû*; who not only gained a rich booty, but became considerably more powerful by the accession of so many forces.

REW-LYANG was one of the greatest captains of his *Newtrou-* time; and forty-four years old when he died: but his death^{bles arise.} was of small advantage to the *Mungls*, whose affairs grew daily worse. A *Chinese* grandee, abusing the weakness of their power in the south, set up for himself in *Sâ-chew-fû*, a great and rich city of *Kyang-nan*; refusing to let the imperial commissioners have the provisions which they wanted to send from thence to the court. On the other hand, *Polo-temûr*, notwithstanding the emperor's commands, entered with his troops into the district of *Koko-temûr*: but his army was routed, and two of his best generals taken prisoners. Mean time the prince inheritor, who could never forgive *Tay-ping* for having dissuaded his father from resigning the empire, set on *Sho-se-kyen* to accuse him. That minister, who was void of honour, undertook the iniquitous task in *November*, and *Tay-ping* was banished into *Tibet*: but the prince procured him to be slain on the road^f.

^f GAUBIL. ubi sup. p. 304, & seqq.

(S) From the hour of the half S. S. W. of *Hû-keu*. *Gan-*
Dragon, which takes up from *bil*.

(U) The day *Gan-fu* of the
seven to nine; to the hour of eighth month. *Gaubil*.

(X) From the hour of the
the *Horse*, which includes from

eleven to one o'clock. *Gaubil*. *Dragon* to that of the *Hen*. *Gaub*.

Thirteenth. Two eunuchs and *Sho-se-kyen*, who were at this time absolute masters of the will both of the emperor and prince *Towhan-temûr*, or *yewsbilitata*, got a mandarin, celebrated for his probity, to *Shun-ti*. be turned out of place. *Chen-tsû-jin*, a censor of the empire, presented no fewer than three petitions to *Towhan-temûr*, exhorting him to put from court the two eunuchs and *Sho-se-kyen*; to alter his conduct, and open at length his eyes to the evils which he had brought on the empire by his irregularities: in short, he told him the ruin both of the empire, and his family, would quickly arrive, unless he followed the rules of virtue. *Tsû-jin* was seconded by other mandarins: but all their representations were ill received; and *Chen-tsû-jin*, in particular, was banished to *Kan-chew* in *Shen-si*. As this was in *December*, he suffered much on the road by the rigour of the season: his exile was the cause of great disaffection; and the *Chineses* complained loudly of these acts of injustice.

Chû pro- IN *January* 1364 the generals of *Chû* proposed to have him
claimed proclaimed emperor; but he declined it, and at first was con-
king. tent with the title of king of *U*. In this quality he appointed
A. D. *Li-sben-chong* and *Suta* his prime ministers and generals: he
 1364. afterwards named other officers; and, having assembled the
 grandees, told them, "That they ought to consider, that he
 "had not accepted the title of king, but on condition to en-
 "deavour to make the *Chineses* happy: and that it was neces-
 "sary, in the beginning of his reign, to agree upon good
 "laws; in which point the *Mungls* had been wanting. With
 "regard to the rites and ceremonies, said he, used in religion,
 "I am of opinion, that, in the first place, each of us ought
 "to think seriously of reforming his own heart. He added,
 "As you have been my dear companions, assist me; have no
 "thing else in view; think only of beginning well."

Takes Vũ- IN *February* that prince set forward, to continue in person
chang-fû. the siege of *Vũ-chang-fû*, capital of *Hû-quang*. The city was
 taken: and *Chen-li*, who had succeeded his father *Chen-yew-lyang*, surrendered, with the officers of his party. *Chû* gave orders to relieve those in misery, encourage the literati, and neither plunder nor destroy any-body. This wise conduct procured him an easy conquest both of *Kyang-si* and *Hû-quang*. The *Chineses* submitted to him in crowds: and were proud to see a prince so generous, and moderate in his passions; a friend to men of letters; affable, and studious to govern the nation according to antient laws and customs.

Cruelty of MEAN time the court of *Towhan-temûr* was divided into
the prince, several powerful parties, who thought of nothing but how to supplant and destroy each other. The prince inheritor, instead of seriously endeavouring to gain the love and esteem of the officers

officers, in order to engage them to support the throne, minded *Thirteenb*: only to gratify his private hatred against several lords. He Towhan-made use of the eunuch *Pû-pûwha*, and the minister *Sho-se-temûr*, or *kyen*, to accuse whomsoever he would. They invented crimes; *Shun-ti*. and were not ashamed to imprison, and even put to death, great lords, whose only misdemeanour was, their opposing the criminal intrigues of those two instruments of evil. One of these unjustly-accused lords was *Lau-ti-sha*, who, to save his life, retired to *Polo-temûr* at *Tay-ting-fû* in *Shan-si*. The emperor was informed of the innocence of those persons, and of the murmurs which every-where were heard. Many representations were made thereupon to the prince: but *Ayyewsbilitata* was little acquainted with his true interests; and, instead of desisting from his accusations to mind the public good, engaged himself very indiscretely in measures, which, he might easily have foreseen, would complete the ruin of the empire (X).

KOKO-TEMUR was a mortal enemy to *Polo-temûr*; and each of them had his friends and agents at the court. *Injustice.* April the prince caused the general *Tûkyen-temûr* to be accused; and, when *Polo-temûr*, his intimate friend, pleaded his innocence, instead of hearing his representations, they deprived himself of the dignity of general at *Tay-ting-fû*. As *Polo-temûr* knew that this order had been given, without the emperor's knowledge, by the brigues of *Pû-pûwha* and *Sho-se-kyen*, he did not obey it; and, having conferred with the accused lords, took up arms, with a resolution to oblige the emperor *Checked by* *Polo*; to drive those from about him who gave him such bad counsel. *Tûkyen-temûr* being detached to possess the post of *Kuyong-quan*, the prince marched from *Ta-tû* to oppose that general; but was repulsed, and obliged to retire into *Tartary*. Hereupon *Tûkyen* appeared before the imperial city; which threw every thing there into confusion. This made the emperor inquire into the affair; and, having thoroughly informed himself, sent for *Tûkyen*, restored *Polo-temûr*, and delivered up

(X) To one who has read the history of the former *Mung* emperors, it may seem surprising how this, who was so weak and bad an one, should be suffered to reign so long, or the prince to destroy so many great men by false accusations. But all this may be accounted for from the nature of a court where the

head is bad, and the majority of ministers and courtiers are corrupt: for then the head will never want evil instruments, who will assist him in all his designs; and, for reward or ambition, destroy the good men, and even one another, to serve his purposes, and support his tyranny.

Thirteenth. to him, both *Pápáwha* and *Sho-se-kyen*. After this, the army *Towhan* under *Túkyen* was sent back to *Tay-tong-fú*; and the prince *temúr*, or inheritor returned to court by his father's order^s.

Shun-ti.

who be-
comes mi-
nister,

THE prince, who now thought of nothing but to be re-
venged on *Polo-temúr*, made choice of *Koko-temúr* to execute
his design. He raised an army of 100,000 men, divided into
three bodies; and sent a general, with 40,000 of them, to
attack *Tay-tong-fú*. *Polo-temúr*, who had friends and troops
every-where, left officers to guard that city; and took mea-
sures with *Lau-ti-sba* and *Túkyen-temur* to make himself master
of the emperor's palace. He put himself at the head of his
troops, and ordered *Ku-yon-quang* to be taken. In *September*
the prince marched to oppose him, but his army was routed;
and, not thinking himself safe at *Ta-tú*, whither *Polo-temúr*
followed him with expedition, he left it again with a body of
troops, and retired to *Ta-ywen-fú*, capital of *Shan-si*. *Polo-temúr*,
being arrived at the city, left his forces without the
gates; and, on the ninth of the same month (Y), entering the
palace, followed by several lords, presented himself before the
emperor, on his knees, and assured him, that, with regard to
what had passed, the fault was none of his. *Towhan-temúr*,
who on this occasion let fall tears, declared him generalissimo
and prime minister, *Lau-ti-sba* and *Túkyen* had posts under
him; and, in all the tribunals, they had men of their own
party.

and master
at court.

A. D.

1366.

POLO-TEMUR began his ministry by causing *Tolo-temúr*,
the principal companion and instrument of the emperor's de-
bauches, to be killed: he drove the lamas from court, and
forbad the exercise of their religion. Had this general stopped
there, things might have gone well: but he passed the bounds
of prudence; and, without the advice of his best friends, at-
tempted to get the prince inheritor set aside, and *Koko-temúr*
degraded. Besides this, he gave himself up to all kinds of
debauchery, and that was what ruined him. In *March 1366*
the prince took the field, with a resolution either to perish, or
destroy his enemy: his army was numerous, and commanded
by *Koko-temúr*, a general of consummate experience. As soon
as *Polo-temúr* was informed of *Ayyewsbilitata's* march, he caused
the empress *Ki* to come out of the palace; and compelled her
to sign an order for the prince to come to her: but he did
not think fit to obey it.

^s GAUBIL; ubi sup. p. 307, & seqq.

(Y) The day *U-tse* of the seventh month. *Gaubil*.

WHILE

WHILE *Täkyen-temür* was on his march to *Shang-tü*, to ^{Thirteenth.} oppose the prince's party, *Yefü* was detached to make head ^{Towhan-} against *Koko-temür* : but, when he arrived at *Lyang-hyang*, he ^{temür, or} took counsel with the officers, in which it was resolved not to ^{Shun-ti.} obey *Polo-temür*, as being a rebel. *Yefü* went on to *Yong-ping-fü* (in *Pe-che-li*), from whence he sent an express to *Koko-temür* ; and then marched into *Lyau-tong*, to confer with several princes of the blood, who were in those parts. The minister, incensed at this desertion of *Yefü*, sent an army to attack him : but, he having defeated it, and slain the general, *Polotemür*, more enraged still, marched himself; yet was obliged to return without doing any thing, by a heavy rain which continued for three days and nights successively. Mean ^{Insuared} time the empress *Ki*, knowing the foible of *Polo*, procured him ^{by plea-} several young girls of great beauty, by whose means she ob- ^{suress} tained her liberty, and returned to the palace ; where, underhand, she effectually wrought the destruction of that minister, by amusing and insuaring him with the gratification of his passions.

THINGS being in this posture, *Ho-shang*, one of the principal lords of the court, obtained secret orders from the emperor to kill *Polo-temür* ; in which enterprize *Shang-tü-ma*, *Kinna-hay*, and *Petar*, three young lords of resolution, engaged to assist him. They took the opportunity one day in *September*, when that minister came to acquaint his majesty with the reduction of *Shang-tü*, in *Tartary*, by the general *Täkyen-temür*. The emperor being at this time in a great hall, with many courtiers about him, *Petar* separated himself from the ^{is slain.} rest ; and, placing himself at the door, slew *Polo-temür* (Z) as he was about to enter. *Lau-ti-sha* hereupon fled towards the north : but, a proclamation being issued to kill him, he was taken, and put to death. *Tükyen-temür*, who was then at *Shang-tü*, and did not hear of what had happened at *Ta-tü* till several days after, would also have made his escape with several cuirassiers ; but was taken and slain. The gates of *Ta-tü* were shut for three days, on account of these troubles : but, in the mean time, several detachments of the prince's army arriving in the neighbourhood, these troops scaled the walls, opened one of the gates, and plundered great part of the city.

(Z) He was of the hord *Shan-fü*, and one of the chief *Mungl* families, descended from *Polo-tay*, an illustrious officer in the army of *Jenghiz Khán*. His father *Tashe-temür*, grandfather *Yefütar*, and great grandfather *Ngew-lyen*, were famous commanders in chief of the imperial armies. *Gaubil*.

TOWHAN-

Thirteenth. **TOWHAN-TEMUR**, having thus destroyed his new minister (or rather master), sent his head to the prince his son, *temûr*, or with orders to repair to court. He came escorted by *Koko-Shun-ti. temûr*, who was appointed minister. In the tenth month he was declared regulo, and generalissimo of the armies. He appeared at court with a train and equipage almost equal to that of the emperor. The prince made instances, that he might be permitted to carry on the war in the southern provinces : but his motion was not complied with. About this time the true empress, who was of the *Hongkila* family, dying without any children living, *Ki*, who before was only nominally empress, in the twelfth month succeeded to the rank and honours of the deceased.

Koko made minister.

Causes At the beginning of this year *Koko-temûr*, going into *Honnewbroils. nan*, had great disputes with the generals of the province of *Shen-si*, who would never acknowledge his authority ; so that at length they came to hostilities. Thus the empire of the *Twen* was attacked in all manners, both within and without : The great men lived independent ; the emperor minded nothing but pleasure ; and the prince, besides other great faults, had not talents to re-unite the minds of the people, and bring them to labour in concert for the good of the public ^a.

Affairs of the rebels. At the beginning of the same year also the *Whang-ho*, by its precipitate course northward, made great ravages in *Shan-tong* and *Pe-che-li*. *Ming-yu-chen*, pretended emperor of *Hya*, died in the third month ; and was succeeded by one of his sons, no more than ten years of age. *Han-lin-eul*, who called himself emperor of the *Song*, died also in the thirteenth month. With regard to the proceedings of *Chû*, he took *Whay-gan-fû* in the fourth month ; and caused a search to be made for old books in the fifth. In the ninth month he sent two generals, with 200,000 men, to make war upon *Chang-sbi-cheng*, who set up for king in one part of *Che-kyang* and *Kyang-nan*. They beat his troops four times, and took *Hû-chew-fû*, one of the most beautiful and rich cities of *Che-kyang*. At the same time *Chû* made himself master of *Hang-chew-fû*, capital of that province, *Shau-hing-fû*, *Kya-hing-fû*, and other important places. In the twelfth month he caused one palace to be built for his court, and another to honour his ancestors in.

The prince in power. To return to the distracted affairs of the *Mungl* court. The prince being near *Ta-tû*, in the year 1367, the empress *Ki*, his mother, sent a trusty lord to compliment him, and tell him, that she pressed *Towhan-temur* to resign the empire. *Koko-temur*, who knew this design, sent the escort troops into *Hon-*

A. D.
1367.

^a GAUBIL, ubi sup. p. 309, & seqq.

nan; and, finding the prince appeared discontented, was obliged to go into that province himself. The emperor, who came to be informed of the differences which subsisted between *Koko* and the generals of *Shan-fi*, sent an officer to decide them: but that minister slew the officer, and seemed inclined to become independent. *Towhan-temûr* was, on the other hand, solicited to abdicate the empire: but, altho' he still refused to part with the title, yet he gave to the prince the whole power, declaring him generalissimo of the armies, and lieutenant-general of the state. This new promotion made *Koko-temûr* take new measures: he opposed the emperor's orders in favour of *Ayyewsbilitata*; but, at the same time, was accused by one of his discontented officers. Hereupon *Towhan-temûr* cashiered *Koko-temûr*, disposed of his employments to others, and appointed officers to command the troops of that general. The discarded minister retired to *Che-shû* (A), a strong place in *Shan-fi*, fully resolved to be revenged on the first occasion. All this could not pass without exciting great troubles; and the *Mungl* affairs grew worse than ever.

WHILE *Towhan-temûr* lost all by his want of conduct, every thing succeeded with the prudent *Chû*. This prince, tho' of an obscure birth, and brought up from his infancy among mean people (B), yet discovered most of the grand qualities which have rendered immortal the memory of the greatest princes. He published the form of the *Chinese* government which he proposed to introduce; and took for a model that which the literati boast of so much in *Tau*, *Shun*, and the three families (or dynasties) of *Hya*, *Shang*, and *Chû*: he instituted the examinations for men of letters, and military officers; nor did he forget what concerned the tribunal of mathematics. He caused a diligent search to be made for men of merit; rewarding, like a true king, both such person found,

(A) In the Jesuit's map it is *Tse-chew*.

(B) He had been a servant in a monastery of bonzas; some say, in so mean a quality as that of scullion, under the cook: in which station he continued for many years, till, in the time of the troubles, he quitted the kitchen for the army. Many such heroes might be found among the commonalty every-where, had they opportunity to exert their genius. *Chû*, sprung from

the dregs of the people, was the shame of emperors sprung from emperors; and the shade thrown by his reign on that of *Towhan-temûr*, is the stronger for the lowness of his birth. Of the same kind is the famous *Laith*, *Leith*, or *Leix*, who, from a brasier, became king of *Irân*, or *Persia* at large, about the year of Christ 871, and was one of the best monarchs who ever sat on the throne of that kingdom.

and

Thirteenth. and the person finding. All those were acceptable to him who Towhan- had any talent for military affairs, or navigation, for arts, *temür-* or sciences, or mathematics. He was at no idle expence to serve *Shun-ti.* his pleasures; and had an aversion to every thing which tended to effeminate princes. In the palace, which he built at *Nan-* *king,* he forbade laying out too much in costly furniture, and foreign curiosities; especially prohibiting, under severe penalties, immodest pictures and statues. He won the hearts of the mechanics, husbandmen, and other classes of the people, to whom he disdained not to talk himself, and discourse about matters relating to them. He took particular care also to make those amends who had suffered damages, and give them considerable relief. Besides these good qualities, he was endowed with a more than common genius; so that, by the conferences only which he had with the literati, he soon became master of all that is essential in the *Chinese* sciences. His valour, military skill, and greatness of soul, joined to his equity in the distribution of commendations, favours, and employments, made him highly esteemed by the officers, who were strongly attached to him¹.

*Reduces
the south.*

In the ninth month the generals *Suta* and *Chang-yu-chun* reduced *Sü-chew-fü*, and the whole province of *Kyang-nan*. They likewise took prisoners *Chang-sbi-cheng*, and all those of his party, with nine princes of the blood; who were all conducted to *Nan-king*, where *Chang-sbi-cheng* died soon after. As for the princes, *Chü* ordered them to be treated with honour; and sent them, under the care of a mandarin, to the court of *Towhan-temür*. After this expedition, troops were transported by sea into the province of *Quang-tong*, which, with that of *Quang-si*, submitted of their own accord: *Fo-kyen* did the same.

*Generals
sent north-
ward.*

THE south being thus reduced, *Chü* commanded *Suta* and *Chang-yu-chun* to march into the north, at the head of 250,000 men, almost all horse. These two generals, being arrived in *Shan-tong*, published a manifesto, well calculated to excite the *Chinese* in favour of *Chü*, and render *Towhan-temür* odious. In this manifesto they set forth, That it belonged to the *Chinese* to govern the barbarians, and not to the barbarians to govern the *Chinese*. After this, they fall on the crimes of the *Mungl* emperors; and the faults of their government since the time of *Timür*, who succeeded *Hü-pi-lay*.

*Their ma-
nifesto.*

They shew, " that those princes have set aside the order of succession: that brothers have poisoned their brothers; and " a son taken his father's wives: that there is no subordina-

¹ GAUBIL, ubi sup. p. 312, & seqq.

"tion : that they have destroyed the *Chinese* rules of govern-^{Thirteenth:}
 "ment; and paid no regard to the doctrine (or religion) of Towhan-
 "their nation. After this, they conclude that the time is *temûr*, or
 "come to drive foreigners out of the empire. Here they *Shun-ti*.
 "draw the character of *Chû*, whom they declare to be the
 "person chosen by heaven for the master of *China*; and in-
 "stance what the people may promise themselves from the
 "government of so great a prince."

THIS manifesto, spread thro' the provinces, had a very great *Subdue*
 effect. *Suta* and his colleague reduced the whole province of *Shan-*
Shan-tong, without any trouble. During this time the dis-*tong*.
 tractions continued in those of *Shen-si*, *Shan-si*, and *Ho-nan*;
 occasioned by the dispute between *Koko-temûr* and the gene-
 rals of *Shen-si*, concerning their respective jurisdictions: nor
 had the emperor authority enough to put an end to it.

WE are now come to the first day of the year 1368, which *Chû pro-*
 was one of the most solemn days which the city of *Nan-king* claimed
 ever beheld. Besides the rejoicings made on account of its *emperor*.
 ushering in the year, *Chû* chose that day to have himself de-
 clared emperor of *China*. He went to the temple of heaven, ^{A. D.}
 to make a solemn sacrifice; declared his eldest son prince in-
 heritor, and made several wise regulations. They give him
 the title of *Hong-vû* (C); and the year 1368 is reckoned for
 the first of his reign. After this, his troops entered *Ho-nan*,
 and presently reduced that province. In the second month
Towhan-temûr, instead of endeavouring to stop the rapid pro-
 gress of *Chû*, sent troops against *Koko-temûr*. This general
 hereupon retired to *Ping-yang-fû*, in the south part of *Shan-si*;
 and the other generals of the *Ywen* (or *Mungls*) withdrew in-
 to other cities: more to defend themselves against one another,
 than against the troops of *Chû*; whom we must now call *Hong-*
vû, or *Tay-tsû*, which is the title given by the *Chinese* to this
 founder of the *Tay-ming* dynasty. ^{1368.}

IN the third month the troops of *Hong-vû* reduced the *Approaches*
 fortrefs and gorge of the mountains of *Tong-quan*; and, in ^{the capital.}
 the seventh intercalary month, *Koko-temûr* and *Te-sû* were set
 by *Towhan-temûr* at the head of affairs. Hereupon the ge-
 nerals of *Shen-si*, the most illustrious of whom was *Li-tso-tsi*,
 retired towards the west. Mean time the forces of *Hong-vû*
 entered *Pe-che-li*, from *Ho-nan* on one side, and *Shan-tong* on
 the other. In the same month *Suta* and *Chang-fu-chun* de-

(C) He gave his dynasty the *bay* were called *Daymen Khân*,
 name of *Tay-ming*. *D'Herbelot*, that is (says *Gaubil*), king of
 p. 991, says, that, in the time *Tay-ming* (or *Tay-min*).
 of *Famerlane*, the kings of *Khat-*

Thirteenth. seated *Poyen-temûr*, one of the *Mungl* generals, who was slain *Towhan* in the battle, fighting valiantly. After this action they took *temûr*, or the city of *Tong-chew*, but twelve miles to the east of *Ta-tû*; *Shun-ti*. and then prepared to attack the capital of the *Mungl* empire, now reduced, in *China*, to very narrow bounds. Hereupon *Shelyemen*, one of the ministers, went to the temple of ancestors; and, taking the tablets from thence, retired with the prince towards the north.

The Ywen with-draw. THE 25th of *August* *Towhan-temûr* nominated prince *Temûr-purwha* regent of the empire of *China*; and *King-tong* appointed for defence of the imperial city. Next morning, assembling the great men, princes, and princesses, he declared to them, that he would retire into *Tartary*. *Temûr-purwha*, and others, fell on their knees, and, weeping, offered to march out of *Ta-tû*, and attack the enemy; adding, that it was better to die, than dishonour thus, by flight, the imperial family. The emperor was inflexible; and, the night following, in the midst of his guards, attended by his wives, and those of the prince, as well as by other princes and princesses, took his way towards the north. *Chang-yu-chun*, informed of *Towhan-temûr*'s flight, pursued the imperial family as far as the river *Pe* (D); and took prisoner *Maytilipala*, eldest son of the prince inheritor (E). The nineteenth of *October* *Hong-wû*'s army entered *Ta-tû*, after some small resistance.

Their dynasty ends. THUS ended the empire of the *Mungls* in *China*, after it had continued 162 years, reckoning from the first of *Jenghiz Khan* in 1206, to 1368; when *Towhan-temûr* withdrew out of *China*, and *Hong-fû* finished his conquest, by reducing the imperial city. The *Chineses* reckon only nine emperors of the *Mungls* who reigned in *China*, as hath been before remarked. How many the *Mungls* compute, does not distinctly appear; for *Gaubil* does not expressly mention their number. He only says, in a note at the end of their history, that, if *Asûkipa* or *Tyen-sbun* be placed among them, the dynasty of the *Ywen* will have fifteen emperors. But this cannot be, because, as that dynasty begins with *Hû-pi-lay*, the four preceding monarchs must be taken away, which will reduce the fifteen to eleven: and if the reign of *Asûkipa*, which is doubtful, be deducted, there will be but ten; which is still one more than is found on the

(D) *Pe-bo*, or *Pay-bo*, which runs by *Tong-chew* above-mentioned, and has its source a few leagues to the north of *Tû-she-keru*, an important post of the great wall in *Pe-che-li*, near the gate of the same name; mis-

printed, in the *French*, *Touchenco*. *Gaubil*.

(E) *Hong-wû* treated with much distinction those *Mungl* princes who either fell into his hands, or surrendered to him. *Gaubil*.

Chinese

Chinese list, where *Ning-tsong*, or *Ilin-chipan*, brother of *To-Thirteenth. whantemür* (F), whose reign was but of two months, is like-
 Towhan-temür, or Shun-ti.

BUT to return to *Towhan-temür*, who, though deprived of the most valuable part of his dominions, still continued great *khan* or emperor of the *Mungls*, and reigned over *Tartary*. This prince retired, with his court, to *Ing-chang*, a city then considerable, twenty-five or thirty leagues to the north-east of *Shang-té*. Where he lived two years; and then died in the fourth month of the 1370, in the fifty-first of his age, after he had reigned thirty-five years as emperor of *China* and *Tartary*, and thirty-seven as *khan* of *Tartary**: so that his reign was longer than those of all his predecessors in *China* put together, excepting *Hü-pi-lay*; which is the more to be wondered at, considering the tyranny and weakness of his government.

AFTER the death of *Towhan-temür*, his son *Ayyewshilitata* ascended the throne of the *Mungls*; and removed his court to *Karakorum*; where, according to the *Chinese* history, he founded a new dynasty, called the *Ywen* of the north (G). But here, for want of materials, we must break off the history of the successors of *Jenghiz Khan* in *Tartary*; our author *Gaubil* having carried it down no lower than the death of *Towhan-temür*. He indeed, in concluding that prince's reign, gave hopes of obliging the world also with those of his successors: but we do not find he ever performed that task (H). Nor are we able to supply the defect from other quarters: for *de la Croix* has furnished only a bare list of *khans* descended from *Tuli*, fourth son of *Jenghiz Khan*, who reigned in *Tartary*; which, for the reader's satisfaction, we have here inserted.

1. *Mangü Khan*, son of *Tuli*.

2. *Kublay*, brother of *Mangü*. He was succeeded by

List of khans,

* GAUBIL, p. 315. & seqq.

(F) *Ilin-chipan* must be included in the fifteen emperors mentioned by *Gaubil*; otherwise there would be only thirteen, on leaving *Asükipa* out of the list.

(G) It might be reckoned a new dynasty by the *Chinese*, as having no dominion over them: but must be considered only as a continuation of the same dynasty, with regard to the *Mungls* and *Tartary*.

(H) This is the more to be regretted; because, in all likelihood, the missionaries will have no more footing in *China*; and, if they should, none hereafter may be qualified for the purpose: for, of all the Jesuits, or other missionaries into that empire, not one of them seems to have had either the judgment, taste, or application, for a work of this nature, as is found in our author *Gaubil*.

3. *Timûr Khân*, his grandson, surnamed *Olajaytû*, son of *Hakim*, or *Jetekem*; who reigned twelve years; and died in 1306.

4. *Kusbilay* (I) *Khân*, son of *Jenesek*, son of *Termebilay*, son of *Jeketem*, son of *Kublay*.

5. *Togyay*, son of *Kusbilay*.

6. *Tayzi Khân*, son of *Nilûk*, surnamed *Bilektû*.

7. *Anûsbîrwan*, son of *Dara*, cousin of *Tayzi*. This emperor was a prince of excellent morals; but he gave too much power to the governors of provinces, who acted as sovereigns, and caused many troubles in the empire.

8. *Tokatmir*, son of *Timûr Khân*.

9. *Bisûrdar*.

10. *Ayke*, son of *Bisûrdar*.

11. *Ilenk Khân*..

12. *Keytmûr*.

13. *Arkitmûr*.

14. *Elchi Timûr Khân*; who went to *Tamerlan*, and lived in his court, till the death of that prince; after which, he returned to *Olugh-yurt* (K), where he ascended the throne in 1405.

15. *Waltay Khân*; who descended in a direct line from prince *Artikbûga*, fourth son of *Tuli Khân*.

16. *Orday*, son of *Orday*, son of *Malek Timûr*.

17. and last, *Aday*, son of *Arkitmûr*.

THESE two last khâns lived so obscurely, that they are looked on in the same light with their great ancestor *Artikbûga*, who never was numbered among the khâns. From this time, there is no more talk, at *Olugh-yurt*, of the princes descended from *Jenghiz Khân*; but only of those descended from *Kublay*, and who remained kings of *China*; of whom there is mention made¹.

from ori-
ental au-
thors, .. WE know not well what judgment to pass on this list of khâns, taken from the oriental authors: for it does not appear, from the *Chinese* history, that there were any khâns in the eastern part of *Tartary*, much less at *Karakorum*, during the dominion of the *Mungls* over *China*; who governed that vast region by their generals, or lieutenants, and seem to have resided at *Karakorum*. And this is the more probable, as we find *Ayyewsbilitata*, in the year 1370, removed his court to that

¹ DE LA CROIX, hist. Gengh. p. 400, & seq.

(I) This is doubtless the same name with *Hosbila*, in the *Chinese* history; but we will not say 'tis the name of the same person.

(K) *Olugh-yurt*, a city but a little way distant from *Karakorum*. De la Croix, p. 397.

capital in *Tartary*; which can scarcely be supposed to be fact, in case there was any khân of a collateral branch reigning there at the same time, as, according to *de la Croix's* list, there must have been. Nay, according to that list, they continued to reign there, without interruption, during four successions, after the fifteenth century; for *Elchi Timûr Khân* is said to have ascended the throne in 1405.

It therefore seems most likely, that the above-mentioned *not exact*. list of khâns is spurious, or, at best, drawn up by the oriental historians, from uncertain reports and memoirs, wherein governors of provinces, or the princes of certain powerful tribes, have been mistaken for the khâns of the *Mungls*; and the rather, because *D'Herbelot* informs us, that the only successors of *Jenghiz Khân*, who are mentioned by the oriental historians, with due exactness, are those of the branch which reigned in *Irân*, or *Persia* at large; of whom that author gives a list, and of none else ^m.

HOWEVER that be, we cannot but wonder that Mr. *Guigues*, who undertook to give an abstract of the history of the *Turks* and *Mogols*, from the *Chinese* annals; should, in speaking of the expulsion of these latter out of *China*, and their re-establishment in *Tartary*, quit those guides to follow the above erroneous list of princes given by *de la Croix*. His words are; "The posterity of *Kublay*, who reigned in *China*, maintained their footing there, till *Hong-vû*, founder of a new *Chinese* dynasty, drove out *Tokatmûr Khân*. The son of this latter, named *Bisûrdar Khân*, repassed into *Tartary*, retiring beyond the great desert; where he fixed a new dynasty, or rather continued the *Mogol* branch, whilst another branch, descended from *Hûlakû Khân*, reigned in *Persia*."

THIS is related by Mr. *Guigues*, as if taken from the *Chinese* *Gingues* historians, whom he quotes in the same place. But it appears, *confuted*. from the above history, that the emperor and his son, who were forced out of *China* by *Hong-vû*, were different princes: nor does *de la Croix* say *Tokatmir* reigned in *China*; or that *Bisûrdar* either passed from thence into *Tartary*, or was his son. Besides, if that list was to be followed, as nine *Mogol* emperors reigned in *China*, *Ayke*, the tenth khân, must have been him who was expelled that country: for the princes mentioned therein are reckoned not from *Kublay*, but from his father *Tuli*. What renders Mr. *Guigues's* memoir of less service is, that he does not, by references, or otherwise, sufficiently distinguish the words of different authors, either from one another, or his own conjectures.

^m D'HERBEL, bibl. orient. p. 382. art. Genghez Khanian.

^a GUIGUES, mem. sur l'orig. des Huns & des Turcs.

IN fine, for want of a continued history of the successors of *Jenghiz Khân* in the east parts of *Tartary*, we must content ourselves with such fragments of it as are to be met with, and those relating to affairs only near our own times.

C H A P. XIV.

History of the Mungls, after their Expulsion out of China, to the present.

*The
Mungls,
driven*

ARYEWSHILITATA succeeded his father *Towhan-temâr* in the empire of *Tartary*, as hath been already mentioned: but we meet with nothing concerning the reign of either him or his successors, for above 200 years after; excepting that he, and the other princes of his family, had great wars to maintain against *Hong-vû*, and several of his successors, in *China*. *Sû-ta*, *Chang-yu-chun*, *Li-ven-chong*, and other generals of that nation, passed the great wall, and harassed the *Tartars* with frequent invasions^a. Nor were the latter on their side backward, when any opportunity offered, to repay the injury, and endeavour to recover their footing in *China*; the loss of whose rich and fruitful provinces they greatly regretted. As the extracts relating to the *Ming* dynasty, given by *Couplet* and *Du Halde*, speak of the wars which the *Chineses* had with the *Tatars*, during the reigns of those princes, it may not be amiss to bring together here, what little those authors say concerning them.

*beyond the
desert,*

AFTER the death of *Hong-vû*, who drove the *Mungls* out of *China*, and prosecuted the war against them in *Tartary*; *Ching-tsu*, or *Yong-lo*, his fourth son, and third emperor, pursuing vigorously what his father had begun, pushed them beyond the great kobi, or desert, above 200 leagues north of the great wall, with a design to extirpate them: but, on his return from his third expedition (A), he was prevented, by death, which happened in 1425^b. The *Mungls*, taking heart after *Yong-lo*'s decease, to be revenged for the damages that prince had done them, invaded the empire, in the reign of *Swen-tsung*, the fifth emperor: but this monarch, at the head of his army, marched against, and defeated, them. *Swen-tsung* died in 1435, and was succeeded by *Ing-tsung*, only nine years old. The

^a GAUBIL, hist. de Gentch. p. 317, Vol. II. p. 255.

^b DU HALDE's *China*.

(A) These expeditions against the reign of *Hong-vû*, by either the *Mungls* are not mentioned in *Couplet*, or his translator *Du Halde*.
Mungls

Mungls (B), taking advantage of this emperor's youth, made the continual irruptions into the provinces of *China* which lay nearest their country, and committed all sorts of rapine. At length *Ing-tsong*, in the year 1449, and fourteenth of his reign, marched beyond the great wall, at the head of a numerous army. But his troops, weakened for want of provisions, were intirely defeated; and himself, being taken prisoner, carried into the remotest part of *Tartary*. A. D. 1449.

AT the news of this surprising event, the empress sent a great quantity of gold, silver, and silks, for her husband's ransom; which the *Mungl* king received: but, after he had brought the captive emperor to the borders of *China*, he carried him back again, not thinking the ransom large enough. Nevertheless, a new agreement taking place, some of the great lords were sent to receive *Ing-tsong*: but the khân was displeased, thinking all the chief men of the empire ought to have come to meet so great a monarch, with the greatest pomp. He was conducted, by a numerous retinue, to the frontiers of *China*; and, when near the mountain *Tang-kya-lin*, sent to acquaint the court, that he renounced the empire to his brother *King-ti*, who had usurped the crown from the son of *Ing-tsong*, who afterwards ascended the throne a second time. In the reign of his son and successor *Hyen-tsong*, ninth emperor of the *Ming*, the *Mungls*, from time to time, came and plundered the provinces; but, in 1465, the second year of his empire, he cut in pieces their army. From thenceforward we hear nothing of their depredations, till the year 1504, which was remarkable for their irruptions, and the great booty they carried away.

IN 1509, the *Mungls* renewed their ravages, the year before the death of *Hyau-tsong*, the tenth emperor; whose successor, *Mungls Yü-tsong*, in 1518, would needs march against them incognito, in quality of generalissimo; from which design he was, with much difficulty, dissuaded by his ministers. Next year, he prepared to retire into either *Kyang-nan* or *Che-kyang*. Hereupon his ministers presented fresh memorials: representing, that, as the *Tatars* (or *Mungls*) would look on this journey as a shameful flight, they would grow more insolent; and that his absence would expose the northern provinces to their irruptions: but he was no less obstinate this time than the former, till, at last, he was diverted from his design by an inundation, which he took for a bad omen. His successor, *Shi-tsong*, or *Kya-tsing*, repaired the great wall which separates the Chinese provinces.

(B) Called all along *Tartars* in our authors; but we use the name *Mungls*, for sake of uniformity, as well as propriety and distinction.

A. D. 1550. *China* from *Tartary*. For all this, in 1550, the twenty-ninth of his reign, the *Mungls* drew near *Pe-king*, with an army of 60,000 men; but it was intirely cut to pieces, and above 200 officers taken prisoners. Next year, the *Tatar* king sent an ambassador, to ask the emperor's pardon, and leave for his subjects to sell horses in his dominions. *Shi-tsung* readily consented: but finding afterwards, that this permission was the ground of continual quarrels between the mandarins and the merchants, and often occasioned revolts, he absolutely prohibited that trade.

Cease their attempt. ABOUT the year 1560, *Lyew-han*, general of the *Chinese* army, marching beyond the great wall, the *Mungls*, on news of his arrival in their territories, fled, and hid themselves in their forests: so that there were no more than twenty-eight of them killed in this expedition, and the whole booty taken was only 170 dromedaries. In 1574, the second year of *Shin-tsung*, or *Van-lye*, eleventh emperor of the *Ming*, the *Mungls* made an irruption into *Lyau-tong*, but were intirely routed; and, in 1582, they received a notable defeat, by the general *Li-chin*, losing 10,000 men. Next year, the rivers were frozen; which facilitating their irruptions into the empire, they came in swarms; but were cut to pieces by the *Chinese* troops. After this, we are told, that the *Mungls* (called western *Tatars*, and *Tan-yu* (*) by the *Chinese*) gave over to disturb the empire, and lived quietly within their own territories; while the *Man-chews* (named in the *Chinese* histories eastern *Tatars*, and *Nyu-che*, or *Nu-che*) began to grow formidable, and, at length, subdued both the *Mungls* and *Chinese* ^c.

Submit to the Man-chews. HAD the successors of *Tong-lo* vigorously prosecuted what he had begun, they might have intirely reduced the *Mungls* to a state of subjection: but, as they neglected that affair, or pursued it but remissly, those enemies of *China* began, by degrees, to take heart, and spread. Hereupon the princes of the house of *Jenghîz Khân*, each seizing a territory, formed different hords, and grew into little sovereignties. The title of emperor of the *Mungls* remained to the chief of these princes, called *Chabar Khân*, or *Hân*; who was descended from the emperor *Kublay*, or *Hû-pi-lay*, by the elder branch. And to this khân the other *Mungl* states (including doubtless the *Kalkas*), and the *Elûths* themselves, were tributary; till, about the beginning of the seventeenth century, having made his government in-

^c COUPLET, mon. sinic. tabl. p. 81.—DÜ HALDE, ubi supra, p. 220, & seqq.

(*) Or *Tanju*, from the title of their ancient emperors. See Vol. IV. p. 42, & seqq.

supportable, by his cruelties and debaucheries, his subjects called in the founder of the *Manchew* monarchy. Thus the *Mungl* prince became a vassal to the *Manchew* empire; and was obliged to quit the title of *hân* (or *khân*), for that of *vang*, or *wang*, given him by the great grandfather of the late emperor *Kang-hi*, who subdued intirely the *Mungls* about the great wall.

THIS prince, called by the *Chineses* *Tyen-tsong*, who began *Revolt*, his reign in 1627, on the death of his father *Tyen-ming*^a; take-but *sub-*ing advantage (as some write) of the intestine divisions which, *dued*, at that time, reigned among the *Mungl* princes, found means to reduce them, one after another, not excepting the chief of the family, who retained the name of emperor; and was forced, by his own subjects, to submit like the rest, in the year 1630. After the conquest of *China*, the title of king (*vang*) was bestowed on him, and several other of the most potent princes of the *Mungl* family. But, in the minority of the emperor *Kang-hi*, the vassal *khân* resolved to attempt not only to throw off his new yoke, but even, if possible, to recover the empire of *China*. With this view, he began to reunite the other princes in his interest, by a league; which coming to *Kang-hi*'s knowledge, before the design took effect, he immediately sent a small body of troops from *Lyau-tong*, against the revolter (*Chahar Khân*). The *Mungl* prince seeing himself attacked, before he was prepared for his defence, was obliged, with what forces he could bring together in haste of his own, to fight the emperor's army: the event was, that he was intirely defeated, and, in the pursuit, taken prisoner, with his brother and children^e.

FROM this time, the *Mungls* remained obedient to the power *Remain* of the *Manchews*, who at present reign in *China*: although, we *subject* are told, that the head of the *Mungl* princes, who are descended from *Towhan-temûr* (the last *Mungl* emperor of *China*), and very numerous in *Tartary*, still preserves a great superiority over the princes of the other branches descended from *Jenghiz Khân*, and his brothers; who are at present chiefs of the *Tatar* tribes, known under the denominations of *Mungls* and *Kalkas*^f. On this occasion, it may not be amiss to observe, that, as both these nations are the same people (at least considered as such), under different names, the *Mungls* are those who always remained in *Tartary*, and the *Kalkas* such as were driven out of *China*: who, by way of distinction, perhaps, took that name from the river *Kalka*, one of those on whose banks they settled; as a third branch or nation of *Mungls* go, at present, by the

^a DU HALDE, ubi supra, p. 225.
hi, p. 18, & seqq.

^e BOUVET, hist. of Kang-
^f GAUBIL, ubi supra, 317.

name of *Elúths*, or *Alúths*, known commonly in *Europe* by the denomination of *Kálmúks*.

Kalkas
independ-
ent

THE nation of *Kalkas*, *Khalkhas*, or *Halhas*, for so the word is variously pronounced, or written, which is the most numerous, as well as celebrated, of all the *Mungl* branches, preserved their independency for fifty or sixty years after the *Mungls* had lost theirs. The princes of this branch had at first a monarch, under the title of *khân*, or king, although tributary, as the other *Kalkas* were, to the *Mungl* prince *Chabar Khân*, before-mentioned. But the *Kalkas* increasing vastly in time, and those descendants of *Kublay*, who had only the title of *tayki*, growing numerous, the more powerful among them became, by degrees, independent of one another, and of the *khân* himself, to whom they paid only a slight homage. Before the war broke out between them and the *Elúths*, towards the end of the last century, they were divided into seven standards, with each its chief; three of whom received, of the great lama of *Tibet*, the title of *khân*: although most of the *taykis*, who were under them, acted as sovereigns in their respective territories; and paid their *khâns* no farther deference, than to allow them the first place in their assemblies, held to determine differences, and consult about public affairs.

under three
khâns.

THE eldest of these three *khâns* was named *Shassaktû*, and possessed the country to the east of the *Elúths*, extending from mount *Altay* to the rivers *Selinga*, *Orkhon*, and *Tûla*. The second, *Tûsbetû*, or *Tûsbektû Khân*, was the most powerful of the *Kalka* princes: his territories reached from the three last-mentioned rivers to mount *Kentey*, whence the *Kerlon* and *Tûla* derive their sources. The third, *Cheching Khân*, resided towards the source of the *Kerlon*, along which river his people spread themselves, to its fall into the lake *Dalay*, or *Kálon*, and also beyond, as far as the province of *Solon*. These two last princes took the title of *khân* forty or fifty years ago (C); but the first long before. These *Kalkas* were so powerful before the wars, as to give uneasiness to the emperor of *China* himself. They were no fewer than 800,000 families, and very rich in flocks and horses: but they were almost ruined and destroyed by that calamity; the occasion of which is as follows.

Froubles
arise.

A *TAYKI*, or *Kalka* prince, called *Lopzang-hum Tayki*, whom our author *Gerbillon* saw at the assembly of the states of *Tartary*, attacked *Shassaktû Khân*; and having taken him prisoner, not only put him to death, but seized his estate, with part of his servants. The rest, with his children, fled to *Tûsbetû*.

(C) That is, about 1650 or 1660.

Khân,

Khân, who sending an account of what had happened to all the heads of standards and principal *taykis*, invited them to join against the usurper. They immediately assembled their forces, attacked *Lopzang-hum*, took and sent him to the great lama, to be punished; requesting that pontiff to invest the eldest son of *Shassaktû Khân* with his father's dignity. Their request was granted, and the son re-established in his father's territories; but neither his flocks nor subjects were restored: for *Tûsbetû* had seized them for his own use, by advice of his brother, who was one of those *Ho-fô's*, or *living Fô's*, so numerous in *Tartary*.

THIS lama, called *Tsing-chung-tumba* (D) *Khâtaktû*, had *Khâtaktû* been eight years a disciple of the great lama at *Tibet*; where he *tû's pride* had acquired such a reputation in the school, that he resolved to set up for himself, pretending to be a living *Fô* as well as his master. He played his part so well, that those *Kalkas* adored him as a divinity; and his brother went regularly, on set days, to worship him, gave him the upper-hand on all occasions, and was intirely managed by him. This pretended immortal, by his pride and ill conduct, occasioned the destruction of his family, and the empire of the *Kalkas*. *Shassaktû Khân* (E) being thus kept out of his effects, contrary to a decree of the assembly; sent ambassadors to the grand lama, intreating him to interpose his authority with *Tûsbetû Khân*, and his brother the lama, for a restitution. The dalay lama accordingly dispatched a lama envoy, who, being corrupted with presents, contented himself with fair promises. *Shassaktû Khân*, despairing of justice from that quarter, sent his second son, to beseech the emperor of *China* to espouse his interest. At this time the *Kalka* princes paid a dromedary and nine white horses, by way of tribute, to *Kang-hi*, for a free trade to *China*; although they were not very regular in the payment. Hereupon his majesty dispatched an ambassador to *China* *in* the great lama, to engage him to send, by a time appointed, *terposes* a person of consideration into the country of the *Kalkas*; in order to meet a grandee of his court, to dispose those princes to an accommodation, and to prevent a war ².

MEAN time, *Shassaktû Khân* dying, his eldest son, who was in alliance with *Kaldan*, *khân* of the *Elûths*, his neighbour on

* GERBILLON ap. Du Halde, ubi supra, Vol. II. p. 259.

(D) His name is written differently in Gerbillon's tracts, almost as often as it occurs; viz. *Chepzuin-tamba*, *Cbempfn-tamba*, and *Cbunpexun-tamba*.

(E) By this the son seems to have had the same name as the father; or *Shassaktû* was a title which descended in the family, as well as that of *Khân*.

the

Commis-
sioners
meet.

the west, succeeded him as *khân*. The envoy of *China*, and that of the dalay lama, being arrived at the court of *Tsübetü Khân*, they convened a second time the states of the *Kalka* princes. The imperial envoy, named *Arghi* (F), sat as president of the tribunal; which is much of the same dignity with the six tribunals at *Pe-king*. As the envoy of the great lama (G) represented his master, every one yielded him the first place, excepting the brother of *Tsübetü Khân* (H); who being also a lama, and professing himself a living *Fo*, pretended to be equal to the high-priest himself, and would be treated with the same distinction. The envoys of *Kaldan*, who were also at the assembly, to support the interest of their master's friend (I), exclaimed against the pretensions of the *Kalka* lama, which they looked on as an incroachment on the respect due to their common pontiff; and, on his making no concession, retired in great discontent. In short, to avoid a greater quarrel than that which they came to determine, the envoy of the dalay lama, was obliged to consent, that the king of *Kalka's* brother should sit opposite to him. After this, affairs being soon regulated in the assembly, *Tsübetü Khân*, and the *khürüktü* his brother, solemnly promised, that they would faithfully execute what had been there agreed upon. But, when the estates were separated, instead of keeping their engagement, they delayed performing it, as before-mentioned, under divers pretences.

Kaldan
offended.

MEAN time, the *Eléth* king, offended at the little regard paid to his envoys, and the affront offered the dalay lama, in the person of his legate, being pressed also by *Shassaktü Khân* to hasten the restitution of his effects; sent an ambassador to *Tsübetü Khân*, and the lama his brother, to exhort them to perform their promise: and especially to complain of the latter's disputing precedence with the legate of the dalay lama,

(F) *Bentink*, in his notes on *Abulghazi Khân's* history of the *Turks*, &c. names him *Averna Akanayba*, p. 549.

(G) He was doubtless a lama; but *Bentink* says, he was the *dava* (or *tipa*) of *Tibet*, who is the great lama's viceroy, who governs in his name in secular affairs.

(H) *Bentink* calls him *Zain*, or *Zuxi* (*Juji*) *Khân*, prince of the *Monguls*; by which must be understood the *Kalka Monguls*, or *Mungls*, or *Juji* and *Tsübi*,

whence *Tsübitü* seem to be used synonymously, as in *Juji* or *Tsübi*, the eldest son of *Jenghiz Khân*.

(I) According to *Bentink*, the quarrel of *Kaldan* against *Zain Khân* was on his own account. But we must prefer the account of *Gerbillion*, who received his information from the *Chinese* envoy, and the mandarins who accompanied him. Indeed the quarrel became, in part, *Kaldan's* own afterwards.

who

who had been their common master (K). The khûtûktû could not bridle his rage, but loaded the ambassador with irons; and having sent a threatening letter to *Kaldan*, put himself, with the khân his brother, at the head of a great body of troops, to surprize *Shassaktû Khân*. That prince, who expected nothing less, falling into the lama's hands, was drowned by his order: he also put to death one of the most considerable tayki's, and seized his effects. Not content with this, he invaded the territories of the *Elûth Khân* (L); and surprizing a brother of his (M), cut off his head. Then fixing it on a spear, exposed it to public view; at the same time sending a domestic of that unfortunate prince with a most abusive letter to *Kaldan*.

THE khân, although thoroughly enraged, yet stifled his *Invades* resentment, till he was in a condition to declare it. Mean time, *the Kal-* he assembled his people, and next spring, 1688, approached *kas.* the territories of *Tû/betû Khân*. The khûtûktû, who expected *A. D.* no less, had demanded succours of the other *Kalka* princes; *1688.* alleging, that he had put to death *Shassaktû Khân*, for having entered into a league with *Kaldan*, to make war on all the other *Kalkas*. Hereupon most of those princes came, with considerable forces, to the rendezvous on the frontiers. The khân of the *Elûths* being advanced, and finding the enemy's army much superior to his own, thought it best to encamp, in hopes that divisions would soon arise in the army of the *Kalkas*. As he had conjectured, the chief of one of the most numerous standards decamped first, by night, with all his people. *Che-ching Khân* soon followed his example; and all the rest, one after another, marched off, leaving *Tû/betû Khân*, and the khûtûktû his brother, with none but the troops of their own standard.

As soon as *Kaldan* understood this, he fell upon the enemy, *Makes* who, making no resistance, were easily routed (N); the two *great ba-* brother chiefs, and their families, having had much ado to *vock.* escape, with the loss of almost all their baggage, besides the greater part of their army and flocks. All the *Kalkas* of *Tû-*

(K) For *Kaldan* himself had been bred a lama at *Lassa*, as appears afterwards.

(L) According to *Bentink*, *Zain* (or *Tû/betû*) *Khân*, invaded the *Elûth* dominions, by the advice of *Kang-hi* emperor of *China*. Excepting in this particular, and the occasion of the war, mentioned a note or two before, *Ben-*

tink's account agrees pretty well with that of *Gerbillon*.

(M) *Bentink* calls him *Dorzi-kap*; and says, he was slain among those of the khân's vanguard, which was defeated.

(N) *Bentink* says, he got the victory, by feigning a flight, and thereby inducing *Zain Khân* to divide his forces, in order to pursue him.

fbetû

Tsêbetû Khân's family, wherever found, were put to the sword. He himself was obliged to abandon his camp, and the *khû-tûktû* his residence, where every thing was plundered or burned; and two fine temples, which the latter had erected at his own expence, were intirely demolished. *Kaldan*, after this, sent troops, with orders to destroy the country with fire and sword; but especially to kill all the *Kalkas*, who now fled on every side (O). *Tsêbetû Khân*, and his brother, having retreated to the southern part of the desert, near *China*, sent to beseech the emperor *Kang-hi* to take them under his protection, and defend them from an enemy, whose ambition and cruelty they highly exaggerated. His majesty hereupon sent an officer, to know of *Kaldan* his reason for carrying on the war. The *khân* answered, with respect, "That he had undertaken it to revenge the death of his brother; and resolved to continue it: that he thought no prince would give refuge to so wicked a man as the *Kalka* lama; who being the principal author of so many barbarities, he was determined to pursue him, wherever he retreated: that his punishment equally concerned the emperor; since he had so notoriously violated the oath made before his majesty's ambassador, at the assembly of the states, and shewn so little regard to his mediation."

Pursues
the *khû-
tûktû*.

THE *khû-tûktû* knowing, that if *Kang-hi* abandoned him, he must infallibly fall into the hands of his enemy, as the dalay lama was his utter adversary; in order to secure himself, offered to become the emperor's perpetual vassal, with his brother, family, and subjects: likewise to engage all the other *Kalka* princes; several of whom, during this negotiation, followed his example. *Cheching Khân* dying the same year, his widow also besought his majesty to receive her son for his vassal, and invest him with the title of *khân*, which was not to descend to his family. *Kang-hi*, on this, exhorted the *Elûth Khân* to be content with the deplorable condition to which he had reduced his enemies, and desist: but *Kaldan* remonstrated, that the emperor was equally concerned to punish the violation of a treaty guarantied by himself and the dalay lama. However, he offered to withdraw, provided the *Kalka* lama was delivered up, to be judged by the sovereign pontiff. But the *Chinese* monarch thinking it unworthy his dignity to abandon princes applying to him for refuge; and, besides, having nothing to fear from the *Russians*, since the late treaty of *Ni-pochew* (or *Nerchinskoy*), took the *Kalka* princes under his protection, and granted them

(O) According to *Bentink*, he sent to the place of his residence nine camels loads of ears and locks of hair; whence he judges a horrible slaughter was made: and then, with 30,000 men, drove his enemy within the wall of *China*.

part

part of his lands in *Tartary* to settle on : which gave occasion to the war between him and the *khân* of the *Elûths* ^a.

THIS prince, towards the end of *July* 1690, advanced, *Invades* at the head of a small but well disciplined army, to the frontiers of the empire. He slew or enslaved all the *Kalkas* encamped along the *Kerlon*, whose course he had followed for the conveniency of forage ; and pursued the murderers of his brother to the very retreat which the emperor had assigned them. On the first rumour of *Kaldan's* march, his majesty drew together all the *Mungl* forces which had been his subjects from the beginning of the *Manchew* monarchy ; and, being encamped without the great wall, are in some sort the out-guards of the empire. These, reinforced by some *Manchew* troops (who served as convoys to the presidents of the militia), and the *Mungl* officers, were ordered to the frontiers, to observe the motions of the *Elûths*. The two presidents, with a design to surprise the *khân* in his camp, amused him with a treaty of peace ; and, when he was least on his guard, attacked him in the night : but they were vigorously repulsed, and pursued within their own territories, where they secured themselves by taking post on the mountains.

ON this advice, *Kang-hi* sent a great army from *Pe-king*, *fights the* which he designed at first to command in person : but, on *Chinese*, being dissuaded by his council, appointed his next brother generalissimo, and ordered his eldest son to accompany him. *Kaldan* was posted to advantage about fourscore leagues from *Pe-king* ; where, altho' he wanted artillery, and had but very few troops, he resolutely waited for the enemy. At first his van-guard suffered much from the *Chinese* cannon, which obliged him to get out of their reach, by changing his post : but as he had a great marsh before him, which prevented his being surrounded, he defended himself with great bravery till night, when both parties retired to their camps (P). The general of the ordnance, who was the emperor's maternal uncle, was killed, towards the end of the action, by a musket-shot, as he was drawing off the artillery.

* GERBILLON ap. Du Halde, p. 260.

(P) According to *Bentink*, the *khân* defeated several bodies sent by *Amulon Bogdoy Khân* (so the *Russians* call the *Manchew* emperors of *China*), one after the other ; and that his troops were so brave, or those of the emperor so bad, that, at one time, 1000 *Kalmûks* (or *Elûths*) beat 20,000 *Chinese* ; and another time 10,000 overthrew 80,000.

comes to a
treaty ;

NEXT day produced a treaty, of which the result was, that *Kaldan* should have leave to retire with his army ; first taking an oath, before his *Fo*, never to return into the territories of the emperor, or his allies. In his retreat, part of his troops perished for want ; and his nephew *Tse-wang Raptan*, whom he had left regent, withdrew into a remote country, with all who were disposed to follow him. This was such a terrible blow to *Kaldan*, that he was three or four years recruiting his army (Q). However, the imperial generals, at their return to *Pe-king*, were impeached, altho' they had the better in the engagement : for it is a law among the *Manchews*, that, if a general gives battle, and obtains not a complete victory, he ought to be punished. The emperor's brother, with some other general officers, were sentenced to lose three years of their revenue, and the rest to be degraded five degrees. They would have suffered much more, but for the interposition of his majesty : who, on the other hand, bestowed extraordinary honours on the memory of his uncle, killed in the action, whose eldest son succeeded to his posts ; and rewarded all who distinguished themselves, as well as the kindred of the slain and wounded. Next year *Kang-hi* held an assembly of the states of *Tartary*, wherein all the *Kalka* princes, with one consent, paid him solemn homage.

renews hostilities ;

THE khân of the *Elûths* continued in the territories formerly belonging to *Shassaktû Khân*, and *Tusbetû Khân*, till 1694 ; when, being recruited with fresh troops, he scoured the banks of the *Kerlon*, and cut to pieces all the *Kalkas* who fell into his hands. Thence advancing to the borders of *Korchin*, he sent proposals to the chief prince, to join with him against the *Manchews*. " What greater indignity (says he), " than from masters to become slaves ? We are *Mungls*, and " under one law : let us unite our forces, and regain the " empire, which is ours by inheritance. I will share the glory " and fruits of my conquests with those who will share " the danger. But if there should be any *Mungl* princes, as " I hope there are none, so base as to chuse slavery to the " *Manchews*, our common enemy, let them expect to feel the " first efforts of my arms." The king of *Korchin*, as a proof of the fidelity which he had sworn to the emperor, sent him the letter, which made his majesty a little uneasy : for, altho' he knew the *Elûths* were too weak to venture to attack him, yet he did not like a confederacy of the *Mungl* princes, supported

(Q) It could not then have but it had perhaps suffered been so small as 'tis represented ; fore in the expedition.

by

by the dalay lama; he therefore resolved either to extirpate the *Elúths*, or compel them to a firm and lasting peace.

WITH this view, in 1696 he invaded *Tartary* with three *intirely* armies, in order to inclose them on all sides (R). One of these *routed* armies obtained a complete victory; while that under the emperor struck every place with terror. In short, this year, or the next, all these *Tatars* were either destroyed, subdued, or dispersed. The destruction of the *Elúths* was so great in this last war, that, in all these vast countries, there remained no more than ten or twelve thousand families of them (S); and the death of *Kaldan* in 1697, while the emperor was marching to seek him out in his retreat, completed their ruin: the remains of these unfortunate *Elúths* being obliged to implore his majesty's clemency, or take shelter with *Tse-vang Raptan*, the only surviving prince of that people. The war thus ended, we are told that *Kang-hi* became absolute master of all the empire of the *Kalkas* and *Elúths*; and extended his dominions in *Tartary* as far as the great deserts and forests which make the frontiers of *Russia*¹. But this is to be understood of the *Elúth* dominions gained chiefly from the *Kalkas* on the east of mount *Altay*: for it does not appear, that the *Chineses* made any conquests in the country to the west of that grand barrier which remained in possession of *Tse-vang Raptan*.

HAVING brought down the history of the two first *Mungl* ~~The Elúths~~ branches, the *Mungls* properly called, and the *Kalkas*, to the *history* present time, it remains to handle that of the *Elúths*: but here our memoirs are still more scanty and imperfect. It does not appear, from any authors yet come to our hands, either when, or on what occasion, the *Mungl* tribes, who go under the denomination of *Elúths*, threw off their dependency on the *Mungl* khâns reigning at *Karakorum* (or in the eastern parts of *Tartary*), and assumed that name; or by what steps they arrived at so great a power, as to become superior to the other two branches of *Mungls*. There is one circumstance, however, namely, that the khâns of the *Elúths* are not descended from *Jenghiz Khân*, but *Timûr Beg*, or *Tamerlan*, which might afford some light into the question, provided we were sure they were all of the same family from the first of them: for then it would follow, that their empire did not be-

¹ GERBILLON. ap. Du Halde, p. 257. 261.

(R) *Bentink* says, his army consisted of 300,000 men, accompanied with 300 pieces of cannon.

(S) Our author *Gerbillon* says, that *Raptan* found no more *Elúths* remaining when he came to succeed his uncle.

gin till after the year 1400, perhaps about the time of *Tong-lo*: who, having reduced the successors of *Hû-pi-lay*, or *Kublai Khân*, and the *Mungls* in the east, to a very low ebb, gave those more at a distance, in the west, an opportunity of throwing off their dependence, and setting up a khân or khâns of their own.

Onchon's misfortune. HOWEVER that be, we find nothing considerable of the *Elûths*, till about eighty years ago (T); at which time, we are told, all the *Elûth* branches were united under one chief, or king, called *Ochirtu-chechin Khân*. Prince *Ablay*, his brother, having rebelled, was defeated, and forced to retire a vast way towards *Siberia*. The khân had under him several petty princes of his family called *Tayki* (U), who were absolute in their respective territories, and paid him what homage and tribute they pleased. One of them, *Patûrû Hâm*, was very rich, and had been much honoured for his exploits in the wars of *Tibet*. He left several children, of whom *Onchon*, the eldest, succeeded him. This prince, during the wars with the *Hassak Pûrûks* (X), falling sick of the small-pox in his camp, was, according to the custom of the *Mungls* in that distemper, left alone in his tent; which the *Mohammedan Tartars*, posted opposite to the *Elûths*, took possession of, and, with proper care, recovered the sick prince.

Slain by Sengha. *ONCHON*, not thinking it proper to discover his quality, served three years as a common slave; during which, the second brother *Sengha*, not doubting of his death, married his wife. At length the prince discovered himself to the *Hassaks*, and promising, upon oath, in case they released him, never to renew the war, they set him at liberty, and gave him a guard of one hundred men to escort him into his own territories. Being arrived on the borders of them, he dispatched a courier to acquaint his brother with his adventure and return. *Sengha*, greatly surprised, consulted his wife, to know whom she would chuse in such a conjuncture. The lady answered, that she had married him on a presumption that her first husband was dead: but, since he was living, she was in-

(T) This must be understood from the time *Du Halde* wrote, not *Gerbillon*; otherwise it will carry this fact back to about the year 1610, which is too high up for the father of *Kaldan*: we therefore suppose *Chechin Khân* to have been in this power about the year 1650 or 1655.

(U) Or *Tayghi*. The *Russians* call them *Taysha*, and *Tayshi*.

(X) So the *Elûths* call the *Uzbek Tartars*, who, in return, nickname them *Kâlmûks*; and from them this name came to us, by way of the *Russians*.

dispensably

dispensably obliged to return to him. *Sengha*, whose love was equal to his ambition, under pretence of honour, sent trusty persons to massacre the prince, and all his retinue. The crime being committed, he gave out, that he had defeated a party of *Hassak Párúks*, without mentioning any thing of his brother. But, the murder soon coming to light, one of the brothers, by the same mother as *Onchon*, assembled forces to revenge his death; and, having killed *Sengha*, restored the son of *Onchon* to his father's possessions.

KALDAN, third son of *Patúrú-hum Tayki*, by *Sengha's* *Kaldan's* mother, had been educated by the grand lama of *Tibet*, as one *revenge* of his principal disciples; after which he settled at the court of *Ochirtú-cheching Khán* (*), who treated him with great marks of distinction. This prince, having had notice of the foregoing transactions, asked leave of the high pontiff to quit the profession, in order to go and revenge the death of his brother. Leave being granted, he immediately formed an army of *Sengha's* old domestics, and some troops lent him by *Ochirtú*; with which he took vengeance on the murderers, and seized on all the effects of his brother, as well as the estates of *Sengha*. He then married the prince's chief wife, the daughter of *Ochirtú Khán*; and, his forces increasing daily, he found himself in a condition at last to dispute the kingdom with his father-in-law, to whom he owed his present fortune.

A QUARREL between their subjects was a pretence for de- *Created* claring war; after which he marched with his army into the *khán*. country of *Ochirtú*, who received him at the head of his troops. The fight was near the great lake *Kizalshú*, where *Kaldan* got the victory; and, having taken his father-in-law prisoner, caused his throat to be cut, the better to secure the conquest of his dominions: thus he became the head of all the *Elkhths*. The great lama, to reward his perfidiousness and cruelty, gave him the title of *khán* (Y), that is, king, or emperor. From that time *Kaldan* (Z) enjoyed his conquests, and had no wars

(*) The *Ochiurti Khán* of *Avril's* imperfect account. See his *Trav.* p. 150, & seq.

(Y) *Gerbillion* says it should be written *Hán*, instead of *Khán*; *Hami* for *Kami*; *Halkas* for *Kulkas*; and the like. But, as the *H* is a strong aspirate, or guttural, it seems best expressed by *Kb*, as it ought to be written, and not with a single *K* or *C*, as is commonly the practice.

(Z) *Bentink* calls him *Bosfo* or *Bosugto Khán*; rather, perhaps, *Bussuktú Khán*. *Bussuk* signifies *broken*, the name given by *Ogún Khán* to his three eldest sons, according to *Abúlgházi Khán*. *Hist. Turks*, &c. p. 21. *Bussuktú* seems to have been his title, or surname; and *Kaldan* his proper name. The same author says he usually encamped on the lake *Yamish*, and in the neighbouring deserts.

but with the *Hassak Pâruks* (or *Uzbeks*) till 1688, when he invaded and subdued the *Kalkas* : but, carrying his resentment too far (A), he was ruined in his turn by the emperor of *China*^k, as hath been already set forth.

Totally
defeated,

BENTINK relates the circumstances of the khân's death, which might be more easily known to the *Russians* than the *Chineses*. According to this author, the loss of the last battle did not so much afflict the *Elûth* prince as the death of his wife *Guni*, or *Ani*, who was slain in the route. Her body having been found among the dead, the emperor caused the head to be cut off, and carried it along with him to adorn his triumph. Provisions and forage beginning to fail in the neighbouring mountains, where he had with difficulty escaped, most of his followers and horses died for hunger ; so that he returned almost alone into his own dominions, where he spent two years in great affliction, exposed to the reproaches of his subjects. Perceiving he had nothing for it but to negotiate the affair, he sent his son *Septembaldius* to the dalay lama, to desire his mediation, which he before slighted. But *Abd'ollah Beg*, governor of the city of *Khamul* (B), altho' dependent on the khân, caused him and his small retinue to be seized in passing thro' his government, and sent them to the emperor ; who cut off their heads, and confirmed the traitor in his post.

Poisons
himself.

THE news of this disaster threw the khân into despair. He assembled all his subjects, exhorted them to live in peace and unity ; and then, giving them liberty to retire every one where he pleased, took poison, and died. This was the end of *Bosta Khân*, a prince of great genius and valour ; who, by a series of successes, had made himself terrible to all his enemies, and acquired a great deal of glory.

Succeeded
by Raptan

KALDAN was succeeded by his nephew, eldest son of *Sengha*, called *Tse-wang Raptan* (C). This *Raptan* is said before to have left his uncle's court, while absent in the war ;

* GERBILLON ap. Du Halde, p. 257.

(A) We think *Kang-bi* was to blame for protesting, and not giving up, the murderers of his ally and brother, whom *Kaldan* had a right to demand.

(B) *Khamil*, or *Hami* (as the *Chineses* pronounce it), at the very eastern extremity of *Little Bukhâria*, and edge of the great desert between it and *China*.

(C) This is the name he went by in *China*, and perhaps among

the *Mungls*, who are subject to *China*. *Bentink* calls him *Zigan Araptan*, which is the name used by the *Russians*. Which of them is the true name, if either be, we cannot tell ; all nations having that ill custom of corrupting or imposing names. However, that of *Araptan*, *Raptan*, or *Rabdan*, as it is also spelt, doubtless belongs to it. Perhaps *Zigan* is a corruption of *Tse-wang*.

and,

and, by carrying away the greater part of his forces, much ^{his ne-} distressed him in his affairs^{phew.} The occasion of his desertion was this. A princess, daughter of *Ochirtû Khân*, had been promised him in marriage : but *Kaldan*, falling in love with her, took her from him ; and, not content with this injustice to his nephew, hired assassins to murder him ; who, missing their blow, only struck out one of his eyes. But *Bentink* says, his eye was shot out accidentally, by one of his domestics, when hunting ; and that his flight happened a little before the war in 1688, on the following occasion. The khân, who bred up at his court three of his brother's sons, took an aversion to the eldest ; and, finding no cause to put him to death, he had recourse to a man of great strength, who, under pretence of wrestling with the young prince, handled him so roughly, that a few days after he died. *Zigan Araṭan*, the youngest of the three, alarmed at such a proceeding, which the khân would have put off as an accident, fled with his friends and domestics : nor could his other brother *Dankhinambû*, whom the khân sent after him, prevail with him to return. Altho' his eldest brother might have been of a haughty turbulent spirit, as the other represented ; yet he was resolved, he said, not to trust an uncle who was capable of committing so unnatural a crime.

As soon as *Araṭan* (or *Raṭan*), who kept hidden all this while, heard of his uncle's death, he presented himself to the ^{His infla-} *Kalmûks*, and demanded the succession ; which they could not deny him, as being next heir. The *Bukhars* (or those of *Little Bukhâria*), whom *Bussuktû Khân* (or *Kaldan*) had conquered some time before, followed their example ; and the other provinces, which refused to come in of themselves, were obliged to it by arms. When things were thus settled, the *Bukhars* conducted him one day to an agreeable grove, consisting of not more than a hundred trees, very bushy, and of a particular kind : where, after being feasted by him for some days, they solemnly invested him with the title of *Kontaisb*, which signifies a *grand monarch* ; forbidding, under pain of death, to call him by his former name. This prince well deserved that distinction, as having been endowed with great talents : he was remarkable for his genius and mildness (D), courage and piety^m.

THE

¹ BENTINK apud Abûlgh. hist. Turks, &c. p. 252, & seq.
^m Idem ibid. p. 253. GERBILLON ap. Du Halde, p. 257.

(D) *Bentink*, as an instance of not only pardon of the domestic his moderation, tells us, that he who had shot his eye out, but
 G 2 150

Conquers
Tibet.

THE new khân at first lived quietly in his territories, with all but the *Uzbeks*, and encouraged agriculture; his flocks not affording competent subsistence to his people: but his actions afterwards shewed, that he was no less enterprising than his uncle *Kaldan*. Not long after his advancement to the throne, *Tarkian* (*Irghen*, or *Jurkent*), capital of *Kâshgar*, revolting, he reduced it by force, and severely punished the rebels. About the year 1703 *Ayuka* (or *Ayuki*), one of his cousins, flying from his court, under pretence that he was in fear of his life, passed the river *Jaik*, with the tribe of *Torgaïts*, and put himself under the protection of *Russia*ⁿ. About 1716 *Kontaisb* conquered *Tibet*^o: but, four years after, the provinces of *Khamil* and *Turfân*, in *Little Bukhâria*, were taken from him by the *Chineses*, on the following occasion. *Kontaisb* having been informed, that there was, to the east of the *Great Gobi* (*Kobi*), or *Desart*, at the foot of the mountains which separate his lands from those of *China*, a gold mine, so rich, that it might be worked without much trouble, he sent one of his murshas (E), with 10,000 men, to take possession of it; but the *Chineses* and *Mungls*, falling on them in great numbers, routed, and pursued them to the desert. This the *Kalmûks* repassed, by favour of certain very fertile vallies, hidden by the high mountains which cross the *Gobi* on that side from west to east, and were till then unknown to the *Chineses*.

Losses in
Bukhâria.

THE late emperor *Kang-hi*, to try if any advantage could be made of this discovery, sent a powerful army that way, with a good train of artillery, under his third son (F); accompanied, as was said, by a Jesuit, very understanding in fortifications and fire-works, to assist him with his advice in this expedition. That prince, having passed the desarts by the same road which the *Kalmûks* followed in their retreat, entered the provinces of *Khamil* and *Turfân*; and, finding that *Kontaisb* advanced to meet him with a fine and numerous cavalry, against whom he durst not venture his army in the vast plains of those provinces, he bethought himself of building forts at proper distances, which he took care to furnish very well with

ⁿ GERBILLOŃ, ubi sup. p. 257. BENTINCK, ubi supra, p. 539.
^o GERBIL. ibid. p. 384. 386.

also gave him his liberty, to make him amends for the danger he had run of losing his life on that occasion; by the enraged *Kalmûks*.

(E) A corruption of the Persian

word *Mirza*, which signifies *Prince*.

(F) He succeeded his father in 1725, under the name or title of *Tang-tsing*.

cannon and infantry. By favour of those forts he advanced continually forwards in the lands of *Kontaisb*, and made himself at length intire master of the aforesaid provinces; the *Kalmûks* not being able all that while to bring him to a battle.

HEREUPON *Kontaisb*, who saw it was impossible for him to repel the *Chineses* without infantry and ordnance, the use of which had been till then unknown to the *Kalmûks*; in the year 1720 sent ambassadors to *Peter I.* emperor of *Russia*, then at *St. Petersburg*, offering to become tributary to him, provided he would send 10,000 regular troops, with cannon, to his assistance; obliging himself, with that small aid, to drive the *Chineses* out again: but the war with *Sweden*, which was then on foot, joined to the views which the emperor *Peter* began to have upon *Persia*, hindered him from accepting of these advantageous proposals. Mean time the *Chineses* seized all which belonged to *Kontaisb*, lying to the east of the desarts, towards the frontiers of *China*, and have there settled colonies of *Mungls*; but did not meddle with the territories of the dalay lama^p. However, that prince must have recovered those territories not long after; since we are informed by *Gaubil*, that, in 1726, the *Tatars* of *Hami* (or *Khamil*) and *Turfân*, as well as *Aksû*, *Kashgar*, *Irgben* (or *Jarkien*), and *Anghien* (G), were then under his protection. His residence was called *Harkas* (or *Urga*), on the river *Li*^q (by some called *Konghis*), of which an account has been given in our description of *Tartary*.

Offers to
Russia.

Recovers
Turfân
and Kha-
mil.

B O O K III.

C H A P. I.

The History of Juji, or Tushî Khân, and his descendants, who reigned over the Kipjâks, with that of the khâns of Krim Tartary.

THE *Kipjâks*, or *Kipchâks* (A), inhabit the western part of *Tartary*; and formerly their country was of very great extent, comprising the vast plains reaching in breadth from the *Caspian* sea to the borders of *Russia*, which then

Kipjâks;
their
country;

^p BENTINK, ubi sup. p. 546, & seq.
Math. &c. p. 176, 177. 180.

^q SOUCIET. Obs.

(G) *D'Arville*, in his map, places this town on the river *Sir*, or *Sibûn*, about sixty miles N. W. from its source; but *Gaubil*, in *Souiet* (*Obs. Math.*

p. 179.) says, it lies some leagues to the south of the source of that river.

(A) They are called also *Kipchâks*, *Kapjâks*, and *Kapshâks*, by authors,

then was contained within narrow bounds; and extending from the *Nieper*, or *Boristhenes*, westward, a considerable way in *Tartary*, to the east of the *Caspian* sea: so that not only the kingdom of *Astrakhan* and *Kassan*, belonging at present to the *Russian* empire, but likewise all *Little Tartary*, and some other neighbouring provinces of *Europe*, were included in it, forming, in the whole, a large empire. This is to be understood of *Kipjak* in its greatest extent: nor does it seem to have been less, by more than these last-mentioned countries, when *Juji*, eldest son of *Jenghiz Khân*, reduced it under his dominion.

1. *Juji Khân.*

WE have already mentioned the exploits of *Juji*, or *Tusbi* (B), who accompanied his father in the war against *Mohammed Karasim Shâh*. The khân was so pleased with his conduct, that he soon after gave him the sovereignty of *Kipjak*, the country of the *Jetah*, or *Getes*, and *Turkestan*. This prince settled his residence in *Kipjak*: where, after making considerable conquests, he died in the year 1226, six months before his father; much regretted both by the *Mungls*, and his new subjects. We have but few materials from whence to give our readers a satisfactory history of the successors of *Juji Khân*, in this part of the *Mungl* empire: for we are beholden chiefly to no more than two funds, and those very scanty ones, being little else than lists or catalogues of the khâns: one, communicated by *Abulghâzi Khân*, of *Karazm*, in his history of the *Turks*, *Moguls*, and *Tatars*; the other by *De la Croix*, at the end of his history of *Jenghiz Khân*. These catalogues disagree likewise considerably with each other, as to the names and number of the khâns, as well as the dates of actions. For instance, *De la Croix* reckons forty-one khâns to *Haji Keray*, or *Gheray Khân*; and *Abulghâzi Khân* only seventeen: but we chuse to follow the latter, as he was a descendant of *Juji*, and reigned in a country not far from *Kipjak*. Whence it may be presumed, that he was better acquainted with the history of that region than the *Persian* authors, from whom *De la Croix* made his extract; and the rather, as we have already observed, *D'Herbelot* informs us, that the oriental authors have not transmitted the history of any of the branches of the *Mungl* empire with tolerable exactness; excepting that which reigned in *Persia*, of which *Hulagâ* was the founder.

authors, as hath been already taken notice of. Their land is named *Daght Kipjak*, or the *Plain of Kipjak*, from its being a cham-

pain country, consisting of wide extended plains.

(B) And *Chucbi*, as written in the *Chinese* history.

UPON the death of *Juji Khān*, his father sent immediately 2. Batū his brother *Belgatay Utezkim* into *Dasht Kipjāk*, in order to create *Batū* (C) (or *Badū*), khān, in the room of his father. That prince went to meet his grand uncle, and conducted him to the usual place of his residence, where he was put in possession of the throne; but the solemnity was scarce over, when news arrived of the death of *Jenghīz Khān*. Hereupon *Utezkim* returned immediately to *Karakum* (or *Karakorum*), and was followed by *Batū*, called also *Saghin Khān*, accompanied by his brothers, excepting *Togay Timūr*, the youngest; who, on this occasion, was left as regent during his absence. Being arrived at court with the rest, they assisted at the instalment of *Ugaday*, or *Oktay Khān*, whom afterwards they accompanied in his expedition to *Kitay*. A. D. 1226.

THE grand khān, pleased with the conduct and bravery which he had observed in *Batū Saghin Khān*, at his return gave him a numerous army to go and subdue the *Urūs*, or *Russians*, *Cherkassians*, *Bulgars*, and other neighbouring nations. He likewise ordered his son *Kayuk*, who succeeded him, *Mangu* (or *Mengko*), son of *Tawlay* (or *Toley*), and *Baydar*, son of *Jagatay Khān*, to bear him company in this western expedition.

ON his return to *Kipjāk*, *Togay Timūr* feasted him and all the princes splendidly for three days. After this, *Batū* gave, in his turn, a feast, which lasted forty days; at the end of which he set forward on his intended conquests. His expedition was crowned with the success which, says our author, every-body knows; and the khān, having filled all the west with the glory of his great exploits, at length returned to *Dasht Kipjāk*, where he died some time after, in the capital, of the country, called *Kok-Orda* *. *De la Croix* puts this event of his death in 1256 (D); and says, he conquered the *Alans*, *Affites*, *Russians* or *Muscovites*, *Bulgars*, and several other nations: that, crossing thro' *Russia*, he even ravaged *Poland*, *questi.*

* ABULGHAZI KHAN. hist. Turks, &c. p. 193, & seq.

(C) Called also *Baatū*, *Bati*, and *Badū*; which, according to *Kondamir*, signifies strength and bardness in the Mogul language. *D'Herbelot*. Bibl. orient. art. *Batū*.

(D) *D'Herbelot*, from *Kondamir*, or *Mirkond*, does the same; so that he reigned thirty years.

Batū was of the religion of *Jenghīz Khān*, which consisted solely in the worship of God. He, by his authority, established *Mangū Khān* on the throne of the *Mongls*, in the east of *Tartary*; and even facilitated the conquest of *China*. Bibl. orient. p. 190, art. *Batū*.

Moravia, and *Dalmatia*. Then marched into *Hungary*, with a design to go and besiege *Constantinople*, but was prevented by death; which contradicts *Abulghâzi Khân's* account, who says he died in *Kipchâk*. *De la Croix* adds, that *Batû* performed several other considerable exploits, and was reported to have been the most liberal and generous prince in the world ^b.

3. *Burgha Khân.*

BATU Saghin Khân was succeeded by his brother *Burgha*: who, on that occasion, gave a very magnificent feast to all his vassal lords; and distributed several considerable presents among the chief of them. Nor did he forget to send some of an extraordinary richness to *Koplay (Kublay, or Hü-pi-lay) Khân*, in order to obtain his confirmation of the choice which his subjects had made of him in the room of *Batû*. *Burgha Khân* reigned with no less glory than justice, and was much dreaded by all his neighbours. One time, as he was on the road to visit *Koplay Khân*, he met with merchants of great *Bukhâria*; and, falling into discourse with some of them about the *Mohammedan* worship, was so affected with the account they gave of it, that he forthwith embraced that religion. He also in time brought over his younger brother *Togay Timûr*, who accompanied him; and, at his return, published an order for all his subjects to embrace *Mohammedism*: but he died, saith our author, before he could complete so salutary a work, after he had reigned twenty-five years ^c. *De la Croix* says, he reigned but ten, and that he died in 1266; but, by *Abulghâzi Khân's* account, which we prefer, his death must have happened in 1281. The first of these authors, besides taking notice that *Bereke*, as he calls *Burgha*, turned *Mohammedan*, adds, that he was engaged in a very bloody war with *Hûlakû Khân* of *Persia*; and that afterwards, being desirous to execute part of *Batû's* design, he marched as far as *Constantinople*, ravaging all the country in his passage ^d.

4. *Mangû Timûr Khân.*

BURGHAKhân had for his successor his brother *Mengû Timûr (E)*, who was a prince of much courage and conduct. Some time after his advancement to the crown, he gave a tribe, subject to him, called *Ak Orda* (or *The White Orda*), to *Behadr Khân*, son of *Sheybani Khân*; and the cities of *Kassa* and *Krîm* to *Orân Timûr*, son of *Togay Timûr*. After this

^b DE LA CROIX, hist. Gengh. p. 387. ^c ABULGH. ubi sup. p. 195. ^d DE LA CROIX, ubi sup. p. 387.

(E) *De la Croix* says, he was named *Mongatmur*, or *Mankûtem*; that he was the son of *Dogan*, the son of *Batû*, and sur-named *Kilk*, which was the name of *Jenghiz Khân's* great great grandfather. Hist. Genghisc. p. 387, & seq.

he took the field against the *Bulgars*; and having, in two years, made considerable conquests on that side, returned to his own dominions. From thence he not long after marched towards the country of *Irân* (or *Persia* at large), against *Abka* (or *Abaka*) *Khân*, who came to an amicable agreement with him; which continued with so much friendship, that every year they sent each other presents. But his successor *Ahmed*, son of *Hûlakû Khân*, having been slain by his (*Abka*'s) son *Argûn*; as soon as the news reached the court of *Mengû Timûr Khân*, he sent *Tarkay* and *Turkuchay*, two of his generals, with 80,000 men, towards the frontiers of *Irân*. On advice of this, *Argûn Khân* detached *Amîr Togâtur*, one of his best officers, with a good body of troops, to meet them, and followed in person with all his forces. The two armies coming to an engagement, in a place called *Karabakh* (F), that of *Mengû Timûr* was defeated; which afflicted him so much, that he died soon after^e.

UPON his decease, *Tuda Mangu* (G), son of *Batû Khân*, 5. *Tuda* ascended the throne of *Kipjâk*: but, as he overburdened his *Mengû* subjects with taxes, *Tokhtagû*, son of *Mengû Timûr Khân*, *Khân*. thought himself obliged to represent to him the injustice of his conduct. This was taken so ill by the *khân*, that he was constrained to leave the country: however, he found means to return thither not long after, at the head of a powerful army; and, having gained a battle, in which *Tuda Mangû* was slain, got himself to be acknowledged *khân*.

TOKHTAGU Khân (H) reigned with the universal ap- 6. *Tokh-*plause of his subjects, and subdued a great number of neigh- *tagû* bouring cities: but he was carried off by death in the midst *Khân*. of his conquests, after a reign of six years; and was buried in the city of *Shari Sarayjik* (I), pursuant to his last directions.

UZBEK succeeded his father *Tokhtagû*; and, though but 7 *Uzbek* thirteen years old, reigned with much prudence and resolu- *Khân*.

^e ABULGH. ubi sup. p. 195, & seq.

(F) Or *Karabagh*, called also *Karabag Arrân*: a noted place in *Arrân* (a part of *Armenia* near the river *Arras*), famous for several battles fought there.

(G) In place of this prince *De la Croix* puts *Kazas*, son of *Tazax* (called also *Tudakenkay*), son of *Dogan*.

(H) *De la Croix* calls him *Tokta*, or *Belgaba*.

(I) This seems to be the same place with *Shari Saray*: the ruins of which are on the east side of the *Wolga*, a little to the north of *Zariza*, or *Zaraygrood*; a *Russian* city, on the west side, in the part where that river and the *Don* approach each other.

tion.

tion. He introduced the *Mohammedan* worship thro' all the provinces of his dominions ; which procured him the affection of his subjects to such a degree, that, as a proof of it, they assumed the name of *Uzbeks*, which they have ever since retained, and never had before. After this event, *Uzbek Khân* tried his fortune twice against *Abu Saïd Khân*, who reigned in *Irân* : but without reaping any advantage by those expeditions ; and died at his return from the last ^f. According to *Kondamir*, the first of these expeditions was in the year 1318 ; the second in 1335 ; occasioned by *Uzbek's* laying claim to the crown of *Irân* ^g. An account of these expeditions will be given hereafter in the reign of *Abûsaïd*, one of the successors of *Hûlagû*. *De la Croix*, probably by some mistake in the pointing of his author, calls this prince *Ertek* ; and says, he is reckoned the founder of the tribe named *Rûs Ertek* : it should be *Rûs Uzbek*. He makes him also the son of *Tûl*, the son of *Kilk* ^h before-mentioned.

8. *Jani Bek Khân* *UZBEK Khân* had for his successor, in the throne of the *Kipjaks*, his son *Jani Bek*, who got the reputation of a very virtuous and devout *Mohammedan*. He usually resided in the city of *Shari Sarayjik*, and continually applied himself to the good of his subjects. During his reign, *Malek Afbrâf*, son of *Timûr Tâsh*, had seized the kingdom of *Azerbejdân* in *Irân*, and the neighbouring provinces : but, as he was a great tyrant, and led a scandalous life, many of his subjects left the country, and went over to *Janibek Khân*. Among the rest was *Mohûzo'ddîn*, a chief man of the law : who, one day, in expounding the *Korân* in the *Masjid* (or mosque), before the khân, and a great many persons of rank, took an occasion to touch on the scandalous life of *Malek Afbrâf* ; and then addressing himself to *Jani Bek*, told him, that, in case he did not do his utmost to put an end to the infamous conduct of that tyrant, both he (the preacher) and his subjects would accuse him, before the throne of God, of all the evil which might accrue from thence.

conquers
Azei-
bi-
jân.

THIS menace made such an impression on the mind of *Jani Bek Khân*, that he, without delay, assembled all his forces, and marched into *Irân* : where, having defeated and slain *Malek Afbrâf*, he seized all his dominions, with his treasures, which he divided among his subjects, amounting to 400 camels load in goods and jewels, besides other valuable effects. After this, leaving his son *Birdi Bek* to govern the conquered

^f ABULGH. ubi sup. p. 197, & seq.
Pibl. orient. art. Abûsaïd ben Algiaptu.
ubi sup. p. 388.

^g D'HERBELOT.
^h DE LA CROIX,

provinces, he returned to his own dominions. There falling sick immediately on his arrival, he dispatched couriers to his son, that he might see him before he died; but, finding death not willing to allow him so much time, he enjoined the lords of his court to acknowledge *Birdi Bek* for their sovereign. Soon after this he expired, and was buried in *Shari Sarayjik*, in the year of the *Hejrah* 758 (of *Christ* 1356), after he had reigned seven years¹. *De la Croix*, with more probability, places the death of *Jani Bek* in 1349 (K). The same author says, that he marched by the way of *Derbend* (in *Shîrwân*) into *Azerbejdân*; which had been usurped from the children of *Abûsâid* by *Malek Afbrâf*, who had been his wazîr, or vizîr^k.

BIRDİ BEK, being detained, by affairs of importance, in the provinces of *Îrán*, for two years after his father's death (L), at length arrived; and, having spent three days in lamenting that loss, caused himself to be publicly acknowledged khân. After this, he abandoned himself intirely to tyranny, and a brutish life. As he reckoned he had a long time to live, he put to death all his relations; for fear any of them should attempt to thrust him out of the throne, which he possessed so unworthily. But his debaucheries soon put an end to his life, which happened in *Hejrah* 762: and as, with this khân, the posterity of *Mengû Timûr Khân* became extinct, the sceptre of the countries of *Kipjâk* was conferred on the descendants of *Juji Khân*¹.

9. Birdi Bek Khân.

Hej. 762. A. D. 1360.

AFTER the death of *Birdi Bek Khân*, *Urûs Khân*, son of *Badakul Oglan*, son of *Khoja*, son of *Avas Timûr*, son of *Togay Timûr*, youngest son of *Juji Khân*, seized the sceptre of the *Kipjâks*, and reigned for some years very peaceably: till at length *Toktamish* (M) (or *Tokatmish*), descended from *Togay Timûr*, by another branch, attempted to thrust him from the throne: but, his troops having been defeated by *Urûs Khân*, he was obliged to fly for refuge to *Amîr Timûr* (or *Tamerlan*), who resided at *Samarkant*, in *Great Bukhâria*. A few

10. Urûs Khân.

¹ ABULGH. ubi sup. p. 198.
p. 388.

^k DE LA CROIX, ubi sup.

¹ ABULGH. ubi sup. p. 199.

(K) Taking from thence seven years, for that khân's reign, it will bring the death of *Uzbek Khân* to 1342. This does not agree with the account of *Abulghâzi Khân*, who says, it happened at his return from his second expedition against *Abûsâid Khân*; which, from the date of

Kondamîr, happened seven years before. Perhaps *Jani Bek* reigned longer than seven years.

(L) *De la Croix* says he left *Tauris* immediately.

(M) *Toktamish* was the son of *Tokul Khoja Oglan*, son of *Saritsa*; son of *Avay Timûr*, son of *Togay Timûr*.

days

days after *Idighi Mangap*, who had put himself into the service of *Tokatmish*, followed him; with tidings, that *Urûs Khân*, and all his forces, might easily be surprised, because he marched at a great rate towards *Great Bukhâria*. *Idighi Mangap* was the son of *Kutluk Kaba*, a man of distinction among the tribe of *Ak Mungls* (or *White Mungls*), whose daughter *Timûr* had given in marriage to one of his sons, of which marriage *Timûr* was the issue. Upon this advice *Amir Timûr* sent *Tokatmish* with a numerous army against *Urûs Khân*; whom having defeated and slain in the battle, he found no difficulty to ascend the throne in 777^m (of Christ 1375).

Hej. 777.
A. D.
1375.

Defeats
Tokat-
mish.

As we meet with a more particular account of this war between *Tokatmish* and *Urûs Khân* in the life of *Timûr Bek*, written by *Sharîfo'ddin Ali*, a *Persian* author, it may be proper to give an abstract of it on this occasion. While *Timûr* was on his return from his expedition against *Kanure'ddin*, prince of *Jetah*, or the *Gates*, in the year of the *Hijrah* 777: he received advice that *Tokatmish Aghen*, jealous of *Urûs Khân*, was on the road, to put himself under his protection. Hereupon he sent an *Uzbek* officer of distinction to bring him to court; where he arrived soon after that monarch had reached his capital. He was received with the greatest honours by *Timûr*; who also bestowed on him the government of *Sabran*, *Qitrâr*, *Saganak*, *Sayram*, *Saray*, and other cities of the empire of *Kipjak*, which were in his possession. The prince was scarce settled in his new department, before he was obliged to march against *Kotluk Buga*, son of *Urûs Khân*; and altho' this latter was slain in the fight with an arrow, yet *Tokatmish*, leaving his country to be plundered by the enemy, was obliged to fly to *Timûr*; who received him with greater honour than at first, and sent him back with fresh forces.

Invades
Timûr's
dominions.

As soon as *Tukta Kaya*, eldest son of *Urûs Khân*, had advice of this, he marched with a very numerous army, and defeated *Tokatmish*; who, in his flight, was pursued, and wounded in the hand with an arrow, as he passed the river *Sihûn* (or *Sir*). Being gotten to the other side, he entered a wood alone, naked and wounded: where casting himself on the ground, to get some rest, his doleful moan soon brought thither one of his old captains, who found him just recovered from a swoon; and, after taking proper care of him, brought him to *Bokhâra*. *Timûr*, who was there encamped, ordered another equipage to be made for him, as magnificent as the former. Mean time a commander, named *Aydeku*, of the tribe

of *Mangût* (N), brought advice from the court of *Urûs Khân*, that he was marching against *Timûr*, and fought every-where for *Tokatmish*: at the same time ambassadors arrived from the khân, to demand that prince to be given up; otherwise to declare war. *Timûr* answered, that he would protect *Tokatmish*, and soon meet their master in the field; as he did at *Saganak*, twenty-four leagues from *Otrâr*.

THESE vast armies were ready to engage, when there fell a prodigious quantity of rain and snow, followed by so excessive a cold, that the limbs both of men and beasts lost all motion. At the end of three months, during which this weather continued, *Timûr*, weary of being so long in sight of the enemy, and yet out of action, sent a detachment to attack them in the night; which, meeting with 3000 horse, commanded by *Timûr Malek Aglen*, son of *Urûs Khân*, defeated them, the prince himself being wounded in the foot with an arrow. Hereupon *Urûs Khân*, despairing of success, returned home. *Timûr* likewise marched back to *Great Bukhâria*: but, as soon as the season permitted, he set forward again, with design to invade *Kipjâk*; and made so much expedition, that, in fifteen days and nights, he arrived with his army at *Jeyran Kamish*, that is, *The reeds for deers*, a town in that country, whose inhabitants he found fast asleep. Here, being informed that *Urûs Khân* was dead, he established *Tokatmish* sovereign of *Kipjâk*, and the rest of the empire of *Tusbi* (or *Fuji*); after which he returned to his own dominionsⁿ.

THIS account of *Urûs Khân*'s death is doubtless more exact than that of *Abulghâzi Khân*; because, had he been killed in battle, it would have afforded a subject of triumph to *Timûr*'s historian. *De la Croix* places no fewer than nine khâns between *Birdi Bey*, or *Bek*, and *Urûs Khân*; whose names, according to him, are, *Kildi Bek*, another of *Jani Bek*'s sons; *Norûz*, who pretended to be a son of *Jani Bek*; *Cherkês Khân*, who was likewise set up for a son of the same prince, such were the conjectures of that time; *Kheder Khân*; *Mazûd Khân*, son of *Kheder Khân*; *Bazarchi Khân*; *Tokay*, son of *Shahi Khân*; *Tokluk Timûr Khân*, *Tokay*'s nephew; *Murâd Kôja Khân*, brother of the former^o. But these are not to be

ⁿ Hist. TIM. BEK. l. ii. c. 20—23. p. 178—186.

LA CROIX, hist. Gengh. p. 388, & seq.

^o Dz

(N) This seems to be the erroneously written; but we cannot say where the fault lies in the present instance.

considered as so many khâns, who reigned successively one after the other; but rather as pretenders, or usurpers, who laid claim to the whole, or seized part of it, and reigned at the same time, till they were suppressed by the forces of *Urûs Khân*. But to return to *Tokatmish*:

11. To-
katmish
Khân
Hej. 778.
A. D.
1376.
*established
by Timûr;*

ALTHO' *Tokatmish* seemed to be now securely established in the throne of *Kipjâk*, yet his possession did not long continue quiet: for *Tukta Kaya*, eldest son of *Urûs Khân*, dying soon after his father, his brother *Timûr Malek Aglen* ascended the throne; and, in 778, marching with a powerful army against *Tokatmish*, after several skirmishes, once more intirely vanquished him. But, by means of a very fleet horse, given him by the emperor, to serve him on such occasions, he escaped, and got alone to court, all his troops being dispersed. The generous *Timûr* again recruited his losses, and sent him back with several commanders, who had orders to replace him on the throne of *Kipjâk*: which they accordingly did, in the city of *Saganak*; and, pursuant to custom, sprinkled on him gold and precious stones. Mean time *Orki-timûr*, taken prisoner in the late battle, made his escape, and informed *Timûr Bek*, that *Timûr Malek* spent both night and day in debauches: that he slept till ten in the morning, which is dinner-time, no one daring to awake him, whatever affairs of importance required it; and that all the people of *Kipjâk* desired *Tokatmish* for their sovereign. On this news, the emperor sent to advise that prince to march with all expedition to attack his rival, who had passed the winter at *Karatal* (O). *Tokatmish Aglen* immediately departed from *Saganak*; and, coming up with the enemy, defeated them; by which victory he recovered the throne. *Timûr Bek* was so rejoiced at this news, that he spent many days in feasting, and released many prisoners. As for *Tokatmish Khân*, he returned to pass the winter at *Saganak*; and, raising a great army in spring following, went and reconquered the kingdom of *Saray* (P) and *Memak*, with the rest of the empire of *Tusbi Khân*.

*invades his
dominions.* WHEN *Timûr Kutluk*, before-mentioned, grew up, he went to dwell in the country of the *Kipjâks*, and *Idighi Mangah* put himself under his protection. This greatly displeased *Tokatmish Khân*; who, having besides entertained a suspicion that *Timûr Kutluk* sought to supplant him, endeavoured, without

P Hist. TIM. BEK, l. ii. c. 24, 25. p. 187—190.

(O) *Karatal*, a place in *Kipjâk*. or *Saray*, above-mentioned, was the capital.

(P) Of which *Shari Sarayjik*,

noise,

poise, to get rid of so dangerous a rival. But *Timûr Kutluk*, having discovered the khân's design, fled for refuge to *Great Bukhâria*, whither he was followed six months after by *Idighi Mangap*. Mean time, while *Amîr Timûr* invaded *Irân* with all his forces, *Tokatmish Khân* entered *Great Bukhâria*, then destitute of troops, with a great army; and, having taken *Samarkant*, put to the sword a great number of the inhabitants. After this, he set out for his own dominions: but *Amîr Timûr*, who, on the first news of that prince's march, had returned homewards, followed him with so much diligence, that he overtook him on the banks of the *Atel* (or *Wolga*). *Tokatmish Khân*, finding there was no way to avoid a battle, gave it with all the resolution imaginable: but, the good fortune of *Timûr* having prevailed over all the conduct of the khân, this last was obliged to escape by flight, after having lost all his army in the engagement.

AFTER the battle, *Timûr Kâtluk*, who was in the action, *Timûr* with *Amîr Timûr*'s consent, went to look for his subjects, *Kutluk* whom he had basely abandoned, for fear of *Tokatmish Khân*; retires. and, having met with a great number of them on the banks of the *Atel*, prepared to march with them to *Samarkant*. But *Idighi Mangap* advised him not to put it in *Amîr Timûr*'s power to deprive him of his subjects, by distributing them in the cities belonging to his dominions: he told him, that would necessarily reduce him to a state of absolute dependence on *Timûr*; and therefore counselled him to go settle elsewhere with his people: which the other accordingly did; and retired so secretly, that it is not known whither he went⁹ (Q). *De la Croix* puts two of *Urûs Khân*'s sons between him and *Tokatmish*, whom he makes the twenty-third khân; viz. *Tokta Kaya*, (eldest son of *Urûs*, who died in 1376, the same year with his father), and *Timûr Malek Aglen*.

TOKATMISH Khân, at his death, left eight sons (R): 12. *Kabut Kaverchik*, son of *Urûs Khân*, seized the *Kipjâk* sceptre, verchik Khân. and reigned after him.

HE

⁹ ABULGH, ubi sup. p. 201, & seq. sup. p. 389.

² DE LA CROIX, ubi

(Q) *Timûr* made several expeditions, besides this, into *Kipjâk*, against *Tokatmish*, which shall be related in the reign of that prince; who, as *De la Croix* observes, defeated him in 1388, 1391, and 1395.

(R) Their names were, 1. *Jâlalo'ddin*; 2. *Jabar Birdi*; 3. *Kayuk*; 4. *Karim Birdi*; 5. *Iskander*; 6. *Abû-sâid*; 7. *Khoja*; 8. *Kadir Birdi*: but, of the six mentioned by *De la Croix*, three are not to be found among them;

13. Barak Khân. HE was succeeded by his son *Barak Khân*^{*}. *De la Croix* makes this the thirty-eighth khân, placing fourteen between *Tokatmish* and him, in the following order: *Timûr Kutluk Aglen*, son of *Timûr Malek*, who had served *Timûr* in the wars against *Tokatmish Khân*: *Shadi Bek*, notwithstanding the installation of *Koyrichak Aglen*, by *Timûr*, in April 1395: *Pu'âl*, son of *Shadi Bek*, altho' *Timûr* did not acknowledge him for khân: *Timûr*, son of *Timûr Kutluk*, altho' not acknowledged by *Timûr*, who had installed *Idekû Khân*: *Jalalo'd-dîn*; *Kerim Birdi*; *Kepek Khân*; *Bahhira*; *Kadir Birdi*. These five last were sons of *Tokatmish Khân*: *Kadir Birdi* was killed in battle against *Idekû*, before-mentioned. The same, *Idekû*; *Sidi Ahmed*; *Dervish*, son of *Alfbi Khân*; *Kuchuk Mehemed*, son of *Tokatmish*; *Dolet Birdi Khân*, son of *Tash Timûr*; *Barrak Khân*, son of *Kavarjik*[†]. It appears from this great number of competitors for the *Kipjak* throne, that the country was in much confusion; which daily increased, instead of subsiding.

14. MahmatKhân. UPON the demise of *Barak Khân*, *Mahmat* (S), son of *Hajan Oglan*, son of *Jabina*, son of *Tolak Timûr*, son of *Saricha*, son of *Avas Timûr*, son of *Togay Timûr*, seized the sceptre of the country of the *Kipjaks*.

15. Jani BekKhân. *MAHMAT Khân* had for his successor *Abûsaïd*, surnamed *Jani Bek Khân*, son of *Barak Khân*, who left nine sons: *Iraji*; *Mohammed*; *Kasim*, who gave battle to *Mohammed Khân Sheybani*, in which the latter lost his life; *Aytik*; *Janish*; *Kamber*; *Tamish*; *Aussak*; and *Jayik*. The *Uzbeks* affirm, that the khâns of *Turkestan* are descended from *Janish Soltân*, fifth son of *Jani Bek Khân*.

16. Ghiazo'ddîn Khân. AFTER the death of *Jani Bek*, *Ghiazo'ddîn*, son of *Timûr-tash*, son of *Mahmat Khân*, possessed himself of the throne of *Kipjak*, and was succeeded by his son *Haji Garay*[‡]. *De la Croix*, instead of multiplying the number of khâns from *Barak*, or *Barrak*, inserts only two in his list; *Kayazo'ddîn Shadi Bek*, and *Mehemed*, son of *Timûr Khân*[§]. It may be presumed, that *Kayazo'ddîn* is the same with *Abûlghâzi Khan's* *Ghiazo'ddîn* (or *Gayatho'ddîn*, according to the pronunciation

* ABULGH. ubi sup.

† DE LA CROIX, ubi sup. p. 389, & seq.

‡ ABULGH. ubi sup. p. 203.

§ DE LA CROIX, ubi sup. p. 390.

them; viz. *Kepek Khân*, *Bahhira*, and *Kuchuk Mehemed Khân*. The other three are, *Jalalo'ddîn*, *Kerim Birdi*, and *Kadir Birdi*, who, according to that author,

were all khâns in the order mentioned hereafter in the text.

(S) Or rather, perhaps, *Mahmûd*.

of the *Arabs*), notwithstanding that *Haje Keray* is represented as the son of *Mehemed*, by the authors made use of by *La Croix*; who are not to be depended on so much as the *khân* of *Karazm*, for the genealogy of the princes of his own nation, and the country from whence the *Uzbeks*, his subjects, originally came.

Haji Garay (*) (*Ghyeray*, or *Keray*) *Khân*, who succeeded 17. *Haji Garay* his father *Ghiazoddin*, left eight sons: *Dawlat Yar*; *Nâr Dawlat Khân*; *Haydar Khân*; *Kutluk Saman*; *Kildish*; *Mengli Khân*. *Garay Khân*; *Tam Gurji*; and *Avas Tamar*. These sons, after their father's death, divided his dominions among them; but their descendants did not long enjoy their respective possessions: for the *Urûs* (or *Russians*) seized the whole country of *Kipjak* in the year 961 of the *Héjrah* (of *Uhrift* 1553) and, since that time, we hear no more mention of the posterity of *Haji Garay Khân*. All we know for certain is, that the *khâns* of *Krim* are sprung from one of his sons: but, as that country is at too great a distance from us, we cannot say which of them it is *.

THIS is all the account given by *Abûlghâzi Khân* of the *khâns* who have reigned in *Kipjak*; to which something, by way of supply, may be added from *La Croix*, relating to *Haji Keray Khân*, and his successors in *Krim Tartary*. According to this author, *Haji Keray Khân* died in 1475, and left twelve sons; which great number of princes was the cause that the empire of *Kipjak* fell into confusion, so that three of them were seen to reign as *khâns* at the same time. This occasioned a war which ruined several provinces, whereof the *Russians* got possession: in short, the great empire of *Kipjak* had been utterly ruined, if *Soltân Mohammed II*, who subdued *Constantinople*, touched with the misfortunes of those princes, had not taken care to succour them. For this purpose, he sent *Ghedik Ahmed Pascha*, who took the city of *Kassa* (T) from the *Genoeses*, and then that of *Mankûp*.

HERE he found *Mengheli* or *Menkeli Keray*, son of *Haji Keray Khân* of *Khân*, who lost his liberty with the rest of the inhabitants. He had *Krim*. been *khân* of *Kipjak* for some few days; but, having been vanquished by his brothers, fled for refuge to the Christians, and

* *ABULGH.* ubi sup. p. 203, & seq.

(*) Whence this name, see from them, and established there *Nouv. Mem. des Miss. Levant*, the seat of their commerce in tom. i. p. 134. the east; but it was taken from

(T) This city fell early into them in 1474, after they had the hands of the *Tatars*: but been in possession of it about they did not keep it long; for, 208 years. about 1266, the *Genoeses* took it

waited an opportunity to remount the throne; on which *Mohammed* soon after replaced him. According to the *Turks*, Hej. 876. *Kyeffa* (or *Kaffa*), with the rest of *Krim*, was taken in 876 A. D. of the *Hejrah*, which answers to that of *Christ* 1471. If 1471. so, the death of *Haji Keray* must have been four or five years earlier, at least, than *La Croix* puts it; especially if, as they say, *Mengheli Keray* had been a long time in war with his brother, before he took refuge with the *Genueses*. They add farther, that the sultan not only appointed this prince khan of the *Krim*, on certain considerations, but also sent him with an army of *Othmans* into *Kapchak* (or *Kipjak*), which he soon recovered by their assistance, after defeating and killing his brother. This was the first khan of *Tartary* appointed by the *Turks*; and the first who, in the *Krim*, ordered the *Khetba*, in the name of the *Othman* emperor, to be used in the prayers. They assume the title of *Padisbah*, or emperor.

Khans of Krim Tartary.

18. Meng-*heli Keray*. **M**ENGHEL I *Keray* (or *Ghyeray*) *Khân* succeeded his father. *La Croix* reckons him the forty-second khan of *Kipjak*: but he was no more than the eighteenth, according to *Abûlghâzi Khân*; whose numbering thus far, being more exact, we shall follow in the margin, to carry on the succession of the khans of *Kipjak*: and at the same time begin a new reckoning with this prince, at the head of the article, and continue it thro' the subsequent reigns, to shew their number, as khans of *Krim* and *Little Tartary* only; of whom *La Croix* has furnished a pretty accurate list, with the dates of their respective deaths, or advancement.

19. Mehe-*med Keray*. 2. **MEHEMED** *Keray Khân* succeeded his father *Mengheli Keray Khân*, in the dominion of *Kipjak*, as well as that of the *Krim*. And here it may be proper to observe, that all the khans, who succeeded *Mengheli Keray*, took or retained the name of *Keray*, *Geray*, or *Ghyeray*, as the *Turks* and *Tatars* pronounce it.

20. Gâzi *Keray*. 3. **MEHEMED** was succeeded by his son *Gâzi Keray Khân*, who was deposed, after a reign of six months.

21. Saadet *Keray*. 4. **SAADET** *Keray Khân*, who gave his brother *Sabhib Keray Khân* in hostage to *Soltân Selim I.* emperor of the *Othmans*. From this time the *Turks* gave one thousand and fifty aspers *per* day as a pension to the khans of *Krim Tartary*, and other pensions to the lords of the *Tatar* court, as appears from the book *Kunho'l Akhbâr*.

1 LA CROIX, ubi sup. p. 390.
Othm. p. 112, & seq.

2 CANTEMIR, hist.

5. *ISLAM Keray Khân*, son of *Mehemed Keray*. In his 22. *Islam* reign the kingdom was divided between two factions; one ad- *Keray* hered to *Saadet Keray Khân*, the other to *Islam Keray Khân*. *Khân*. At length, in 1517, the two parties came to blows on the banks of the *Niepar*, or *Borisphenes*; and, those on *Islam Keray*'s side gaining the advantage, *Saadet Keray* was obliged to fly to *Constantinople*, where the *Othmân* emperor gave him a pension to subsist on. After this, *Islam* was killed by,

6. *SAHHIB Keray Khân*, who seized the throne; but was 23. *Sah-* himself, after having reigned a long time, deposed by *Soley-* *hib Keray* *Khân*. *mân II.* sultan of the *Turks*. The *Russians*, who had been vassals to the *Tatars* till the reign of *Czar* or *Tsar Ivan Basilowitz*, took the city of *Kazân*, or *Kasân*, situate on the river *Kasânkâ*, a little to the east of the *Wolga*, from this *khân*, on the ninth of *July* 1552^a; and, in a year or two more, conquered the kingdom of *Astrakhân*, to the south of that of *Kazân*, with the rest of *Kipjâk* to the west of the river *Jaïk*: so that *Sahhib Keray Khân* may properly be said to be the last *khân* of the race of *Juji Khân* who reigned in *Kipjâk*; excepting that part called *Little Tartary*, which became a part rather by conquest than original occupation. After the subjugation of this large country, the several tribes of *Kipjâks* and *Tatars* submitted to the *Russians*, and still remain in their ancient territories.

7. *SAHHIB Keray* was succeeded by *Dolet* (or *Dawlat*) 24. *Dolet* *Keray Khân*, son of *Mobarek*, son of *Mengheli Keray Khân*, *Keray* and died in 1577. *Khân*.

8. *DOLET Keray* had for his successor *Mehemed Keray* 25. *Mehe-* *Khân*, who was deposed for having disobeyed the *Othmân* *met* *Keray* *Khân*. sultan.

9. *ISLAM Keray Khân* (U), who had been imprisoned at 26. *Sahhib* *Rhodes*, was restored: he died in 1588. *restored*.

10. *GAZI Keray Khân* succeeded: he was a learned prince, 27. *Gâzi* an excellent poet, and able musician. The *Othmân* sultan in- *Keray* creased his pension to about five pounds *English* per day; be- *Khân*. cause he had done great services to the *Turkish* empire, in the war with *Persia*, where he discovered all the qualifications requisite in a great officer: yet he was deposed for some time, but was afterwards restored; and died in 1607.

11. *FATEH Keray Khân*, who was deposed almost as soon 28. *Fateh* as he was advanced to that dignity. *Keray* *Khân*.

^a LA CROIX, ubi sup. p. 391.

(U) This must be a mistake: imprisoned at *Rhodes*: *Islam Keray* for *Sahhib Keray*, who was im- was killed.

29. Selâmet Keray Khân. 12. HE was succeeded by *Selâmet Keray Khân* (son of *Dolet Keray Khân*), who died in 1610.
30. Jani Bek Keray Khân. 13. *JANI Bek Keray Khân* succeeded *Selâmet Keray*; and, in 1617, marched into *Persia* by order of the *Port*. He likewise went to besiege *Kassa*, at the head of 40,000 *Tatars*: nevertheless, he was deposed in 1621; but re-established six years after, in 1627.
31. Mehemet Keray Khân. 14. *JANI Bek* had for his successor *Mehemet Keray Khân*, who was killed the same year.
32. Anayet Keray Khân. 15. *ANAYET Keray Khân*, son of *Gâzi Keray Khân*, deposed in 1637; and afterwards put to death the same year at *Constantinople*^b. According to other accounts, he was indeed slain this year by a nephew of his competitor *Kantemir*; which latter was put to death at *Constantinople*, for killing a *Tatar*. As *Anayet* had shaken off much of his respect for the *Othmân* emperor, his murder was applauded at the *Port*; who set up his brother, then at *Jamboli* in *Rum-ih*, or *Thrace*, in his room^c.
33. Behadr Keray Khân. 16. *BEHADR Keray Khân*, son of *Selâmet Keray Khân*, succeeded *Anayet*, and died in 1641^d. This khân is called *Bekhir Gheray* by others.
34. Mehemmed Keray Khân. 17. *MEHEMED Keray Khân*, another son of *Selâmet Keray*. He was deposed in 1644, and restored: in 1664 he was deposed a second time.
35. Islam Keray Khân. 18. *ISLAM Keray Khân*, a son also of *Selâmet Keray*. He carried on a war with *Poland* for fourteen years, and died in 1653.
36. Adel Keray Khân. 19. *ADEL Keray Khân*, son of *Chûban Keray Khân*. He was deposed in 1671; and sent back prisoner to *Rhodes*, from whence he had been taken.
37. Selim Keray Khân. 20. *SELIM Keray Khân*, who reigned in 1673. We are informed by prince *Kantemir*, that the *Turks*, distrusting the fidelity of *Selim*, after the battle of *Vienna*, advanced *Kior Gyeray*, of the *Chûban Gyeray* family, to the dignity of khân; but that in a few months he was deposed, and the ancient race of *Gyeray* replaced on the throne. That author adds, that it is thought the *Chûban Gyeray* will never rise to the same honour again, altho' they may enjoy the office of galga sôltân, nûro'ddîn, and the like, which are in the power of their relations^e. But, if the memoirs of *La Croix* be true, one of the family of the *Chûban Gyeray* (X) Khâns, was on the

(X) *Chûban*, or *Choban*, *Gye* Asiatic side, over-against the *ray*, signifies *Gyeray* the shepherd. *Krim*, between it and *Chirkas*. The *Chûban Tatars* live on the *sea*.

^b LA CROIX, ubi sup. p. 391, & seq.

the history of the *Othmân* Turks.

p. 392.

^c CANTÉM. hist *Othm.* not. p. 113.

^e See hereafter, *LA CROIX*, ubi sup.

throne of *Krim Tartary* before, in the person of *Adel Keray Khân*. The reason assigned for the supposition, that none of the *Chubân Gyeray* family will be advanced for the future, is, that they are of a spurious race : which reflection they retort, in their turn, on the *Gyerays* of *Krim*. However, they are allowed, by the *Othmân* emperors, to live at *Jamboli* (formerly *Janopoli*), before-mentioned, which is the destined seat of the *Tatar* princes[†]. He was famous in the late war ; for, in one campaign, he beat the *Russians*, *Poles*, and *Germans*. After he had been twice *khân*, he abdicated, on his return from *Mekka* ; but being made *khân* the third time by the *Part*, in place of his son, the latter revolted ; yet was reduced by his brother sultân *Gazi Keray*, in 1702, when the *khân* was about forty. He was very handsome and well-made* : was succeeded by sultân *Gazi*, named

21. *DOLET Keray Khân*, son of *Selâm Keray Khân*. This prince was much beloved by his subjects, and accounted a great soldier : but he was deposed by the *Part*, and sent first to *Rhodes*, and then to *Khio*. 38. *Dolet Keray Khân*.

22. *KAPLAN Keray Khân*. This prince having been defeated in *Chirkassia*, by some rebels, whom he went to reduce, the sultân deposed him, in 1708 ; and re-established in his room *Dolet Keray Khân*[‡], who had been deposed before him, and is, according to *La Croix*, the sixty-fourth *khân* of *Kipjak*. 39. *Kaplan Keray Khân*.

23. *DOLET Keray Khân*, who began his second reign in 1708. 40. *Dolet Keray Khân*.

B O O K IV.

The History of the princes of the race of Jenghîz Khân, who have reigned in the Great and Little Bukhâria, with part of Karazm.

C H A P. I.

A description of Great Bukhâria.

BUKHARIA, *Bokhâria*, *Bokâria*, *Bogâria*, or *Bohâria*, *Bukhâria* as it may be variously pronounced, is the name given at present to all that region or tract of land lying between *Karazm* and the great *kobi* or sandy desert, bordering on *China*. It signifies the country of the *Bukhârs* : *Bukhâr*, as

[†] CANTEM. hist. Othm. note, p. 113. * Nouv. Mem. des Miss. Levant, vol. i. p. 102, & seqq. 130, & seqq. [‡] LA CROIX, ubi supra, p. 393.

Abû'lghâzi Khân informs us, being a *Mungl* word, importing; a learned man; because all those (formerly) who had a mind to be instructed in the languages and sciences, went, for that purpose, into *Bukhâria* *. Hence it appears, that this name was imposed originally by the *Mungls*, who conquered this country in the time of *Jenghiz Khân*. This vast region is divided into two parts, the *Great* and the *Little Bukhâria*. It seems somewhat strange, that the above-mentioned author, who speaks frequently of the former, should never once mention the latter: which name, perhaps, may not be so much in use with the *Uzbeks*, or may have come in use only since the *Eiûths* or *Kalmûks* conquered the countries comprized under that denomination, in the last century. Both names are in use with the *Russians*, and it is from them that they came to other Europeans.

Its several names.

THE country of *Great Bukhâria* is nearly the same with that called by the *Arabs* *Mawara'nahr*; which signifies, *what lies beyond the river*, meaning the *Jihûn*, or *Amû*, the *Oxus* of the ancient *Greeks*, and is little other than a translation of *Transoxana*, the name given formerly to those provinces. Under this denomination was comprised all the extent of country possessed by those powers, the *Greeks* and *Arabs*, beyond the above-mentioned river; which country, at different times, had different dimensions. Indeed, for the general, *Mawara'nahr* signified all the space or lands intercepted between the *Jihûn* and the *Sihûn*, now called *Sir*, which separated them from the territories of the *Turks*, who, during the dominion of the *Arabs* in those parts, spread themselves very far over *Great Tartary*. However, although *Abû'lghâzi Khân*, in some places, seems to use the words *Great Bukhâria*, and *Mawara'nahr*, to denote the same country; yet, in other places, the first name seems to be more limited, and even restrained, to the territories of the khân of *Bukhâra*, or *Bokhâra*, one of the three provinces into which *Great Bukhâria* is at present divided.

Mawara'nahr.

Turân.

GREAT Bukhâria is also comprised under the name of *Turân*, or the country of the *Turks*: which is likewise given, by the *Arabs* and *Persians*, to the country situated to the north of the river *Amû*, in opposition to *Irân*, or *Persia* at large, lying to the south of that river; and includes a considerable part of what fell to the share of *Jagatay Khân*, second son of *Jenghiz Khân*, from whose descendants, the *Uzbeks*, of the race of *Fuji*, or *Tâshi Khân*, conquered it. But here it may be requisite to observe, that *Abû'lghâzi Khân* employs the

* *ABU'LOH. hist. Turks, &c. p. 103.*

word *Turân* in a different sense, namely, to denote the regions lying between the river *Sir* and the icy sea, or perhaps more particularly *Siberia*; except the word *Turân* has, through some mistake, been inserted instead of *Tûra*, as the *English* translator of that author is inclined to think ^b.

AFTER the conquest of this country by the *Mungls*, and Jagatay grant thereof to *Jagatay Khân*, it took the name of *Jagatay*, ^{Uzbek.} or *Zagatay*, as our geographers write it; given to it by the *Persians*, or perhaps the *Mungls* themselves, in honour of the new proprietor. This name continued so long as the khâns descended from him reigned in those parts. Upon their expulsion by the *Uzbeks*, the *Persians* gave it the name of the country of *Uzbek*^c, as before they had done to that part of *Tartary* beyond the *Sir*, which they then inhabited: but it does not appear that the *Uzbeks* themselves called either country after their own name; at least, *Abû'lghâzi Khân* never does. However that be, they have been communicated, by their neighbours, to the *Europeans*; whose geographers, for the general, still use them, and even those which have been long since out of use among the *Asiatics*.

GREAT Bukhâria (which seems to comprehend the *Sogdiana* and *Baktriana* of the antient *Greeks* and *Romans*, with ^{Situation and extent.} their dependencies), is situated between the 34th and 46th degrees of latitude, and between the 76th and 92d degrees of longitude. It is bounded on the north by the river *Sir*, which separates it from the dominions of the *Elûths*, or *Kalmûks*; the kingdom of *Kâshgar*, in *Little Bukhâria*, on the east; by the dominions of the *Great Mogul*, and *Persia*, on the south; and by the country of *Karazm* on the west: being about 770 miles long, from west to east; and 730 miles broad, from south to north.

ACCORDING to *Bentink*, nature has denied nothing to this *Soil and* fine country, to render living in it agreeable: the mountains ^{produce.} abound with the richest mines; the valleys are of an astonishing fertility in all sorts of fruits and pulse; the fields are covered with grass the height of a man; the rivers swarm with excellent fish; and wood, which is scarce all over *Grand Tartary*, is found here in great plenty: in short, it is the best cultivated, and best inhabited, of all the northern *Asia*. But all these blessings are of very little use to the *Tatar* inhabitants, who are naturally so lazy, that they would rather go rob and kill their neighbours, than apply themselves to improve the benefits which nature so liberally offers them ^d.

^b ABU'LGH. hist. *Turks*, &c. p. 452, & seq. ^c TEIXEIRA, hist. *Pers.* p. 319. ^d ABU'LGH. ubi supra, p. 209.

*Division
into pro-
vinces.*

GREAT Bukhâria is divided into three large provinces, namely, *Proper Bukhâria*, *Samarkant*, and *Balk*, each of which has commonly its particular khân: altho' sometimes one, by conquest, is master of two provinces, as happened to be the case about thirty years ago, when the khân of *Proper Bukhâria* was in possession also of *Samarkant*; and this may still be the case, for any thing we know, at this distance, to the contrary.

1. Province of Proper Bukhâria.

*Proper
Bukhâria.*

THE province of *Proper Bukhâria*, or *Bokhâria*, is the most western of the three; having on the west, *Karazm*; on the north, a desert called by the *Arabs* *Gaznah*; on the east, the province of *Samarkant*; and on the south, the river *Amu*. It may be about 390 miles long, and 320 broad. *Abû'lghâzi Khân*, in the history of his own wars, mentions several provinces and towns belonging to *Proper Bukhâria* (some of which the *French* editor gives an account of), as the provinces of *Duraganata* and *Gordish*, large provinces towards *Karazm*; *Kujin* and *Karmina*, towards the middle of the country. The towns are chiefly *Bokhâra*, *Zam*, *Wardanfi*, *Karakul*, *Siunjbala*, *Karsbi*, *Zarjui*, *Nersem*, and *Karmina*.

*Bokhâra
city.*

THE city of *Bokhâra*, or *Boghâr*, as our *Jenkinson* calls it, is, according to that author, situated in the lowest part of all the country; and, by his own observation, in 39 degrees 10 minutes of latitude; twenty days journey from *Urkenj*, the capital of *Karazm*. It was, in 1559, of great extent, and fortified with a high wall of earth; was divided into three parts, whereof the castle of the khân, who resides here, made one; the murfas, officers of the court, and those belonging to the khân's retinue, took up the second part; the third, which was the biggest, being possessed by the burghers, merchants, and other inhabitants. In this last division, every trade or profession has its particular quarter. The houses are generally only of earth; but the temples, and many other structures, as well public as private, are of stone, sumptuously built, and gilded; especially the baths, which are so artfully contrived, that the like is not to be seen any-where else.

*Water un-
wholesome.*

A LITTLE river runs through the city, whose water is very bad, breeding in the legs of such as drink it, worms an ell long, between the flesh and the skin; which working out about an inch every day, are rolled up, and thus extracted; but if they break in the operation, the patient dies. For all this inconvenience, it is there forbidden to drink any other liquor than water and mares milk; such as break that law being whipped through the markets. There are officers appointed to search all houses for aqua vitæ, wine, or brag (or braga); and in case any be found, they break the vessels, spill the drink, and pu-

nish

with the owners : nay, often if a man's breath smells of strong liquor, he incurs a handsome bastinado. This great strictness is owing to the metropolitan (or head of the law) in *Bukhâria*, who is more obeyed than the king himself : he even deposes him at pleasure ; as he served both the king who reigned when our author was there, and his predecessor, slaying him in his chamber in the night.

THE king (or *khan*) has neither great power nor wealth. As his revenues are but small, he is maintained chiefly by the city : for he takes the tythe of all things sold there, to the great impoverishment of the people ; and when he wants money to pay his debts, sends his officers to seize goods from the shop-keeper, upon credit, whether they will or not. Thus he acted, to pay *Jenkinson* for some pieces of kersey. However, that merchant was very civilly treated by him, who reigned when he was there, in the year above-mentioned. He often sent for, and discoursed with, him, about the laws, religion, and power, of the *European* countries. At his request, likewise, he sent 100 men in pursuit of robbers (who had attacked his *karawân*), and recovered part of his goods.

As the country of *Boghâr* was formerly subject to the *Persians*, the *Persian* language is still spoken there. But the *Boghârians* are continually at war with the *Persians* their neighbours, on account of religion, although both nations are *Mohammedans* (but of different sects). They likewise quarrel with them, because they do not shave the upper lip, as they, and all other *Tatars*, do : for this reason, they call them *kafirs*, that is, unbelievers, as they do *Christians*. They have no gold coin in *Bukhâria* ; and only one piece of silver (A), worth twelve pence *English*, which the king raises and falls so frequently, that their copper money, called *Puli*, is more current, whereof rob make the silver piece.

As to the trade of *Bokhâra*, *Jenkinson* observes, that, in his time, there was a great resort of *karawâns*, from *India*, *Persia*, *Balk*, *Russia*, and other countries : but he adds, that the merchants are so poor, and bring so few wares, which yet they must wait two or three years to sell, that there are no hopes of any trade in this place worth following. The *Indians* brought nothing but white calicoes ; and carried back wrought silks, red hides, slaves, horses, and such-like : but would not deal with our author for woollen cloths, which they had from the *Persians* and the *Russians* *.

* *JENKINSON'S* voyage to *Boghar*, in *Purch. pilgr.* Vol. III. p. 239, & seq.

(A) *Bentink* says, the money of *Persia* and the *Indies* is current here also.

BEN.

BENTINK observes farther, that this city is conveniently situated for trade with the above-mentioned countries; and that the duties do not amount to quite three *per cent.*: but that the extraordinary oppressions which the foreign merchants have met with, have reduced commerce there to a very low ebb. However, that from hence the dominions of the *Great Mogul*, and part of *Persia*, are supplied with all sorts of dried fruits, of an exquisite flavour †.

Karmina city. THE same author gives an account of three or four more of the cities belonging to *Proper Bukhâria*. First, *Karmina*; this place is situated in a province of the same name, towards the borders of *Karazm*, to the north-west of *Bokhâra*; and is but inconsiderable at present.

Wardanfi. *WARDANSI* lies to the west of *Karmina*, near the borders of the same country. It is a pretty large scrambling town, inhabited by the *Bukhârs*, who traffic into *Persia* and *Karazm*.

Karshi. *KARSHI* stands to the north of the river *Amû*, and is, at present, one of the best cities in *Great-Bukhâria*, being large, populous, and better built, than any other in that country (B). The neighbouring lands are exceeding fertile, in all sorts of fruits and pulse; and its inhabitants drive a great trade in the north parts of the *Indies*.

Zamin, or Zam. *ZAMIN* (C) is a small town on the right (or north-side) of the *Amû*, towards the borders of *Persia*, remarkable for nothing but its passage over that river; which is of great advantage to the *Uzbecks* of *Great Bukhâria*, in their expeditions on that side ‡.

2. The province of Samarkant.

Bounds and extent.

THIS province, which is called *Mawara'n-nahr* by *Bentink*, lies to the east of *Proper Bukhâria*, and north of *Bâlk*. It extends as far as the the borders of *Kâshgar*, in *Little Bukhâria*; being about 540 miles long, from west to east; and 500 broad, from south to north.

† *ABU'LGW. hist. Turks*, p. 465, & seq. § *Ibid.* p. 464, & seq.

(B) It lies between *Bokhâra* and *Samarkant*. *Timûr Bek* (or *Tamerlan*) usually encamped with his army near this city, which stands on the river *Tâm*. *Nakshêb*, *Nesef*, and *Karshi*, are the same place; it had this last name from the palace which *Kepk* built, two leagues and an half distant; for *Karshi*, in the *Mongol* language, signifies a palace. *De la Croix, hist. Tim. Bek.* p. 65. book i. cap. 13.

(C) Called also *Samin*, or *Zam*.

THIS

THIS country was formerly full of flourishing cities; but Samarkant city. most of them are, at present, either intirely ruined, or much fallen to decay. The capital of the province, and indeed of all Great Bukhâria, taken in the largest sense, is *Samarkant*, or *Samarkand* (D), situated on a river, and in a valley, both which bear the name of *Sogd*; from whence the *Sogdiana* of the antients had its denomination. It is seven days journey to the north-east of *Bokhâria*; and, according to the observation of *Ulug Beg* (grandson of *Timâr Beg*, or *Tamerlan*), who reigned here in 1447, lies in $39^{\circ} 37' 23''$ of latitude. Although it falls short, at present, of being so splendid as in times past, yet, *Bentink* says, it is still very large, and well peopled. It is fortified with strong bulwarks of earth; and its buildings are much in the same condition with those of *Bokhâra*: some of the private houses are of stone, dug out of quarries which are near the town^b. *Abû'lfeda* says, that the streets were paved in his time: that it had a wide ditch round the walls: and that water was conveyed from the river, by leaden pipes, into the cityⁱ.

THE academy of sciences in this city is one of the most Its ad- eminent to be found among the *Mohammedans*, who resort vantages. thither to study, from all the neighbouring countries. The silk-paper made here is said to be the most beautiful in all Asia, and therefore in great request throughout the east. The soil produces pears, apples, raisins, and melons, of an exquisite taste; and in such plenty, that the empire of the Great Mogul, and part of *Persia*, are supplied with them. The little river (that is, the *Sogd*), which passes by the town, would be of great use to the place, by opening a communication with the neighbouring dominions, if the inhabitants had but the industry to make it navigable.

THE other remarkable cities in this province were, *Otrâr*, *Osher Zarnuk*, *Tashkunt*, *Kojand*, *Kash*, *Saghanian*, *Washjerd*, and cities. *Termed*: but of these we meet with scarce any account in modern travellers. *Otrâr*, called by the *Arabs* *Farâb*, is the most Otrâr. distant city from the capital, and lies almost due north. It stands in the most north-west part of the province, on a small river, which, two leagues thence, falls southward into the *Str*. This place is famous for the death of *Timâr Beg*, in

^b ABU'LGH. hist. Turks, p. 462.

ⁱ ABU'LF. descr. Chorasmia, p. 62.

(D) *Kant*, *Kent*, and *Kunt*, language, signifies a city or as 'tis variously pronounced by town; of which *Kand*, or *Kend*, people who speak different dialects of the *Mungl* or *Turkish* are made by other nations.

1405^{*}; and, though not considerable at present, was the capital city of *Turkestan*, when that kingdom or empire was in its flourishing state, under *Kavar*, or *Kur Khân*, as hath been already[†] set forth.

TASHKUNT, at present, belongs to *Turkestan*; four days journey to the south of which, and seven north-east of *Samar-kant*, stands *Kojand*, or *Kojend*, and *Kbjiend*, on the *Sir*, being a famous passage over that river, as *Termed* is over the *Amu*. *Saghenian* and *Washjerd* are seated on the river *Saghenian*, which falls into the *Amu*. *Kash*, or *Kesh*, lies not far to the east of *Karshi*, and south of *Samar-kant*. *Timûr Beg* was prince of this city, before he rose to his future greatness.

To these places may be added *Angien*, which is the most eastern town of note in all *Great Bukharia*: standing near its borders, towards *Kashgar*, and not far from the source of the *Sir*, on whose northern side it is situated; in the latitude of 40 degrees, according to the Jesuits map of *Tibet*, drawn from the journals of *Chinese* and *Tatar* travellers.

3. The province of Bâlk.

Bounds
and ex-
tent.

THE province of *Bâlk*, or *Bâlkh*, lies to the south of the province of *Samarkant*, and east of *Proper Bukharia*. 'Tis about 360 miles long, and 250 broad.

BENTINK observes, that although this province is the smallest of the three, yet, being extremely fertile, and thoroughly cultivated, the prince draws a fair revenue out of it. The country particularly abounds with silk, of which the inhabitants make very pretty manufactures.

THE Uzbeks subject to the khân of *Bâlk*, are the most civilized of all the *Tatars* inhabiting great *Bukharia*, owing, in all likelihood, to their commerce with the *Persians*; neither are so given to thieving as the rest: they are likewise more industrious; but in other respects are the same sort of people.

THE country of *Bâlk* is divided into several provinces; the most remarkable whereof are, *Khetân*, or *Karlân*, *Tokbarestân*, and *Badâgshân*. Its chief cities are, *Bâlk*, *Fariyah*, *Talkhân*, *Badâgshân*, and *Anderâb*.

City of
Bâlk.

THE city of *Bâlk* is situate towards the borders of *Persia*, about 50 miles to the south of *Termed*, and on the river *De-kash*; which, about 40 miles from thence, to the north-west, falls into the *Amu*. *Bentink* informs us, that *Bâlk* is, at present, the most considerable of all the towns possessed by the *Mohammedan Tatars*, being large, fair, and well peopled.

* *ABU'LGH.* ubi supra, p. 462, & seqq.

† See before.

Most of its buildings are of stone or brick; and its fortifications consist of earthen bulwarks, lined on the outside with a strong wall, high enough for its defence. The khan's castle is a great structure, after the eastern fashion, built almost wholly of marble, dug out of the neighbouring mountains. The chief cause to which this prince owes his preservation, is the jealousy which reigns among the neighbouring powers; so that he is always sure of being assisted by one, when attacked by another.

As foreigners have free liberty to trade in this city, it is become the resort of all the business carried on between *Great Bukharia* and the *Indies*. To this the fine river, before-mentioned, which passes through its suburbs, contributes not a little. Goods pay 2 per cent. going and coming; but passengers pay nothing at all.

ANDERAB is the most southern city possessed, at present, by the *Uzbeks*; being situated at the foot of the mountains, which divide the dominions of the *Great Mogul* and *Persia* from *Great Bukharia*. As there is no other way of crossing these mountains towards *India*, with beasts of carriage, but by the road through this city; all travellers, and goods, from *Great Bukharia*, designed for that country, must pass this way, paying 4 per cent. On this account, the khan of *Balk* maintains a good number of soldiers in the place, which otherwise is of no great strength. For the rest, *Anderab* is very rich and populous, considering it is but small. The neighbouring mountains yield noble quarries of lapis lazuli, in which the *Bukhars* drive a great trade with *Persia* and *India*.

BADAGSHAN (or *Badakhshân*) is a very antient city, and exceeding strong, by its situation, at the foot of those high mountains which separate *Hindostân* from *Great Tartary*. It belongs to the khan of *Proper Bukharia*, and serves him for a kind of state-prison, to secure those he is jealous of. Although the town is not very big, yet it is well enough built, and very well peopled. The inhabitants are enriched by the mines of gold, silver, and rubies, which are in the neighbourhood. They who live at the foot of the mountains gather a great quantity of gold and silver dust in spring, brought down by the torrents, when the snow melts on the top^m.

THE mountains above-mentioned are called, in the *Mung* language, *Belûr Tâg*, or the dark mountains; in which rises the river *Amû*, there called *Harrat*. *Badagshân* stands on the north side of it, above 100 miles from its source, 230 from *Balk*, and 210 from *Anghien*, in the province of *Samarkant*.

^m BENT. ap. Abû'lgh. ubi supra, p. 466, & seq.

It is a great thoroughfare for the karawans designed for *Little Bukhâria*, which take the same road.

Of the inhabitants of Great Bukhâria, their manners and customs.

Inhabitants.

THE inhabitants of *Great Bukhâria* are of three sorts. 1. The *Bukhârs*, who are the antient inhabitants. 2. The *Jagatays*, or *Mungls*, who settled there under *Jagatay Khân*, second son of *Jenghiz Khân*. And, 3. The *Uzbek Tatars*, who are the present possessors.

The Bukhârs persons.

1. ALL the great towns, both of *Great* and *Little Bukhâria*, from the borders of *Karazm*, as far as *China*, are inhabited by the *Bukhârs*; who, being the antient people of those provinces, have that name given to them throughout the east. But the *Tatars* commonly call them *Tajiks*; which word, in their language, signifies nearly the same as burghers, or citizen (E). The *Bukhârs* are well-set, and very fair, considering the climate; have generally large eyes, black, and lively; their faces are well-shaped; their noses hawked; hair black, and very fine; their beards thick. In short, they have nothing of the deformity which appears in the *Tatars*, among whom they inhabit. The women are generally large, and well-shaped, with fine complexions, and very beautiful features.

Their dress.

BOTH men and women use calico shifts and drawers, over which the men wear a vest of quilted silk, or calico; which reaches to the mid-leg, and is tied about the middle by a silk-crape girdle, which goes several times round. When they go abroad, they sling over it a long cloth gown, faced, and even lined in winter, with fur. Their head is covered with a round cloth bonnet, like the *Pokish*, with a large fur border: some wear turbans, like the *Turkish*. Their boots are made like the *Persian* buskins, but not altogether so neat; and they have a very singular art of preparing horse-hides for the purpose. The women wear long gowns, full, and loose, of the same materials. They let their hair hang in tresses, adorned with pearls, and other jewels. Their bonnet is small, flat, and coloured. Their slippers like those worn in the north of the *Indies*;

Religion and trade.

ALL the *Bukhârs* profess the *Mohammedan* religion, nearly after the *Turkish* form, excepting in some few ceremonies.

(E) They give them this appellation, as a nickname, by way of contempt, for their living wholly in towns, and following merchandize; whereas the *Tatars* prefer the field, and treat commerce as a base, mean employment.

They live by following mechanic trades, or commerce, which is wholly in their hands : but, as seldom any foreign merchants arrive among them, especially in those parts where the *Mohammedan Tatars* are masters, they resort in numerous karawâns to *China*, the *Indies*, *Persia*, and *Siberia*, where they traffic to considerable advantage. Although they possess all the towns of these provinces, they never meddle with arms, leaving the business of war and government to the *Elûths*, or *Kahnûks*, and *Uzbek Tatars*, who are in possession, the latter of *Great*, the former of *Little, Bukhâria*; to whom they pay tribute, which is regulated every year. On this account, the *Tatars* despise them extremely, as cowardly, simple people; of which several instances occur in *Abû'lghâzi Khân's* history.

THE *Bukhârs* are utterly at a loss as to their origin; further *Their ori-* than that, by tradition, they came thither from some distant coun- *gin un-* try. They are not divided into tribes, like the *Tatars*, and many *known.* other eastern people; whence many surmise, that they are the descendants of the twelve tribes carried, by *Salmanassar* king of *Affyria*, into *Media*; to which, their having the appearance of *Jews*, and many customs like theirs, seems to add weight. But our author thinks such conformities too weak for convincing proofs; and we are of opinion, that the *Bukhârs* not being divided into tribes, is an argument against, instead of for, that idle notion.

2. The Jagatay Tatars.

EVER since the reign of *Jagatay Khân*, second son of *The Jagatay Jenghiz Khân*, who had, for his share, *Great Bukhâria*, says. and part of *Karazm*, those provinces bore the name of *Jagatay*, and his *Tatar* (or *Mungl*) subjects, whom he brought along with him, that of *Jagatay Tatars*; till *Shabakht Soltân*, having driven out the descendants of *Timûr Beg* (or *Tamerlan*), the name of *Jagatay* gave place to that of *Uzbeks*. Yet our geographers continue to give the name *Jagatay* to *Great Bukhâria*, although it has ceased above 200 years ago. However, it is still used, to distinguish the descendants of the *Tatars* who first possessed that region, from those who are the present masters of it, although both, making now but one mixed body, are comprised under the general name of *Uzbeks*. On the other hand, the troops, and other crown officers, of the *Great Mogul* of *Hindûstân*, are called *Jagatays* by the orientals, because they were the *Jagatays* who conquered that country^a,

^a BENT. ap. Abû'lgh. ubi supra, p. 458, & seq.

under sôltân *Babr*, after he had been expelled out of *Great Bukhâria*.

3. Uzbek Tatars of Great Bukhâria.

Uzbeks
dress, diet.

THE *Uzbeks*, who possess this region, are generally reputed the most civilized of all the *Mohammedan Tatars*, although they are great robbers, like the rest. They are clothed, both men and women, like the *Persians* (but not so neatly), as low as their boots, which are very clouterly; and the chief of them wear a plume of white heron feathers on their turbans. Their most delicious victuals are pillaw (which is rice sodden in broth) and horse-flesh. Their common drink is kumis (or kammez) and arak, both made of mares milk. Their language is a mixture of the *Turkish*, *Persian*, and *Mungl* tongues; yet they are able to understand the *Persians*, and the *Persians* them. Their arms are much the same with those used by the rest of the *Tatars*, viz. the sabre, the dart, the lance, and the bow, of a larger size than ordinary, which they manage with much strength and dexterity. They have used muskets for some time past, after the *Persian* manner. When they go to war, a great part of their cavalry wear coats of mail, and a little buckler, to defend them.

Robust and
brave.

THE *Tatars* of this country value themselves on being the most robust and valiant of all the *Tatars*; and they must needs be people of courage, since the *Persians*, naturally very brave, are, in some measure, afraid of them. The women also of *Great Bukhâria* pique themselves on account of their valour. *Bernier* relates a very romantic story, which was told him by the khân of *Samarkant*'s ambassador sent to *Aureng Zeb*. The truth is, that these women often go to war with their husbands; and do not fear engaging hand-to-hand with the enemy, when occasion requires it. They are, for the most part, very well made, and tolerably handsome; nay, some of them may pass for perfect beauties in any country.

Always at
war.

THE horses of the *Uzbeks* have neither breasts nor buttocks: with the neck long and streight, like a stick; with the legs very high, and no belly: they are, besides, frightfully lean. But, for all this sorry appearance, they are exceeding swift, and almost indefatigable; very easily maintained withal: for a little grass, or moss, though ever so indifferent, satisfies them in time of need; so that they are the fittest horses in the world for the use which the *Tatars* make of them. Their masters are commonly at war with the *Persians*, their incursions being encouraged by the fine plains of *Khorassân*: but the mountains, inaccessible to their cavalry, hinder them from penetrating into the

the dominions of the *Great Mogul*. Such of them as feed on their cattle, live under portable huts, like their neighbours the *Kalmûks*, encamping where-ever they see convenient. But they who cultivate lands, dwell in the villages and hamlets; very few of them living in the cities or towns, which are all possessed by the *Bukhârs*, or antient inhabitants°. We shall speak of the origin, and other particulars, relating to the *Uzbeks*, when we come to the history of *Karazm*.

C H A P. II.

A Description of Little Bukhâria.

THE name of *Little Bukhâria* is given to this country, not *its name*, because it is less in dimensions than the *Great Bukhâria*, being in reality much larger: but because it is inferior to it, as to the number and beauty of its cities, goodness of the soil, abundance of inhabitants, and the like. The adjuncts of *Great* and *Little* seem to have been imposed, by the *Uzbeks*, to distinguish such part of the *Bukhârs* country, as is possessed by themselves, from that which was not subdued by them; and yet the name of *Little Bukhâria* is never used by *Abû'lghâzi Khân*, who speaks of *Kâshgar*, *Tarkian*, and other countries belonging to it, without comprising them under any general denomination. Before the *Uzbeks* conquered part of the *Bukhârs* country, the whole went by the name of *Jagatay*, or the country of *Jagatay*, son of *Jenghîz Khân*, to whose share it fell. It was also called, by the *Persians*, the kingdom of *Kâshgar*, from that province, which was the nearest and principal part of the whole. In the history of *Timûr Bek*, *Little Bukhâria* is considered as part of *Mogulîstân*, and the country of *Jetah*, or the *Jetes*; whom the *Persian* geographers place in that part of *Tartary* which lies contiguous on the north.

LITTLE Bukhâria is surrounded by deserts: it has, on *bounds and the west*, *Great Bukhâria*; on the north, the country of the *Elûths*, or *Kalmûks*, in *Tartary*; that of the *Mungls* subject to *China*, on the east; on the south, *Tibet*, and the north-west end of *China*; from both which countries it is separated by two kobis, or deserts, of vast extent, which communicate with each other. It is situated between the 92d and 118th degrees of longitude, and between the 35° 30' and 45th degree of latitude; being in length, from east to west, about 850 miles; and in breadth, from south to north, 580: but, if its dimensions be taken according to its semicircular course from

° ABU'LGH. ubi sup. p. 459, & seq.

the south to the north-east, its length will be 1200 miles, but its breadth never exceed 140.

air, mines; THIS region is populous and fertile enough; but the great elevation of its land, joined to the high mountains which bound it in several parts, especially towards the south, renders it much colder than it ought naturally to be (A) by its situation. It is very rich in mines of gold and silver; but the inhabitants reap little benefit by them, because neither the *Elmths* (or *Kalmuks*), who are masters of the country, nor the *Bukhârs*, care to work in them. However, they gather abundance of gold every spring out of the gutters made by the torrents which fall from all sides of those mountains, when the snow melts; and from hence comes all that gold-dust which the *Bukhârs* carry into *India*, *China*, and *Siberia*. Much *mask* is likewise found in this country; and all sorts of precious stones, even diamonds; but the inhabitants have not the art of either cutting or polishing them^a.

precious stones.

Nature of the soil; ALL *Little Bukhâria* consists of one long chain of mountains, with its branches extending through the kobi, or sandy desert, which, towards the foot of those hills, is interspersed with fruitful plains; so that it may be compared to a long reef of rocks and islands rising in the sea. *Regis* observes, that between the cities in this country there are no villages (B): whence it happens, that, in travelling a whole day from one to the other, there is not an house of entertainment to be found. He attributes this partly to the genius of the *Tatars*, who prefer tents to houses; and partly to the nature of the country, which is so divided by branches of the kobi, that it is habitable only in some particular places.

division.

LITTLE Bukhâria contains several distinct states, or countries; but their exact number, bounds, and dimensions, are not ascertained by authors. In the time of *Goez* the Jesuit, who travelled thro' it in 1603, it consisted of two kingdoms, *Kashgar* in the west, and *Chalis* in the east, both under one sovereign: at present it may be conveniently divided into

^a *ABU'LOH. Hist. Turks, &c. p. 469, & seq.*

(A) This seems to be contradicted by *The present State of Bukhâria*, where this country is said to abound with all sorts of fruits and vines; but that the heat is so excessive, that there is no bearing it without doors. *Abû'lg. Hist. Turks, p. 477.*

(B) Yet *Bentink*, and the author of *The Description of Bukhâria*, say, the towns, which are about twenty, have a great number of villages depending on them. *Abû'lg. Hist. Turks, p. 471.*

four

four parts; the kingdom of *Kâshgar*, and the provinces of *Akshâ*, *Turfân*, and *Khamîl*, called by the *Chineſes* *Hami*

1. *KASHGAR* is the moſt weſtern province of the four; or *Kâshgar* lies, more properly, to the ſouth of *Akshâ*. It hath, in the *provinces*. weſt, *Great Bukhâria*; from whence it is ſeparated by a double chain of mountains, with deſerts between them. On the ſouth lies *Tibet*; and, to the eaſt, the great kobi, or deſert, which extends as far as eaſtern *Tartary*. It may be about 430 miles in length from ſouth to north, and 350 broad from weſt to eaſt: within this compaſs we do not meet with more than eight or nine towns mentioned by authors, of which only three are of any great conſideration, *viz.* *Kâshgar*, *Tarkian*, and *Khotam*.

2. *KASHGAR*, written by the Jeſuits *Hafikar*, is called *City of* alſo *Ardukan*, according to *Abû'lfeda*. It lies to the north- *Kâshgar*. weſt of the other two cities, towards the frontiers of *Great Bukhâria*, at the foot of the mountains which ſeparate that province from the leſſer. It ſtands on the eaſt bank of a river which falls from thoſe mountains, and loſes itſelf in the deſert, thirty or forty miles diſtant from the city. It was formerly the capital of the kingdom: but, as *Bentink* obſerves, is very much declined ſince the *Tatars* have been maſters of it: however, there is ſtill a pretty good commerce carried on with the neighbouring countries, tho' very inconfiderable to what it was^b. This city, before *Jenghîz Khân's* conqueſt, was, for a time, the capital of *Turkeſtân*, or the dominions of the *Turks*, in *Tartary*; likewiſe of the weſtern *Lyau*, or *Karakitayans*: ſince then alſo it has been the ſeat of kings deſcended from *Jagatay Khân*, who ſeem to have reigned there till the conqueſt of *Little Bukhâria* by the *Elâths* in 1683.

The city of *Tarkian*, or *Yerkian*, according to *Bentink*, who *Yarkian* writes *Yerkeen* and *Yerkeben* (C), is at preſent the capital of *the capi-* all *Little Bukhâria*, and ſituated to the north of *Kâshgar*, on *sal*. the banks of a ſmall river, whoſe waters are not reckoned wholeſome. But, as to its ſituation, he was probably miſinformed: for the Jeſuits, in their map of this country (which they include in that of *Tibet*), place it to the ſouth-eaſt of *Kâshgar*, about ninety miles diſtant, and on a river, which riſes in the mountains, about the ſame diſtance to the ſouth-weſt, and falls into the lake of *Loph*, about ſix hundred miles from its ſource. The ſame author adds, that *Tarkian* is large,

^b ABU'LOH. ubi ſup. p. 471.

(C) Others, *Irken*, *Irghen*, *Jarkan*, *Tarkhan*, *Turkend*, and *Hiark-ban*.

and pretty well built in the eastern way, altho' most of the houses are of sun-burnt bricks. There is a castle in this city, where the khan of the *Elûths* comes to reside for a time, when his affairs require it; whence it is mistaken by some for the place of his usual residence. The country round *Yarkian* is very fertile in all sorts of fruits and pulse.

THIS city must needs be very populous, and the *Bukhârs* rich, as it is the centre of all the commerce carried on between the *Indies* and the north of *Asia*, *Tibet*, *Siberia*, *Great Bukhâria*, and *China*. The late emperor of *Russia*, *Peter I.* intended to have settled a regular trade with *Yarkian*, by the river *Irtish*, which would have proved very advantageous to his dominions.

Khotam, or Hotom. THE city of *Khotam*, or *Hotom*, is variously written⁷ by authors: 'tis called by *Marco Polo*, *Kotam*; *Hotom*, in the map of the *Jesuits*; *Koton*, in other maps; *Khateen* by *Bentink*; and *Khoton* by the oriental historians. *Abû'lfeda* says, it was incredibly large, and that its inhabitants were originally of *Kitay*^c. It was probably built by the *Karakitayans* (D) before-mentioned, who conquered this country, and founded a dynasty there in 1124^d. This city lies to the south-east of *Yarkian*, on the river *Hotomnifolon*, according to the above-mentioned map. According to *Bentink*, it is subject to the grand khan of the *Elûths*; and still in a pretty flourishing condition, on account of its great traffick with *Tibet* and the *Indies*. Liberty of conscience is allowed here by the inhabitants, who are mostly *Mohammedans*, to all their pagan neighbours. The houses are built with bricks, and the circumjacent country is exceeding fruitful. The citizens pay a certain tribute to the khan of the *Elûths* for his protection, and are not incommoded by his people.

Country of Akfû. 2. THE country of *Akfû* lies to the north of *Kâshgar*, and west of the province of *Turfân*, about 350 miles in length, and seventy in breadth. *Akfû* (E), the chief town in this region is frequently mentioned by travellers; but no account given of it, farther than that it belongs to the kingdom of *Kâshgar*. According to the *Jesuits* map, it stands on the north

^c Descr. Chorasm. p. 80. edit. Hudson.
Vol. IV. p. 57.

^d See before,

(D) Whether the name be *Khoton*, *Koton*, or *Hoton* (which, in the *Mungl* language, signifies a city), or *Khotom*, seems uncertain.

(E) *Akfû* signifies white water; perhaps from the quality of its river.

side of a small river, which runs south-east, and loses itself in the sands. The river *Ili* has its springs in the mountains in the north-east part of this province; and runs north-westward into *Tartary*, where it falls into the lake *Palkati*, about 120 leagues from its source. On the east-side of this river, towards the said lake, the late khâns of the *Elûths* used to fix their encampments; called *Harkas*, or *Urga*, as others write it. More to the west rise the *Chui Muren* and *Talas Muren*; on which last stands the town of *Sayrâm*, according to the information of the Jesuits. Both these rivers, after a course of about 180 miles, fall into a lake situate in *Great Tartary*.

3. To the east of *Aksû* lies the province of *Turfân*; which *Turfân* may be about 200 miles long, and 80 broad. It contains several towns, of which *Turfân* is the chief. *Goes* represents it as a strong, well-fortified city: but the later missionaries give no account of its present state, farther than that it is a considerable city, and that it is six days journey from *Hami* (or *Khamîl*), over a branch of the kobi, or desert; but ten days, by the hills, to the north of this last city, which is the safer way.

4. THE province of *Khamûl*, *Khamîl* (F), or *Hami*, as the *Chineſes* call it, is about 180 miles long, and 80 broad. It contains only one small city, of the same name; but is full of houses, and has a few villages, as laid down in the Jesuits map. The inhabitants are a large-bodied people, and very robust; well-shaped, and very neat in their houses. It stands ninety leagues from the gate in the great wall of *China* called *Kyayuguan*, and has lands enough round it; yet extends no farther, because that whole tract is nothing but a dry sand, and the most barren part of all *Tartary*.

THIS country, tho' formerly inhabited by idolaters, is now free from them, being possessed by *Mohammedans*. The soil scarce produces any fruit, except melons; but those of an excellent flavour, and which will keep beyond the season, so as to be served up at the emperor of *China*'s table all the winter*. *Gerbillion* indeed says, the country produces plenty of good fruits, besides melons and grapes†. But then he was not in these parts, as the other missionaries were, from whom we have taken the former account.

* DU HALDE, Descr. China, Vol. II. p. 253.
ibid. p. 262.

† Idem

(F) *Marco Polo* and *Goes* the Jesuit, write *Khamul*, *Bentink Khamîl*.

Country of
the Vi-
gûrs.

THE provinces of *Turfân* and *Khamîl* seem to have composed the country possessed formerly by the *Vigûrs*, *Oygûrs*, or *Igûrs*, whose capital, according to the oriental authors, was *Bisbbalig* : but *Gaubil* places it eight or nine leagues to the east of *Turfân*, and names it *Ho-chew* (according to the *Chinese*), and says, it is still called *Pe-ting-tu-hû-fû* ; whereas *Bisbbalig* is situated, by him, to the north of *Turfân*, and the country of *Almaleg* to the west of that of *Bisbbalig*². The *Igûrs* were likewise masters of the neighbouring parts of *Tartary*, as far as the river *Irtisb*, and mount *Altay*.

The ad-
joining de-
sart.

THE above-mentioned desert, lying between *Khamîl* and the great wall of *China*, is part of the sha-mo, or kobi. As it affords neither air nor water, travellers, in crossing it, frequently lose their horses ; for this reason the *Tatars* make use rather of dromedaries, who are content with little food, and can be five or six days without drinking. However, the whole desert is not included within this space of ninety leagues : for it has several branches, which, spreading here and there like so many infected veins, divide the country into as many plots, some dry, and quite uninhabited ; others fertile enough to subsist a few *Tatars*³.

The Inhabitants of Little Bukhâria.

Inhabit-
ants, their
shape.

THE inhabitants of this country, tho' under the dominion of the *Elûths*, are, for the general, *Bukhârs*. These, according to *The Present State of Little Bukhâria*, are generally sun-burned and black-haired ; altho' some of them are very fair, handsome, and well-made. They do not want politeness ; and are addicted to commerce, which they carry on with *China*, the *Indies*, *Persia*, and *Russia*. They who deal with them will be sure to be over-reached, if they be not on their guard.

The dress

THE habits of the men differ very little from those worn by the *Tatars*. They fall as low as the calf of the leg, with sleeves very wide towards the shoulders, and close about the elbows. Their girdles are like those of the *Poles*. The garments of the women differ in nothing from those of the men, and are commonly quilted with cotton. They wear bobs in their ears twelve inches long ; part and twist their hair in tresses, which they lengthen with black ribbands embroidered with gold or silver, and with great tassels of silk and silver, which hang down to their heels (A) : three other tufts of a

² GAUBIL, hist. Gentch. p. 13. 126, 127.
pb. sup. p. 253.

³ DU HALPE,

(A) These are the same called by *Grueber* northern *Tartary* women, of whose dress he has given a print.

smaller

smaller size cover their breasts. They have necklaces ornamented with pearls; small pieces of coin, and several baubles, either gilded or silvered over, which make a glaring shew. Both sexes carry about them prayers written by their priests, and kept in a small leathern purse, in the nature of relics. The girls, and some of the women, tinge their nails red, with *of both* the juice of an herb called, by the *Bukhârs*, *Kena*: they dry *sexes* and pulverize it; then, mixing it with powder-alum, expose it in the air for twenty-four hours before they use it, and the colour lasts a long time.

BOTH sexes wear close breeches, and boots of *Russia* leather, very light, and without heels, or leather soles; putting on galloches, or high-heeled slippers, like the *Turks*, when they go abroad. They wear also the same sort of bonnets, and covering for the head; only the women set off theirs with trinkets, small pieces of money, and *Chinese* pearls. Wives are distinguished from maidens only by a long piece of linen worn under their bonnets; which, folding round the neck, they tie in a knot behind, so that one end of it hangs down to the waist*.

THE *Bukhâr* houses are of stone, and pretty good; but *Houses and* their moveables are few, and not very handsome; consisting *furniture* only of some *China* trunks plated with iron. Upon these, in the day, they spread the quilts which they make use of at night, and cover them with a cotton carpet of various colours. They have likewise a curtain sprigged with flowers, and other figures; also a sort of bedstead half a yard high, and four yards long, which is hidden in the day with a carpet. They go to bed naked: but always dress when they rise. They *Their diet* are very neat about their victuals, which are dressed in the master's chamber, by his slaves, whom the *Bukhârs* either take or buy from the *Kalmûks*, *Russians*, and other neighbours: for this purpose, there are in the chamber, according to the largeness of the family, several iron pots, set in a kind of range, near a chimney. Some have little ovens, made, like the rest of their walls, with a stiff clay, or bricks.

THEIR utensils consist in some plates and porringers of *Capua* wood, or of china, and in some copper vessels to boil tea and water. A piece of coloured callico serves them instead of a table-cloth and napkins. They use neither chairs nor tables, knives nor forks, but sit cross-legged on the ground; and, the meat being served up ready cut, they pull it to pieces with their fingers. Their spoons resemble our wooden ladles^b.

* BENTINK ap. Abû'lgh. hist. *Turks*, &c. p. 476, & seqq.

^b Idem ibid. p. 475, & seq.

THEIR usual food is minced meats, of which they make pies in form of a half-moon : they serve for provision when they go long journeys, especially in winter, carrying them in a bag, after first exposing them to the frost ; and, when boiled in water, make very good broth. Tea is their common drink, of which they have a black sort prepared with milk, salt, and butter ; eating bread with it, when they have any.

marriage-
ceremony ;

As the *Bukhârs* buy their wives, paying for them more or less, according to their handsomeness ; so the surest way to be rich, is to have many daughters. The persons to be married must not see or speak to each other from the time of their contract, till the day of marriage ; which is celebrated for three days with feasting, as they do three great annual festivals. The evening before the wedding, a company of young girls meet at the bride's house, and divert themselves till midnight in playing, dancing, and singing. Next morning the guests assemble, and help her to prepare for the ceremony. Then, notice being given to the bridegroom, he arrives soon after, accompanied by ten or twelve of his relations or friends ; followed by some playing on flutes, and by an *abûs* (B), who sings, while he beats two little timbrels : then he makes a horse-race ; which being ended, he distributes the prizes, six, eight, or twelve, in number, according to his ability. They consist in damasks, fables, fox-skins, callico, or the like. The parties do not see each other while the marriage-ceremony is performing, but answer at a distance to the questions asked by the priest. As soon as it is over, the bridegroom returns home with his company ; and, after dinner, carries them to the bride's house, and obtains leave to speak to her. This done, he goes back, and returns again in the evening ; at which time he finds her in bed, and, in presence of all the women, lays himself down by her in his cloaths, but only for a moment. The same farce is acted for three days successively. But the third night he goes to-bed to her in earnest ; and, the next day, carries her home.

Child-
bearing.

SOME husbands, by agreement, continue with their parents some time longer, and often a whole year, the wife remaining the same time with hers. But if she dies in the interim without children, her relations keep all which her spouse gave her, unless they are pleased to return him one half. The women are reckoned impure forty days after their delivery, and dare not say their prayers all that time. The child is named the

* BENTINK ap. Abû'lgh. hist. Turks, &c. p. 422.

(H) The *abûs* is a kind of priest.

third day after it is born, by the father, or some relation ; who make it a present of a bonnet, piece of linen, or coat, as he can afford it : they are circumcised at the age of seven, eight, or nine.

ALTHO' polygamy is looked on as a sort of sin by the *Bukhârs*, yet it is never punished ; so that some have ten wives, or more. Any man may at pleasure send back his wife ; but then she is intitled to whatever he gave her during their cohabitation. The woman also may part from her husband ; but then she cannot carry away the least thing which belongs to her. Polygamy.

WHEN a *Bukhâr* falls sick, a mullah is sent for, who reads to him a passage out of some book, and breathes on him several times ; then, with a very sharp knife, makes several cuts over and on the side of his face. They imagine that, by this means, they cut the root of the distemper, which they say is caused by the devil. When any of them dies, the priest lays a korân on his breast, and recites some prayers. After this, the body is carried to the grave, which they commonly make in some pleasant wood, and inclose with a hedge, or palisade^d. Distempers how cured.

THE *Bukhârs* have no money but copper kopeiks, which weigh near one-third of an ounce. When they have silver or gold to receive or pay, they weigh it, as the *Chineses* and other nations do^e. Their language, according to *Gerbillon*, is apparently that of the *Uzbeks*, differing from the *Mungl* : but he adds, that this last is commonly understood, by means of the great commerce between the two nations^f. Money, and language.

ALTHO' the prevailing (or established) religion, in all the towns and villages throughout *Little Bukhâria*, is the *Mohamedan*, yet all others enjoy a perfect toleration ; because the *Kalmûks* (or *Elûths*), who are masters of this country (though gross idolaters) think they ought not, in conscience, to suffer people to be molested on account of their belief. According to *The Description of Bukhâria*, the *Bukhârs* say, that God first communicated the korân to men by *Moses* and the prophets : that afterwards *Mohammed* explained and drew a moral from it, which they are obliged to receive and practice. They hold Christ to be a prophet, and have a singular notion about his birth. All religions tolerated.

THE virgin *Mary*, according to them, was a poor orphan ; and her relations, disagreeing about the charge of her education, proposed to decide it by lot. They threw a feather into Legend of Mary.

^d BENTINK ap. Abû'lgh. hist. Turks, p. 482, & seq. ^e Idem ibid. p. 478. ^f DU HALDE, ubi sup. p. 261, & seq.

a vessel full of water, and agreed that he, to whose finger it stuck, should have the maintenance of the child; who, by that means, fell to *Zachariah's* care; for the feather, tho' sunk to the bottom, rose, and fastened to his finger, the very instant he put it into the water. One time the business of the temple having kept him three days from home, upon recollecting that he had locked the child up, he ran back as fast as he could: but, instead of finding her dead, as he expected, she was surrounded with all sorts of eatables; which, as she told him, God had sent her.

Conception. THE first time this holy maid was taken after the manner of women, she went to bathe in a fountain which was in a great forest; where, frightened on hearing a voice, she ran to her cloaths: but presently an angel appeared, and told her, she should become with child, ordering her to name him *Isay*. *Mary* replied wisely, that lying-in would be painful to her, as she never had to do with any man. Hereupon the angel, breathing on her breast, made her comprehend that mystery; and instructed her in what it was necessary for her to know. In short, *Mary* conceived from that instant; and, the time of her delivery approaching, went to hide herself, for shame, in the same forest. There, falling in labour, she leaned against a decayed tree, and, in that condition, was delivered. When, behold! at the same instant, the rotten trunk began to put forth leaves, and the country all around to bloom as in spring. The angels came also; and, having bathed the new-born infant in a fountain, which suddenly appeared within two paces of the place, returned him to his mother; who, going back to her relations, was received with curses, and ill treatment. She took it all very patiently; and, without justifying herself, only desired her son to plead her cause. This he did immediately, with such strength of argument as intirely vindicated his mother; explaining to them the whole mystery of a birth so miraculous, and contrary to nature.

Brings forth Isay.

His assumption.

YOUNG *Isay*, in time, became a great prophet, and a doctor of high authority: but was generally hated and persecuted, especially by the great men, who often sought to slay him; and at last sent two considerable persons to make away with him; but, just as they were about to execute their design, God took him up to heaven, and punished the assassins in a singular manner: for, transforming them one after the other to the shape of *Isay*, they became exposed to the fury of the people; who, deceived by the resemblance, put them to a miserable death.

ALTHO'

ALTHO' the *Bukhârs*, as appears from what has been related, have no notion of the sufferings of Christ; yet they believe in the resurrection, and another life: but cannot be persuaded, that any mortal shall be eternally damned; on the contrary, they believe, that, as the demons led them into sin, so the punishment will fall on them. They believe moreover, that, at the last day, every thing but God will be annihilated; and, consequently, that all creatures, the devils, angels, and Christ himself, will die. Likewise that, after the resurrection, all men, excepting a few of the elect, will be purified or chastised by fire, every one according to his sins, which will be weighed in the balance.

THEY say, there will be eight different array, or paradises, for the good; and seven hells, where sinners are to be purified by fire: that those, who will suffer most, are lyars, cheats, and make-bates: that the elect, who do not feel the fire, will be chosen from among the good; viz. one out of a hundred men, and one out of a thousand women; which little troop will be carried into one of the paradises, where they shall enjoy all sorts of felicities, till it shall please God to create a new world, in the room of the present. It is a sin, according to them, to say that the Deity is in heaven: God, say they, is everywhere; and therefore it derogates from his omnipresence, to say he is confined to any particular place.

THEY keep yearly a fast of thirty days, from the middle of *Their* Lent *July* to the middle of *August*: during this time they taste nothing all day; but eat twice in the night, at sun-set and midnight: nor do they drink any thing but tea, all strong liquors being forbidden. Whoever transgresses these ordinances, is obliged either to emancipate his most valuable slave, or give an entertainment to sixty people: he is likewise to receive eighty-five strokes on the bare back with a leathern strap called *dura*, by order of the *aguns*, or chief-priest. Yet our author has observed, that the common people do not exactly keep this fast; and that workmen are allowed to eat in the day-time. They say prayers five times a day: before morning; towards noon; afternoon; at sun-set; and in the third hour of the night; notice being given them by their *abûs*, or priests.

§ BENTINCK, ubi sup. p. 478, & seq.

C H A P. III.

*The History of Great Bukhâria.**Of Jagatay Khân, and his Successors.*

Empire of **JAGATAY** (or *Chagatay*) Khân, second son of *Jenghiz Khân*, Jagatay. was a most accomplished prince, and excelled the rest of his brothers. He was also more equitable; and observed, with greater exactness, the laws made by his father^a, whereof he was the keeper and administrator. He had something so severe in his countenance, that every-body was afraid to look at him: however, he was master of a great understanding; on which account *Jenghiz Khân* gave him, for his share of the empire (A), all the country of *Great Buthâria*, and half of *Karazm*; likewise the country of the *Vigûrs* (or *Igûrs*), the cities of *Kâshgar*, *Badâghân*, *Bâlk*, and *Gaznah*, with their dependencies, as far as the river *Sir-Indi* (or *Indus*)^b. *Abûl-faraj*. and *Mirkond* agree nearly with this division; only the former throws in all *Karazm* to his lot, and adds *Al Malig*^c; which yet may be comprised within the countries of the *Vigûrs* and *Kâshgar*, that is, *Little Bukhâria*.

^{1.} Jagatay Khân. THIS prince, after the death of his father, chose the city of *Bisbbâlek* (in the country of the *Igûrs*) for the place of his residence: however, he lived almost continually with his brother *Oktay*, who loved and respected him as his master, altho' younger than he. In his absence his dominions were governed by *Karajar* or *Karashbar Noyan*, whom *Jenghiz Khân*, at his death, gave him for his wazir, to preside in his counsels, and command his armies. This lord was one of the most powerful among the *Mingls*, and the fifth great ancestor, or grandfather, of the famous *Timûr Bek*, or *Tamerlan*^d.

A false prophet. As the country was governed with great wisdom and moderation, nothing disturbed the peace of it till the year 630;

Hej. 630.

A. D.

1232.

^a LA CROIX, hist. Gengh. p. 394.

^b ABU'LGHAZI

KHAN; hist. Turks, &c. p. 165.

^c D'HERBELOT.

hist. orient. art. Giagathay, p. 391. LA CROIX, ubi supra.

^d D'HERBEL. ubi sup. p. 390. LA CROIX, ubi sup.

(A) 'Tis doubtful whether *Jenghiz Khân* made any such distribution; but he, as well as *Batû* in *Kippâk*, governed under *Oktay*, on whom and his successors, all the parts of the em-

pire were dependent; till, by degrees, they shook off their dependence on the immediate successors of *Jenghiz Khân* in the eastern parts of *Tartary* and *China*.

when

when *Mahmûd*, furnamed *Tarâbi*, from *Tarâb*, a country town six leagues from *Bokhâra*, having, by his false miracles, deluded an army of people, went at the head of them, and took that city. After this, he marched against the *Mungl* generals, who could not venture to attack him for a thick dust with which they were incommoded; infomuch that, although *Mahmûd* was slain by a random arrow-shot, in the midst of his camp, yet neither the enemy, nor his own soldiers, knew any thing of the matter. Mean time the *Mungls*, attributing this extraordinary dust to the impostor's skill in magic (B), fled for fear; and, their shameful flight animating the *Tarâbian* rebels, they pursued them, killing above 10,000. At their return, they were surprised not to find their general: but being told, by those who were in the secret, that he had disappeared for a while, the credulous disciples set up his brothers *Mohammed* and *Ali* for his lieutenants in his absence.

By this means the flame spread, instead of losing ground; *His followers exterminated* so that *Karâsbar Noyân* (or *Nevian*), seeing the principal cities daily reduced, at length assembled the chief forces of the empire, in order intirely to suppress the rebels. He began with the city of *Bokhâra*, which had favoured them; plundered the territory belonging to it, and slew a great number of the inhabitants. This obliged them to sue for pardon to *Jagatay*, whose clemency easily granted it; while his troops destroyed the *Tarâbians* without mercy.

JAGATAY Khân died in the year 638, which answers to *Jagatay* the *Mungl* year of the *Od*, or *Out*, that is, the *Ox*: thus writes *dies*. *Kondamûr*. But *Abû'lghâzi Khân* puts his death two years later, Hej. 638. and gives this account of it: The khân had in his court a *A. D.* forcerer, who could deceive people's sight, so as to make them *1240.* think they saw whole armies march before them. *Jagatay*, having had the curiosity once to see some such representation, conceived so great an aversion to the man, that, on some complaint against him shortly after, he ordered him to be cast into prison, bound hand and foot, where he died: but the khân himself was seized not long after with an incurable disease, which carried him off.

AMONG a great many wives and concubines, *Jagatay* distinguished two above the rest, who were sisters, the daughters *Wives and children.*

• D'HERBEL. ubi supra.

(B) They are infatuated with rain, hail, and dust, may be a stupid notion, that storms of raised by enchantment.

of

of *Kaba Noyan*, chief of the tribe of *Kankrats* (C). The first, named *Buffulun*, bore him many sons, whom he loved best of all his children. The name of the second was *Tarkhân Khatun*, whom he married after the death of the first. His sons were seven in number; *Mutugan*, *Muji*, *Balda Shâh*, *Saghin-lalga*, *Sarmans*, *Buffumunga*, and *Baydar*^f. According to *Kondamir*, the eldest son of *Jagatay Khân* was named *Manuka*, who had three sons, *Bayssur*, *Kara Hulagû*, and *Naliga*, who succeeded each other. But the same author says, he had no successor who succeeded to all his dominions: for that his sons, and nearest relations, divided his empire among them; and those who had the longest sword, obtained the greatest share^f. However, we are told that thirty-one princes, who were either his sons or nephews, reigned in this country, called, after him, *Jagatay*.

2. **Kara Hulakû.** THE first of these, according to *La Croix*, was *Bisumenkay Khân*; the same doubtless with the *Buffumunga* of *Abû'l-ghâzi Khân*; who yet does not reckon him among the khâns of *Jagatay*, placing *Kara Hulakû* as his immediate successor. On the other hand, the authors made use of by *La Croix* say, that *Kara Hulakû*, son of *Metuka* (D) (or *Mutugan*), ascended the throne after his brother *Bisumenkay*, by the assistance of *Karasbar Noyan*, who died during his reign, in the year 1254.

3. **Mubârek Shâh.** *MUBAREK Shâh*, son of *Kara Hulakû*, succeeded; but, as he was very young at his father's death, his mother *Argata Khatun* took the regency during his minority. *La Croix* calls her *Argana Khatun*, daughter of *Nâr Alchi Garkhân*, and makes her the third successor of *Jagatay Khân*.

4. **Algâ.** THE successor of *Mubârek Shâh* was *Algâ*, son of *Baydar*, seventh son of *Jagatay Khân*; who, acknowledging *Koplay* for grand khân of the *Mungls* in the east, had for his share all the country from the river *Amû*, bounding *Persia*, to mount *Altay*^g. *La Croix* calls this khân *Naligâ*, and sets him before *Mubârek Shâh*.

5. **Barâk Khân.** *BARAK*, or *Berrak Khân*, son of *Tafunta*. This prince, in the second year of his reign, embraced *Mohammedism*, and took the name of *Gayazo'dîn*^h. *Kondamir* says, he was the son of *Bayssur*, son of *Manuka* (or *Mutugan*) before-men-

^f ABULGH. ubi sup. p. 166. § ABU'LGH. ubi sup. p. 163. 167. ^h Id. ibid. & D'HERBELOT. art. Barâk Khân, p. 183.

(C) *Kongrats*, as others; called *Hongkila* in the Chinese history, as has been often observed before.

(D) Called, by others, *Manuka*. *La Croix*.

tioned: that he was one of the most considerable princes of his time; and attempted to take *Khorassân* from his cousin *Abâka Khân*, son of *Holakh*, who reigned in *Irân*, or *Persia* at large: that, not succeeding in his design, he turned his arms against *Kublai Khân*, who reigned in the eastern parts of *Tartary* and *China*, where he made great ravages, but was forced to return without subduing any one considerable place: he died in 1260¹. But, if so, he could not have had a war with *Abâka Khân*, who did not ascend the throne till 1264 (E).

AFTER *Barâk Khân*'s death, the dignity of khân was conferred on *Beghi*, son of *Sarmans*, son of *Jagatay*. *La Croix* calls this prince *Nikepey*, son of *Saryan*. 6. Beghi Khân.

BUGA (or *Buka*) *Timâr*, great grandson of *Mutagun*, succeeded *Beghi Khân*. 7. Buga Timâr Khân.

DORJI Khân, son of *Barâk Khân*, succeeded *Beghi Khân*, and was reckoned a very just king: he is called by *La Croix* *Dava Khân*. 8. Doyji Khân.

He was succeeded by his son *Konja Khân*, called by *La Croix* *Kavenjik Khân*. 9. Konja Khân.

BALIGA (or *Baligû*) who was also a grandson of *Mûtagun*, succeeded *Konja*. 10. Baliga Khân.

THE successor of *Baliga* in *Great Bukhària* was *Ijan Buga*, second son of *Doyji Khân*. He was named also *Amul Khoja*; and, on the death of *Ilyas* or *Elias Khoja*, son of *Teglâk Timâr*, was invited by the inhabitants of *Kâshgar*, and the rest of *Little Bukhària*, to take the sovereignty of that country upon him, as will be related hereafter. 11. Ijan Buga Khân.

ISAN Buga Khân was succeeded by his brother *Dui Timâr* (left, we presume, to reign, upon the other's removing to *Timâr Kâshgar*). This prince is called *Dava Timâr* by *La Croix*; who places, between him and *Baligû*, three khâns, namely, 1. *Abisuka*, son of *Dava* (or *Doyji*) *Khân*; 2. *Kepek Khân*; 3. *Elchi Keday Khân*, son of *Dava Khân*². 12. Dui Timâr Khân.

DUI Timâr had for his successor his brother *Tarmashir*; who restored *Mohammedism*, which, from the time of *Barâk Khân*, had so declined in *Great Bukhària*, that scarce any footsteps of it remained. This khân was slain by his brother *Butan Khân*, who afterwards seized the throne. The *Persian* historians, who name this prince *Turmasbirin*, make him the 13. Tarmashir Khân.

¹ D'HERBEL. ubi sup. p. 391. LA CROIX, ubi sup. p. 395.

² ABULGH. & LA CROIX, ubi sup.

(E) Possibly this date is a mistake for 1270. See hereafter the reign of *Abâka Khân*, in the line of *Hulakû*.

sixteenth khân, and place his death in 1336: they say also, that he was much feared by his neighbours¹.

14. Butan Khân. *BUTAN Khân* was succeeded by his nephew

15. Jangshi Khân. *JANGSHI*, son of *Ulugan*, brother of *Butan Khân*. The brother of this prince, named *Yafun Timûr*, ambitious of the throne, formed a design to make him away: but their mother, suspecting his design, advised *Jangshi* to be on his guard. Hereupon the khân immediately took the field against his brother; but had the misfortune to lose the battle, with his life. *La Croix* calls this prince *Jinkesbi*, and makes him the immediate successor of *Turmesbirin Khân*.

16. Yafun Timûr. *YASUN Timur*, having thus by force ascended the throne, to be revenged on his mother for discovering his conspiracy to his brother, like another *Nero*, caused her belly to be ripped up. *La Croix* calls him *Bisûn Timûr Khân*, son of *Abuken*.

17. Ali Soltân Khân. DURING the reign of *Yafun Timûr*, *Ali Soltân*, a prince of the posterity of *Ugaday*, or *Oktay*, became so formidable, that neither the khân, nor the other princes descended from *Jagatay*, were able to make head against him; so that, after the death of *Yafun Timûr*, he brought *Great Bukhâria* under his subjection. *La Croix* makes *Ali Soltân* the nineteenth khân.

18. Kazân Khân. AFTER the death of *Ali Soltân Khân*, *Kazan Soltân* re-entered into possession of the dominions belonging to the house of *Jagatay Khân*. This prince was the son of *Jasur* (or *Jasur Aglen*), son of *Urek Timûr Khân*, son of *Kutugay*, son of *Bosay*, son of *Mutugan*, son of *Jagatay*: so that there were, in all, sixteen khâns of this last prince's posterity (F), who reigned, without interruption, 109 years over the provinces of *Mawara'nahr* (or *Great Bukhâria*). After them there were indeed other khâns in that country: but they were such as only bore the name of khân, without having the power: each head of a tribe assuming the liberty of doing what he pleased, and obeying the khân no farther than he thought fit^m.

Hej. 733. *SOLTAN Kazân* began his reign in the year 733: but
A. D. was very cruel; and so tyrannical, that, when he sent for the
1332. princes his dependents to court on any occasion, they com-
Death and monly made their wills before they went. Hereupon *Mir Ka-*
character.

¹ ABU'LGH. & DE LA CROIX, ubi supra. Hist. TIMUR BEK, Vol. I. p. 18. ^m ABU'LGH. ubi sup. p. 168, & seq.

(F) The *Persian* historians only the eighteenth, and the sixteenth of those who descended from *Jagatay Khân*.

Kazagan, one of the most considerable princes of his time, in conjunction with others, took up arms against him; but were defeated in 746, and their leader wounded in the eye with an arrow by *Kazân* himself; so that he not only lost that eye, but was wholly blinded for a long time after. The grand khân hereupon returned to *Karshi*; where he had the misfortune to lose so many horses by the severity of the winter, that almost all his cavalry was reduced to march on foot. *Mir Kazagan*, who had advice of this, without loss of time went and attacked the khân; who was slain in the battle, in the year 747. Hej. 746. A. D. 1345.

AFTER *Kazân Khân*'s death, *Mir Kazagan* set on the throne a prince of the race of *Oktay Khân*, called *Dâshmenja Aglen* (G): but soon after put him to death, and at length advanced to the dignity of grand khân *Bayân Kuli*, son of *Sorgâddâ*, son of *Dava* (or *Doyji*) *Khân* (H). This prince was esteemed for his justice and liberality; while *Mir Kazagan*, who took on him the government of the kingdom, acquitted himself to the satisfaction of every-body, and his own glory. After his death, which happened by the hands of his son-in-law, on occasion of some affront, in 759, he was succeeded by his son *Mirza Abdollah*, who confirmed *Beyân Kuli Khân* in his dignity: but soon after caused him to be assassinated, to obtain the empress, with whom he fell in love (I); and placed *Timûr Shâh Aglen* on the throne. 19. Dâshmenja Khân. 20. Bayân Kuli Khân. Hej. 759. A. D. 1357.

TIMUR Shâh Khân was son of *Bisûn* (or *Yafun*) *Timûr Khân*, son of *Ulagan*, son of *Doyji Khân*. But he did not long enjoy his dignity: for the princes, shocked at *Abdollah*'s proceeding, made war upon him; routed his forces; and, 21. Timûr Shâh Khân.

(G) *Hexarsen*, a modern Turkish author, calls him *Daneşmenja Khân*, son of *Ifur Aglen*, according to a note in the history of *Timûr Bek*, translated by *La Croix*; which shews, that the list given by him, in his history of *Jengbiz Khân*, is taken from *Hexarsen*; but *Abûlgbâzi Khân*, instead of *Danişmanja*, puts *Amir Kazagan* himself; and says, he was the son of *Danişmanja*, son of *Kaydu*, son of *Kasbi*, son of *Ugaday* (or *Oktay*), son of *Jengbiz Khân*. He says likewise, that he was slain after a two years reign; nor was it known by whom. But, as the

account given by *Sharifo'ddîn Ali*, author of *Timûr Bek*'s history, cannot well fail of being the truth in these two particulars, we have therefore chosen to follow him.

(H) According to *Abûlgbâzi Khân*, he was son of *Surga*, son of *Doyji Khân*, son of *Berrak Khân*, the fifth of those before-mentioned.

(I) According to *Abûlgbâzi Khân*, p. 170, *Beyân Kuli Khân* had him slain, on suspicion of having a criminal correspondence with his wife: but *Sharifo'ddîn Ali*, our author, is more to be relied on.

having taken his brothers, with the khân, put them all to death^a. *La Croix* makes him the twenty-fourth khân; and, in another place, says, the lords usurped his authority, because he was very weak in his understanding^b: but the usurpation did not begin in his reign.

22. Adel Soltân Khân. *ADEL Soltân Khân* succeeded *Timûr Shâh*; and was the son of *Mohammed Pulad*, son of *Konza Khân*, son of *Doyji Khân*. According to *Abû'lghâzi Khân*, two heads of tribes, *Amîr Timûr*, and *Amîr Hussayn*, nephew of *Abdollah*, son of *Amîr Kazagan*, seized the khân; and, binding him hand and foot, drowned him^c. It must be observed, that this author is a great enemy to these princes, especially *Timûr*, for taking the power from the descendants of *Jenghiz Khân*. However, 'tis likely the khân was made away with by *Hussayn*; for there is no mention at all of him, in the history of *Timûr Bek*, by *Sharîfo'ddîn Ali*, excepting occasionally; where it is said, in speaking of his services done to *Hussayn*, that the khân *Adel Soltân* having fled from *Hussayn*, of whom he was jealous, altho' he had raised him to the throne, *Timûr* even pursued, and seized him, after some resistance, and sent him to that prince^d. *La Croix* places *Togal Timûr*, and his son *Elias Khoja* (khâns of *Kâshgar*), between *Timûr Shâh* and *Adel Soltân*, whom he makes the twenty-sixth khân^e.

23. Kabûl Soltân Khân. *KABUL Soltân Khân*, son of *Dorji*, son of *Ilyaktay*, son of *Doyji Khân*, was, after the death of *Adel Soltân Khân*, established in his room by the two lords above-mentioned; who, in his reign, seized the city of *Balk*, and slew the khân^f.

Hej. 765. This happened in the year 765, according to *Sharîfo'ddîn Ali*; A. D. who, without mentioning any thing of *Adel Soltân Khân*, says, 1363. that, after the defeat of the *Getes*, the princes of *Great Bukhâria* aiming at independency, *Timûr* and *Hussayn*, to prevent things running into confusion, found it necessary to elect a grand khân: whereupon *Kabûl Shâh Aglen* was proposed, and chosen in a general assembly^g.

24. Soyruktamish Khân. *AFTER* the death of *Kabûl Soltân Khân*, *Soyruk Tamish* was advanced to the dignity of khân. He was the son of *Danishmanja*, son of *Kaydu*, son of *Kasbi*, son of *Ugaday* or *Oktay Khân*^h. *La Croix* calls him *Siorgatmish Aglen*, son of *Danishmend*; and says, *Timûr* gave him the empty title of khân,

^a SHARIFO'D. hist. Tim. Bek. ch. 1. 2. p. 4. 14. & seq.
^b Hist. Gengh. p. 396. ^c ABU'LGH. ubi sup. p. 171. ^d Hist. Tim. l. i. c. 26. p. 118. & seq. ^e Hist. Gengh. p. 396.
^f ABU'LGH. ubi sup. p. 171. ^g Hist. Tim. Bek. l. i. c. 11. p. 53. ^h ABU'LGH. ubi sup. p. 171.

without

without leaving him the least part of the power^v. He was made khân in 1369 by *Timûr*; who, after *Hussayn's* death, ordered the khân, *Kabîl Shâh* (or *Soltân*), made by that prince, to be Qûn^x. *Siorgatmisb* reigned nineteen years, dying at *Bokhârâ*, in the year 1388, while *Timûr* was in his march to *Khorassm*. He was buried at *Kâsh*, under a monument which he had erected himself. *Timûr*, as soon as he returned to *Samarakant*, established soltân *Mahmûd*, the late khân's son, in his father's place^y.

MAHMUD Khân: whose name *Timûr* caused to be written on the top of his orders; to make the people believe that he observed the laws of *Jenghiz Khân*^z, that is, in acknowledging one of his descendants for khân. This titular prince followed *Timûr* in his expeditions, particularly that against *Bayezîd*; and was often sent to make inroads into the *Othmân* territories; in one of which he died, in 1402, near *Sattalâ* in *Anatolia* (K), where he was seized with a violent distemper^z.

La Croix adds another khân, as the thirty-fifth, whom he names *Tumen Kothuk Aglen*; and says, he was crowned by *Timûr*, in 1690: which could not be, since *Mahmûd* lived twelve years after. This, therefore, is the last of the khâns of the race of *Jenghiz Khân*, who reigned in the empire of *Jagatay*; for, after *Timûr's* death, the dignity of khân was suppressed by his successors, who governed in their own name, and founded a new dynasty.

C H A P. IV.

The History of Little Bukhâria.

Of the Descendants of Jagatay Khân, who reigned in Little Bukhâria.

ALTHO' *Jagatay Khân* had to his share both the *Bukhârias*; yet, after his death, the empire, as hath been already mentioned, became divided among the princes of his family, every one seizing a part, according to his power. 'Tis likely, therefore, that *Little Bukhâria* separated very early from the *Greater*; and had a succession of khâns, till about the beginning of the fourteenth century: when, by some means or

^v Hist. Gengh. p. 396.

^x Hist. TIM. BAK; p. 124. 128.

^y Idem, p. 316.

^z Idem ibid.

^a Idem, l. v. c. 54. p. 270.

(K) *Abûlghâzi Khân*, p. 175, says, *Timûr* put both *Mohammed* (or *Mahmûd*) *Khân* and *Bayezîd* to death: but neither seems to be the fact.

other, not mentioned by the authors yet come to hand, the line happened to fail. On this occasion, therefore, we are told by a Tartarian author, that the inhabitants of the cities of *Kâshgar* and *Yarkian*, and of the countries of *Alatakh* and the *Vigûrs* (or *Igûrs*), finding none of *Jagatay's* posterity among them, who was capable of filling the vacant throne, saw themselves under a necessity to call in *Amul Khoja*, who then reigned in *Great Bukhâria*, under the name of *Isan Boga Khân*^a.

1. Amul
Khoja
Khân.

THIS prince, who was the son of *Doyji Khân* (and eleventh in that succession), having no children by his wife *Satil Tamish*, got a slave of his, called *Manlaghi*, with child. Hereupon *Satil Tamish*, being incensed, one day, when the khân was gone a hunting, gave her in marriage to a *Mungl* chief, named *Shiragol*, and obliged him to carry her with him into his own country. *Amul Khoja*, at his return, was informed of what had been done; but, not caring to have any words with his wife, seemed to take no notice of it. Some time after this he died; and, as he left no issue, the state became rent in pieces by the different factions. In this extremity *Amir Yalawji*, one of the principal lords of *Kâshgar*, sent *Tasb Timûr* in quest of *Manlaghi*; whom at length he found, with her son, called *Togalak* (or *Togluk*), playing with his brother-in-law. After this, watching his opportunity, he carried off the boy; who, on his arrival at *Kâshgar*, was immediately proclaimed khân by *Amir Yalawji*, under the name of *Togalak Timûr Khân*. (This happened about the year

Hej. 748.
A. D.

748.)

1347.
2. Toga-
lak Timûr
Khân.

A GREAT part of this khân's reign was spent in suppressing the factions which opposed him in the countries above-mentioned: but, when he had settled his affairs there, he entered with a powerful army into *Great Bukhâria*, and brought that province also under his obedience (A). Then, leaving his son *Elias Khoja* to govern in *Samarkant*, he returned to the city of *Kâshgar*, where (about two years after) he died.

TOGALAK Timûr was the first descended from *Jenghiz Khân*, reigning in *Kâshgar*, who embraced the *Mohammedan* religion. As he was one day hunting, he observed several foreign merchants in the place which he had pitched on for assembling the game, contrary to his express proclamation.

^a ABU'LGH. hist. Turks, &c. p. 176.

(A) This was about the year at large hereafter, in the history of the *Hejrab* 762, of *Christ* of *Timûr Bek*, or *Tamerlan*. 1360; and will be related more

Hereupon

Hereupon, in a passion, he ordered them to be brought bound before him; and asked, how they came to infringe his laws? Sheykh *Samalo'ddîn*, who was among them, answered, that they were ignorant of any such prohibition, as being strangers from the country of *Kattak*. The khân replied, *It is like you are Tajiks, and, consequently, worse than dogs. If we were not true believers*, rejoined the sheykh, *there would be grounds for making no more account of us than dogs: because, in that case, notwithstanding the reason we are endowed with, we should yet be less reasonable than beasts*^b.

THIS answer having touched the khân's heart, at his return *Turns Mo-* from the chace he sent for the sheykh, and, in private, said hammed- to him, *What is your religion, that you durst make me such an an;* answer a while ago? The sheykh, upon this, explained the articles of the *Mohammedan* faith: wherewith *Togalak Timûr* was so fully convinced of its truth, that he ordered him to repair, at a proper season, to concert the means for establishing it in his dominions. The sheykh dying soon after his return home, his son sheykh *Rasbîdo'ddîn*, pursuant to his father's orders, repaired to *Kâsbgar*: but, not being able to get access to the khân, he went one morning to a hill near the castle, where he said his prayers so loud, that he awaked *Togalak Timûr*; who thereupon sent to him, to know the reason why he bawled so dreadfully. The sheykh taking this opportunity to execute his commission, that prince would no longer defer embracing *Mohammedism*. All the lords of his court *with all* followed his example, excepting one; who, standing forth, *his subjects* offered to put his conversion on this issue: *There is*, said he, *among our people, a man endowed with extraordinary gifts: now, if the sheykh will venture a fall with this person, and throws him, I will embrace his religion; otherwise I will not.* The khân was unwilling to permit such a trial of skill; but, the sheykh pressing for liberty to accept of the challenge, he at length consented. *Rasbîdo'ddîn* hereupon advancing up to the *Mungl*, with one back-stroke of his hand on the stomach, laid him flat on the floor, where for a good while he remained motionless. At length, getting up, he fell at the sheykh's feet, and declared he was ready to become a *Moslem* (B). The lord, who had proposed this test, did the same: and all the *Mungls*

^b ABULGH. ubi sup. p. 177, & seq.

(B) All this might have been the rest of his subjects; for, politic contrivance of the khân, otherwise, it was a foolish and he better to confirm, and bring precarious way of proving the about, this great change with truth of any thing.

who were subject to *Togalak Timûr Khân*, to the number of 160,000, followed their example.

3. Ilyas
Khoja
Khân.

A MIR *Yalawfi*, who was instrumental in the khân's advancement, happening to die, *Togalak* conferred on amir *Khudaydat*, tho' but seven years old, all his father's employments. Hereupon *Kamro'ddin*, the youngest of the amir's five paternal uncle, desired that he might officiate for his nephew till he came of age. This request the khân not thinking proper to grant, *Kamro'ddin*, who was very ambitious, as well as powerful, conceived a mortal hatred against him; yet concealed it during his life: but, after his death, revolted against his son *Ilyas Khoja* (or *Elias Koja*), who succeeded in the throne of *Kâstgar* (C), and caused him, with all his family, to the number of eighteen persons, to be assassinated: then, seizing the government, gave the people liberty, by proclamation, to kill any of *Togalak Timûr's* kindred, who were to be found. This khân was born in the year 730 (1329); came to the crown at the age of eighteen (that is, in 1347); and died at the age of thirty-four (or in 1362).

4. Kamro'ddin
usurper.

AT the time of *Kamro'ddin's* revolt, *Amîr Aga Khatûn*, one of *Togalak's* wives, being delivered of a son named *Kezra Khojah*; to secure him from the tyrant, trusted him to the care of amir *Khudaydai*, who never could be prevailed on by his uncle to deliver up the young prince; and, war breaking out afterwards between amir *Timûr* (who reigned in *Mawarô'nahr*, now *Great Bukhâria*), and the usurper, *Khudaydat* took that opportunity to send him, under a trusty guard, to the mountains of *Badâgshân*, where the jasper is found. This war was carried on for some years with much fury; and such equality, that, after five bloody battles, it seemed doubtful which would in the end get the advantage. At length *Timûr* advancing with a powerful army, at a time when *Kamro'ddin* fell sick, the troops of *Kâstgar*, destitute of a chief, betook themselves to flight, not daring to wait for the enemy. As for *Kamro'ddin*, he was, in this confusion, carried, for security, into certain deserts to the east of the capital city: but, after the retreat of *Timûr's* army, he never could be found (D); altho' a great while after his subjects understood, that he re-

(C) See more of this prince in the history previous to the reign of *Tinân Bek*.

(D) It does not appear when this happened, possibly about

1375, or 1383. See hist. *Tim. Lek*, l. ii. c. 19. p. 176, & c. 42. p. 235; also the reign of *Timûr* hereafter.

ended

sided with one *Malek Ajân* (E), a man of whom yet nothing is known.

AMIR *Khadaydat* (F), laying hold of this opportunity, 5. *Kezra* brought back *Kezra Khoja* from his obscure retreat, and caused *Khoja* him to be proclaimed *khân*, with the usual solemnities. This *Khân*. prince reigned thirty years over the country of *Kâshgar*; and all those who have since possessed that throne, have been of his posterity^c. We know very little of the actions of this prince, excepting what we find in the history of *Timûr Bek*, who made war on him in 1389, ravaged his country, and capital city *Aymal Gâjû*; pursued him, on one side, beyond the river *Irtîsh*, and, on the other, to *Yaldûz* (or *Yalis*) and *Karakhoja* (or *Aramuth*, near *Khamîl*, in *Little Bukhâria*); in short, drove him out of *Jetah*. Next year he made another expedition into the same country; and, at *Al Maleg*, hearing of *Kamro'ddîn*, followed him beyond the *Irtîsh*, driving him into the woods towards *Tawlas*^d.

THIS is all the account we can find relating to this branch of *Jagatay Khân*, excepting a few scattered particulars. Among the rest, *Mahamed* was *khân* of the kingdoms of *Kâshgar* and *Chalis* (that is, of *Little Bukhâria*), in 1603, when *Goes* the Jesuit travelled thro' the country, in his way to *China*; so that, by the foregoing authority of *Abûlghâzi Khân*, he must have been descended from *Kezra Khoja*, as well as the *khân*, who reigned in 1665, when that prince finished his history: but eighteen years after, viz. in 1683, *Little Bukhâria* was subdued by the *Elûths*, or *Kalmûks*, as hath been before related^e. Succession extinct.

^c ABU'LGH. ubi sup. p. 179, & seqq.

l. ii. c. 3. p. 325. & c. 9. p. 345.

^d Hist. TIM. BEK.

^e See before, p. 99.

(E) It appears from the same history of *Timûr Bek*, l. iii. c. 9. p. 346, that he was living in 1390, at which time he fled across the *Irtîsh*, towards the city of *Tawlas*, into the woods, where fables and ermins are

found. See hereafter, in the reign of *Timûr*.

(F) Or *Khudadad*, a name common among the *Mungls*: *Timûr* had a general or two of the same name.

BOOK V.

History of the Descendants of Jenghîz Khân, who reigned in Irân, or Persia at large.

CHAPTER I.

The Reign of Hulâgû Khân.

Western expedition,

under Hulâgû.

FROM the death of *Jenghîz Khân*, which happened in 625 of the *Hejrah*, of *Christ* 1227, the country of *Irân* (or *Persia* at large), with the neighbouring countries which he had conquered, were governed by officers appointed by his successors, who reigned at *Karakorum*, in the eastern parts of *Tartary*, till the year 651; when *Mangu* (A), fourth khân of the *Mungls*, with a design to extend his empire, raised three great armies: one of them was sent towards *Hindustân*, or *India*; the second to *Korea*; and the third into *Irân*. This last, which was the most considerable of the three, the khân intrusted to the conduct of his brother *Hulâgû*, who had a general under him of great learning and experience, called *Kokân*. This army, in the *Chinese* history, is said to have been designed against the khalifah of *Bâghdâd*^a; whereas, according to the *Persian* historians, the khalifah was attacked by the persuasion of a famous *Persian* astronomer. Possibly it had no particular destination: but was sent in general to make farther conquests, and keep the countries already subdued more in subjection; by the presence of great forces, and a prince of the blood, who was to unite the whole under one government.

WE have already given some account of this expedition of *Hulâgû* from the *Chinese* historians^b; who, having had very imperfect and confused informations of the affairs of the western parts of the *Mungl* empire, we shall make no use of them here; but follow those who lived on the spot, or in the neighbourhood of the countries which were the scenes of action.

Enters Irân.

HULAGU (B), the son of *Tuli Khân*, fourth son of *Jenghîz Khân*, was surnamed *Il Khân*; from whence his posterity took

^a GAUBIL, *hist. de Gengh.* p. 113. 136. Vol. IV. l. iii. c. 4.

^b See before,

(A) In the *Chinese* history, (B) Called also *Halâkhû* and named *Mengko*, which seems to be the *Chinese* pronunciation.

the title of *Ilkhanians*^c. This prince crossed the *Jihân* in the year 653, to enter *Irân*. He was accompanied by his brother *Sontay Ogul*, and several great lords from divers parts. He carried with him also his eldest son *Abâka*, and another called *Tasîmun**, with his wives *Dukuz Khatûn*, a Christian lady, and *Al Jay Khatûn*. In the ninth of *Shaaban* 652, arriving before *Samarkant*, he encamped there, and lost his brother *Sontay Ogul*. Soon after amîr *Argûn* (made governor of the countries to the south of the *Jihân* in 650 (C) came to wait on him, with several lords of that province^d. The first thing *Hulakû* did, after examining into the state of the country, was, to purge it of the *Ismaelians*, who had for a long time committed great disorders there.

THESE *Ismaelians* were certain princes, who reigned over *Assassins of* part of *Persian Irâk*, and *Mazanderân* (D). Their subjects *Irâk*. were so devoted to them, that, at their command, they undertook to kill any prince, or other person; which procured them the name of assassins. There was another dynasty of them in *Syria*; whose prince is the same mentioned by the writers of the crusade, under the name of *the old man of the mountain*; which is only a bad translation of the *Arabic Sheykh al Jebâl* (E); which word *Sheykh* expresses not the age, but dignity, of a prince. The *Mohammedan* writers, moreover, lay to their charge errors in faith; and, for this reason, give them no other name than that of *Melâhedah*, or *Molhedân* (F), which signifies *impious*.

THEIR dynasty consisted of eight princes, who reigned the *Their dy-* space of 170 years, till 654; when *Hulakû* put an end to it, *nasty*. in the person of *Rokno'ddîn Khuz Shâh*, the last king, from

^c D'HERBEL. bibl. orient. art. Il Khân, & Holagû. • ABU'L-FARAJ hist. dyn. p. 329, & seq.

* In other copies, *Tasmerun*.

(C) He held the government of them for thirty-nine years, as is noted in the reign of *Baydu Khân*.

(D) In *Kubestân* (that is, the mountain country), which makes the northernmost part of *Irâk*; and *Rûdbâr*, a territory of *Mazanderân*.

(E) *Sheykh al Jebâl* signifies not properly the prince of the mountain; but the prince of *al*

Jebâl, a part of *Persian Irâk*; so called by the *Arabs*, being a translation of the *Persian* name *Kûbestân*, which signifies the mountain country. In this sense *Sheykh al Jebâl* is to be understood, if applied to the *Ismaelian* prince of *Kûbestân*; but, if to him of *Syria*, it must be rendered prince of the mountain.

(F) *Melâbedah Kûbestân wa Rûdbâr*, the impious of *Kûbestân* and *Rûdbâr*.

whom

whom he took all his castles in *Jebâl*, which were exceeding strong, and well provided with necessaries *.

Castles
taken.

THIS prince had but just succeeded his father *Alao'ddîn*, when *Hulâkû* ordered his commanders to attack his castles; five of which he demolished, as not being judged tenable. Before the order reached *Kasran*, *Kaydûka* had already taken the castle of *Shahedîz* (G), and three other castles, from them. *Il Khân*, therefore, arriving at *Abâsabâd* (H). *Rokno'ddîn* sent a youth but seven or eight years old, who pretended to be his son, in token of submission. *Hulâkû*, altho' aware of the deceit, received and dismissed the child with honour. After that, he sent his brother *Shirân Shâh*, accompanied by 300 persons, whom the *Mungl* prince sent to *Jamâlabâd*, near *Kazwîn*; but dismissed *Shirân Shâh* to tell his brother, that he would allow him only five days to submit himself. *Rokno'ddîn* signified by an ambassador, that he dared not then come out, for fear of his people, who would fall on him; but would wait on him the first opportunity. *Hulâkû*, finding that he wanted only to protract the time, marched, and encamped before the castle of *Maymûn Darab*. Hereupon *Rokno'ddîn* declared, he would immediately come forth: but, being prevented by the *Mohâhedah* and *Fedâyi*, *Hulâkû* bid him wait a while. Then ordering his troops to attack the castle, *Rokno'ddîn* took the opportunity, while his people were engaged in repulsing the besiegers, to retire to the *Mungl* camp, with his sons and chief favourites; where he was kindly received by *Il Khân*.

His terri-
bles re-
duced.

THOSE in the castle, perceiving with how much honour their prince was treated, presently surrendered the fortress; which was demolished by the *Mungls*, who soon reduced all the castles which were in that valley. After this, the governor of *Al Mût* (or *Al Mawt*) (*) was summoned to surrender that fortress, and refused: but, on the approach of a great body of troops, delivered it up in the eleventh month. At the same time *Shâmsô'ddîn*, governor of the castles belonging to *Kahestân* (I), which were fifty in number, received orders to demolish them; in which he was assisted by those who accompanied *Rokno'ddîn*. All of them were taken, excepting two, *Kazdâkûb* and *Lam-*

* D'HÉRELLOT. ubi sup. p. 503. 6ro. art. *Ismaelioun & Moheddoun*.

(G) In other copies, *Shâhe-
sir*.

(H) *Ayâzabâd*, in other co-
pies.

(*) That is, the castle of *dearb*.

(I) A mistake, perhaps, in
the copy, for *Kûbessan*, a part
of *Persian Irâk*.

Sir,

štr (K), which could not be reduced in less than two years. The daylem also made peace with *Hulâkû*, on condition to destroy their castles. After which, that prince returned in *Dhul-bajjeh* to the *Orda*, near *Hamadân*, and sent *Rokno'ddîn*, with his sons and wives, to *Kazwîn*.

IN 655 *Rokno'ddîn Khâtû Shâh* desiring to be sent to *Mangû* *Himself* *and family* *Hej. 655.* *A. D.* *1257.* *Khân*, to pay his respects to that monarch, he set out, accompanied by nine of his retinue, and two ambassadors dispatched from *Hulâgû*. When he arrived at *Karakuram*, instead of being admitted to the *khân's* presence, he was ordered to return, and prevail on his governors to surrender the two castles before-mentioned; after which, he was told, that he might repair to court, and should be received with honour. With this hope *Rokno'ddîn* left *Karakuram*; but, in the way back, was slain, *put to* *death.* with those who accompanied him. *Hulâkû* likewise received a mandate from his brother *Mangû*, to extirpate the *Molâhedah* intirely, and leave no footsteps of them remaining. Upon this, he sent *Kara Kay Alyabtaktaji* to *Kazwîn*, where he put to death all *Rokno'ddîn's* family, and slew all the *Molâhedah*, forces: at the same time *Utkuhâna Nowayn* (L), having assembled 12,000 subjects of the *Ismaeliâns*, put them all to the sword^f.

THE same year *Hulâkû* ordered *Azzo'ddîn* and *Rokno'ddîn* *Affairs of* to divide the dominions of *Rûm* between them. The first of *Rûm*. these two brothers had dethroned the other, and imprisoned him: but, in 653, *Bayejû*, the *Mungl* general in *Azerbejdân*, being obliged to remove his quarters, to accommodate *Hulâkû* with them, demanded of *Azzo'ddîn* a place to winter in. This prince, imagining that he fled from *Hulâkû*, marched to attack him, and was defeated. Hereupon *Bayejû* released *Rokno'ddîn* out of prison, and placed him on the throne. On the complaint, therefore, of *Azzo'ddîn*, in 655, *Hulâkû* ordered the partition above-mentioned; pursuant to which, *Rokno'ddîn* repaired to *Bayejû's* camp, and *Azzo'ddîn* returned to *Kanîya* (or *Ikoniûm*): but, being afraid of *Bayejû*, assembled an army of *Kûrds*, *Turkmâns*, and *Arabs*; which, however, was dispersed by *Bayejû* and another *Nowayn*: so that *Malatîya*, and several other places, submitted to *Rokno'ddîn*. But, *Bayejû* being soon after recalled towards *Irâk*^g, things took a turn again in

^f ABU'LFAR. ubi sup. p. 330, & seqq.

^g Idem ibid.

P. 330—334.

(K) In some copies, *Kerdkûb*. *Kudkûb* and *Tamser*. Bibl. ori. and *Lamjhabr*; in *D'Herbelot*, ent. p. 503. art. *Ismaelioun*.

(L) *Ikujaba*, in some copies.

favour of *Azzo'ddîn*, as hath been elsewhere related^h. Let us now return to *Hulâkû*.

**Hulâkû
marches**

THIS prince, during the time that he was besieging the castles of the *Molâhedah*, sent an ambassador to the khalifah *Al Mostâasssem*, to desire his assistance. The khalifah would have answered his request; but the wazirs and princes opposed it (M); alledging, that *Hulâkû* did not want forces, but made the demand only to weaken *Baghdâd* (N), that he might the more easily take it. When the castles were reduced, *Il Khân* sent another ambassador to reproach *Al Mostâasssem* for neglecting to send him succours. The prime wazir, being consulted what was to be done on this occasion, told them, that the prince ought to be appeased with very rich presents: but, while they were getting them ready, *Dowaydâr* and his party insinuated as if the wazir corresponded with the *Tatars*, and intended to betray them; for this reason the khalifah, instead of many costly things, sent only a few of little value. *Hulâkû*, provoked more at this, gave the khalifah to understand, that he should repair to the camp himself, or send thither either the wazir *Dowaydâr*, or *Soleymân Shâh*. But, as none of them would obey *Al Mostâasssem*'s command to go, he sent others; which not satisfying *Hulâkû*, he ordered *Bayejû Nowayn* and *Sunjak Nowayn* (O) to march by the way of *Erbel* (or *Ar-bela*), while himself took the road thro' *Holwân*.

**to attack
Bâghdâd.**

ON this advice, *Dowaydâr* set out from *Bâghdâd*, and advanced near *Taakuba*: but, hearing that *Bayejû* had passed the *Tigris*, and encamped on its western bank, in the belief that *Hulâkû* was there, left *Taakuba*, and posted himself over-against

^h See before, Vol. IV. p. 258, & seqq.

(M) According to the authors mentioned in the next note, those ministers returned a very injurious answer to *Hulâkû*'s letters; and threatened him with the anger of God, and the khalifah. Lower down, this answer seems to be ascribed to other persons, and to be sent on another occasion.

(N) According to the authors made use of by *D'Herbelot*, *Hulâkû* intended, after destroying the *Ismaelians*, to have marched directly, thro' *Anatolia*, to *Constantinople*; but was dissuaded by

Nassiro'ddîn al Tusi, the famous astronomer, who advised him to turn his arms against the khalifah, out of a private pique. *Bibl. orient.* p. 453. art. *Holâgû*.

(O) Or *Sowinjâk*. According to the *Persian* authors, *Hulâgû* did not immediately march against *Bâghdâd*; but spent a long time in making marches and counter-marches, to conceal his design. At length, in 655, he of a sudden turned on that side. *D'Herbelot*, as in the note before,

Bayejû,

Bayejû. Mean time *Ibeg al Hâlebi*, one of the khalifah's amîrs, having fallen into the hands of the *Mungl* scouts, they brought him to *Hulâkû*. On the promise of security, he undertook to conduct his army; and wrote to his friends at *Bâghdâd*, advising them to consult their own safety, by submitting to the *Mungls*, for that they were not able to cope with such numerous forces. But they, in answer, haughtily asked, "Who was *Hulâkû*, and what his forces, to oppose the family of *Abbâs*, who held the empire of God himself? and even threatened him with the anger both of the Deity and the khalifah, for daring to set foot within his dominions" (P). They added, "If he desired to make peace, that he should return to *Hamadân*, while they intreated *Dowaydâr* to intercede for him to the khalifah, who possibly might pardon his fault." When *Ibeg* shewed the letters to *Hulâkû*, that prince only laughed, considering them as an instance of their vanity and rashness¹.

AFTER this, *Dowaydâr*, hearing that the *Tatars* took the road to *Anbâr* (*), marched against them; and, meeting *Suwinjâk Norwayn*, put his troops to flight: but, being met by *Bayejû*, he obliged them to turn back with him; and falling, with all their forces, on the victor, defeated him, and slew most of his soldiers; so that he escaped to *Bâghdâd* with only a few followers. Mean time *Hulâkû*, in the middle of *Moharram* 656, encamping opposite to a gate of the city, the *Mungls*, in one night, built a siba, or wall, inclosing the eastern side; while *Buka Timûr*, *Suwinjâk Norwayn*, and *Bayejû Norwayn*, did the same on the west side. They likewise dug deep ditches within the siba; and, placing their battering-rams, with other engines of war, against the city, on the twenty-second of the same month the attack began; when the khalifah, perceiving his inability to defend the place, sent his president of the diwân, and *Ebn Darnûs*, to make submission to *Hulâkû*, with presents of no great value; lest, if they were costly, it might be interpreted as a mark of great fear. Being asked, why *Dowaydâr* and *Suleymân Shâh* did not come to him? The khalifah sent the wazîr *Alkami*; who said, in the person of his master, "You demanded one out of the three; and I have sent the wazîr, who is the greatest of them." *Hulâkû* answered, "When I was at *Hamadân*, any of the three

¹ ABU'LFAR. ubi sup. p. 336, & seqq.

(P) As having been, in the opinion of *Mohammedans*, consecrated ground.

(*) A city on the *Euphrates*, about two days journey from *Bâghdâd*.

" would

"would have done; but now I shall not be satisfied with one of them."

and taken,

MEAN time, as the siege went on vigorously on every side, *Hulâkû* ordered arrows to be shot into *Bâghdâd*; with billets, promising security to the doctors, and all such as did not bear arms, their families and effects. On the twenty-sixth the *Mungls* forced the walls of the city; and watched the river, that none might escape by water. Then *Hulâkû* ordered *Dowaydâr* and *Saleymân Shâh* to come to him; but left the *khalifah* at liberty to do as he thought fit. These two lords accordingly came forth, attended by a great number of the nobility; but, on the way, *Dowaydâr* turned back, under pretence of taking care left the soldiers, who were posted in the streets and lanes, should kill any of the *Mungls*; yet next morning, when he came out of the city, he was killed himself. The inhabitants, after this, sent deputies to intreat protection: and the *khalifah*, seeing there was no way to avoid it, on the fourth of *Saffâr* repaired to the camp, with leave of *Hulâkû*, who ordered him to lodge in the gate called *Katwâd*. Then entering the city, to see the *khalifah's* palace, he commanded that prince to be brought before him. *Mohtâssef* made him a present of precious stones and pearls, which he distributed amongst his commanders. In the evening, returning to his camp, he ordered the *khalifah* to set apart all the women belonging to him, or his sons, amounting to 700; whom, with 300 eunuchs in their service, he brought forth. After the *Mungls* had plundered the city for seven days, they ceased either to slay, or make any more captives. The fourteenth of the same month *Hulâkû* departed from *Bâghdâd*; and, when he was encamped at night, ordered the *khalifah*, his middlemost son, and six eunuchs, to be put to death*.

by the
treachery

KONDAMIR, and other oriental historians, relate this important event with other circumstances. According to them, *Hulâkû*, being incensed with the answer of the *khalifah's* ministers to his letters, ordered his generals to march on both sides of the *Tigris*, to besiege *Bâghdâd*. The *Mungl* troops, which daily increased, ravaged the neighbouring country to such a degree, that in a little time it was intirely ruined; so that they had difficulty to find even grass for their horses. The *Tatar* army, which consisted wholly in cavalry, having no longer wherewithal to subsist, *Hulâkû* must have been forced to raise the siege, and retire with shame, as well as loss, if it had not been for the treachery of *Atûde ben Amrân*, a slave of a neighbouring governor; who, according to the *Nighiarijân*, dreamed, the year before, that the house of the children of

* *ABU'LFAR*. ubi sup. p. 338, & seq.

Abbás, was on the point of falling; and that he himself should become master of *Bāghdād*, and the dominions of the khalifah. *Ebn Amrân*, who happened to be among the besieged, no sooner heard of the distressed condition of the enemy's army, but, by a letter shot into their camp with an arrow, he informed *Hulākū*, that if he could prevail on the khalifah to send one *Ebn Amrân* to him, he would find means to support his army for a whole month.

HULAKU, on this advice, did not fail to demand this *of a slave*, man of *Moštaâssef*, who, being reduced to such a state, that, had his son been demanded, he would have gratified him, caused *Ebn Amrân* to be sought for, and sent him to the *Mungl* prince; to whom he discovered, that, in the city of *Takûba*, or *Akâba*, of which his master was governor, there was a prodigious quantity of grain laid up in pits. By means of this intelligence, the *Mungls* were saved from starving with hunger, and enabled to take the great city of *Bāghdād*; which was plundered, and intirely ruined, by them, in the year 656. Hej. 656. *Hulākū*, who owed this conquest to *Ebn Amrân*, thought he A. D. 1258. could not do better than confer the government of the city, and its dependencies, on the traitor; who thus saw his dream fulfilled¹

OTHER authors ascribe the cause of the khalifah's ruin chiefly, *and the* to the perfidy of his prime wazir *Mowiyad'dîn al Kami*; who, *wazir*. piqued about some religious peccadillo, disbanded the troops, when there was greatest need of them, and concealed the strength of the enemy from *Moštaâssef*. He likewise corresponded with *Hulākū*, and gave him notice of the best time to march towards *Bāghdād*. The khalifah was the more easily persuaded to disarm himself, as he was very covetous, and addicted to pleasure: nor would he give over his debauches, for all the representations of the principal lords of his court, till advice was brought, that a great detachment of *Mungls*, under two of their best generals, were near the city. Then, when it was too late, 10,000 men were, in a hurry, got ready, and sent to reconnoitre them. These meeting the enemy, encamped on the *Tigris*, to the north of *Bāghdād*, a most bloody battle was fought, with doubtful success: but the *Mungls* having, in the night, cut the bank of a canal drawn from the *Euphrates*, near which the army of the khalifah was ill posted, their camp was laid under-water, to such a degree, that the greater part were drowned, and the rest put to the sword.

MEAN time, *Hulākū* arrived, with the gros of his army, before *Bāghdād*, and laid siege to it; while the khalifah continued *The khalifah's death*.

¹ D'HERBEL, p. 453, art. *Hulākū*.

his debauches, without minding his affairs, as if the enemy had been at a great distance. At the end of two months, the traitor *Alkami* retired, with his family, to the camp of *Hulâkû*, who presently after took the city, in the month of *Saffar* 656; where every thing was put to fire and sword (Q) by the *Tatars*; who plundered *Bâghdâd* of infinite wealth: for it was, at that time, the most rich and powerful city in the world. The khalifah *Mostâasssem* being taken, with one of his sons, after some consultation, was wrapped up tight, in a piece of felt, and, in that condition, dragged through the streets, where he soon expired, when he had lived forty-two years, and reigned above eighteen. His son, who remained, was put to death; the other having been slain at one of the city-gates, which he defended (R) courageously.

debauchery and pride. THUS an end was put to the race of khalifahs, which began in the person of *Abûbekr*, the eleventh year of the Hejrah, or flight of *Mohammed*, and had continued in the family of *Abbâs* for the space of 520 years.

THIS last khalifah, although he had neither courage nor conduct, reigned with greater pride and magnificence than any of his predecessors, who were sovereigns in temporals as well as spirituals. When he went out of the palace, on any occasion, he commonly wore a mask, or veil, over his face, to draw the more respect from the people, whom he did not think worthy to look on him^m: and 'tis probable, says *D'Herbelot*, that the *Mungls* put him to that kind of death, to punish his insolent deportment.

Bâghdâd restored. AFTER this execution, *Hulâkû* appointed the president of the diwân, the wazîr, and *Ebn Dunus* (or *Darnus*), to restore *Bâghdâd* to its former state. *Buka Timûr* was sent to *Hella* (*), to try what he could do with the inhabitants; after which, he marched to *Waset*; where, in one week, he put to death a multitude of people; and then returned to *Hulâkû*, whom he found at *Siyakhûn*.

Mausel submits. AS soon as *Badro'ddîn Lûlû*, lord of *Mausel* (or *Musol*), heard that *Bâghdâd* was taken, he sent his son *Al Mâlek al Sâleh Ismaël*, with part of his army, to the assistance of *Hulâkû*;

^m KONDAMÎR ap. D'Herb. ubi sup. p. 628. art. Mostâasssem.
ⁿ ABU'LFAR. ubi sup. 339.

(Q) *Mirkond* says, all who were found in *Bâghdâd*, and the neighbouring country, were slain, to the number, as was reported, of 1,600,000 people. *Teixeira*, hist. Pers. p. 309.

(R) *Abû Isfârâj* speaks as if he

had been taken, and was slain by *Hulâkû's* order, by the gate called *Kakwâd*.

(*) Or *Hellab*, a city on the *Euphrates*, where stood *Babylon*: two stages S. by W. of *Bâghdâd*.

who,

who, looking on him with a stern countenance, reproached him and his father with their backwardness in bringing their succours; saying, "You waited to see who should get the better; and if the khaliffah had been victor, would have gone to him, instead of coming to me." *Badro'ddîn*, terrified when he heard his son repeat these words, which he considered as presaging no good towards him, immediately resolved to prepare a magnificent present: to make up which, he not only employed all the precious stones and jewels that were in his own treasury, but stripped his rich subjects of their wealth; requiring the very bracelets off the arms of their women, and the pearls out of their childrens ears. When all was ready, he set out for the mountains of *Hamadân*, to pay his respects to *Hulâkû*; who received him very kindly, in reverence to his years; made him sit beside him, on the same estrade; and permitted him to touch his ear-rings, in which were two union pearls of great price. *Badro'ddîn*, after paying homage, returned to *Mausel*, filled with joy, for his own good success; and wondered at the power, majesty, and wisdom, of *Hulâkû*.

THE same year, *Al Asbrâf*, lord of *Miyafarekîn*, made a *Miyafarev*isit to *Al Mâlek al Nâsr*, lord of *Halep* (or *Aleppo*), desiring kin block-aid of him, that he might hinder the *Mungls* from entering aded. *Syria*. But *Al Nâsr*, looking on his apprehensions as altogether groundless, paid no regard to his instances. Hereupon *Al Asbrâf* went away in anger; and, on his return to *Miyafarekîn*, not only drove out the *Mungl* governors, but hung up a certain priest, whom the kaan (or khân) had sent to him with mandates. Mean time, the *Mungl* army, led by *Tasbmât*, son of *Hulâkû*, following him, came, and invested the city. In one day and night they surrounded it with walls, and a ditch; then placing their engines, vigorously attacked it. But, finding the place was not to be taken by force, they turned the siege into a blockade.

IN 657, *Hulâkû* sent an ambassador to *Al Mâlek al Nâsr*, Hej. 657. lord of *Halep*, with letters, exhorting him to submit himself, A. D. and avoid the khaliffah's fate, by coming to his camp without delay. As his lords would not permit him to obey this summons, *Al Nâsr*, in a great consternation, sends his son *Al Mâlek al Azîz*, with a large sum of money, and rich presents. After *Al Azîz* had waited the whole winter, he received this answer; "We required to see *Al Mâlek al Nâsr*, not his son. "If therefore he be really for us in his heart, let him come to us; otherwise we will go to him." When *Al Nâsr* heard these words, he was greatly terrified, not knowing what course

1. Khân to take. After this, *Hulâkû* sent for *Azzo'ddîn*, king of *Rûm*, *Hulâkû* and his brother *Rokno'ddîn*; who, obeying his summons, were received with great honour and kindness. Then, having divided the dominion between them, he began his march for *Syria*, taking with him the *Selâk* princes; who, on their arrival at the *Euphrates*, were permitted to return into their own country.

Hej. 658. In 658, he arrived at *Harrân*, with an army of 80,000 men, which city, with *Roha* (or *Orfa*), surrendered on conditions; nor were any of the inhabitants injured: but those of *Sarûj* (S) were all put to the sword, for not obeying the *Mungl* mandate. 1259. After this, *Hulâkû II Khân* ordered three bridges to be laid over the *Euphrates*; one near *Malatiya*, another at *Kalâ-ârâm*, and the third not far from *Karkîsia* (T); by which all his forces having crossed into *Syria*, they made a great slaughter towards *Manbej* (U). Then the army dividing, in order to reduce the cities and castles, only a few soldiers took the rout of *Halep*. Hereupon *Al Mâlek al Moâddham*, eldest son of *Salâbo'ddîn* (or *Saladin*), advanced to meet them; but, being put to flight, returned to the city. The party which marched to *Moârrah* (or *Marrak*), ransacked that place: but *Hamâh* and *Hems* surrendered on terms. When *Al Mâlek al Nâsr* heard of these misfortunes, he betook himself, with his wives, children, and most valuable effects, into the deserts of *Al Karak* and *Al Shawbak* for shelter.

and subdued.

WHEN the *Mungls* came to *Damaskus*, the principal men delivered up the city, which received no manner of harm from the enemy. *Hulâkû* himself pitched his camp before *Halep*; and having raised a mount, to command it, began to play his engines. The attack was chiefly made against the gate of *Erâk* (or *Irâk*), which was found to be the weakest part: so that being forced in a few days, the *Mungls* entered, and slew more people than they had done at *Bâghdâd*. Nor did the castle hold out long. Then proceeding to the castle *Al Harem* (X), the inhabitants were willing to surrender; but, not caring to trust to his word, required the oath of a Mussulman for their se-

(S) *Sarûj* lies to the north of *Roha*, *Roha* to the north of *Harrân*, supposed to be the antient *Harân* and *Karræ*.

(T) *Malatiya* is a little without the bounds of *Syria*. *Kalâ-to'l Rûm*, or, as pronounced, *Kalâto'rrum*, is between *Somejsat*, or *Samofat*, and *Al Bir*; and *Karkîsia* stood at the confluence of the *Al Khabûr* with the *Eu-*

phrates, some leagues to the north of *Rabba*, or *Rababa*.

(U) *Manbej* is a corruption of *Manbe*, or *Mambe*, or *Bambe*, the antient *Bambyce*, or *Hierapolis*; called by *Pliny* *Magog*, instead of *Mabog*, the *Syrian* name; an error uncorrected in *Hardwin's* last edition.

(X) Towards *Antioch*.

curity.

curity. *Il Khân* consented; and they chose *Fakro'ddîn*, governor of the castle of *Halep*, because, they said, he was a sincere, honest man: who being sent to them, took all the oaths they proposed to him; and then they opened their gates, by which a great multitude of people went out, and the *Mungls* entered. But *Hulâkû* made them pay for their suspicion: for he first ordered *Fakro'ddîn* to be slain, and then all those who had been in the castle; without sparing any of either sex, or even the children in their cradles P.

1. Khân
Hulâkû.

AFTER this, *Hulâkû* returned eastward, leaving in *Syria* a Mardîn great commander, named *Kethûga*, with 10,000 horse. When he arrived at *Fel Bâsber*, he was joined by the army, which had taken *Miyasfarekân*, and brought with them *Al Asbrâf* its prince; after putting to the sword the few inhabitants whom the famine had spared: but for which calamity the *Mungls* could not have taken the city. *Il Khân* caused *Al Asbrâf* to be slain; which he afterwards was sorry for, and gave the government to one of that prince's commanders. When he drew near to *Mardin*, he sent for the lord of that place, who, unwilling to obey the summons, sent his son *Modâfferoddîn*; because he accompanied *Hulâkû*, when in *Syria*, along with *Al Mâlek al Sâleh*, son of sultan *Badro'ddîn Lâlû*, late lord of *Mausel*. *Hulâkû* bid him go back to his father, and command him to repair to the camp, and not turn rebel; in which case, he said, it should not fare well with him: but the father, instead of taking his son's advice, imprisoned him.

UPON this, the *Mungls* besieged *Mardin*: but could not have taken it in less than two or three years, had not the king, and most of the inhabitants, died of the pestilence: after which, *Al Modâffer* surrendered the castle, and all the wealth belonging to it. When the king of the earth, *Hulâkû*, was informed what that prince had suffered, he treated him with much affection, and appointed him king, in his father's room. Mean time, *Kethûga*, who was left in *Syria*, having found out *Al Mâlek al Nâsr*'s lurking place, sent men to seize and carry him to *Hulâkû*: who was pleased to see him, and promised to restore him to his kingdom. But, while fortune seemed to flatter his hopes, news arrived, that *Kotûz*, sultan of the *Turk-mans* (*), who reigned in *Egypt*, hearing that *Hulâkû* was returned homewards, and had left *Kethûga* behind him, with no more than 10,000 men, raised a great army, and attacked that general; who was killed in the battle, his forces defeated, and his children taken prisoners, on the 27th of *Ramazân*. When this ad-

P ABU'LFAR. p. 346, & seqq.

(*) Third of the *Bahrite Mamlûks*.

L 2.

vice

1. Khân vice reached *Il Khân*, who was then in the mountains of *Al Hulâkû*. *Tak* (Y), he was enraged; and ordered *Al Mâlek al Nâfr*, with his son *Al Mâlek al Dhâher*, and all belonging to him, to be put to death ¹.

Al Nâfr
slain.

THE execution was performed in the following manner, as *Mohayo'ddîn al Magrebi*, the only person who escaped the slaughter, told our author. One day, while *Mohayo'ddîn* attended *Al Nâfr*, who was asking him some question about his fortune, there came a *Mungl* commander, at the head of fifty horse, whom the prince went from his tent to meet, and asked to alight: but the officer desired to be excused; saying, he came to acquaint him, by order of *Hulikû*, that, as this was a day of rejoicing, he was desired to be present at the feast, with his brother, sons, and all his retinue, excepting the domestics and slaves. Upon this, they all, to the number of twenty, mounted their horses, and set forward. But, when they were come into a narrow valley, with high rocks on every side, their escorte made them all alight, and then surrounding, fell to bind them: which when *Mohayo'ddîn* saw, he cried out, *That he was an astrologer, who consulted the stars, and had something of moment to reveal to the king, the lord of the earth.* Hereupon they set him aside, and then slew the rest, none escaping except two of *Al Nâfr's* sons, and the astrologer; who was joined as an assistant to *Khoja Nasîro'ddîn*, in making astronomical observations at *Marâgha*.

Affairs of
Syria.

KOTUZ, sultân of *Egypt*, after the victory above-mentioned, recovered *Syria*; and having placed governors in *Halep*, *Damaskus*, and the other provinces thereof, returned homewards, to recruit his forces, in order to oppose the *Mungls*: but when he had gotten as far as *Gazza*, *Bibars*, called *Al Bundokdâr the lesser*, rising against, slew him, and seized the kingdom. This sultân, who became very famous, took from the *Franks* all the cities and castles which they possessed along the coast of *Syria*. However, in 659, the *Mungls* entered *Syria*

Hej. 659.

A. D.

1260.

a second time, under the command of a general named *Gûgâl-ki*; and having proceeded almost as far as *Hems*, making great spoil, and destruction of people, returned to *Halep*. There he ordered all the inhabitants, and villagers who had retired thither, to go into the plain; under pretence of numbering and conducting them to their respective homes: but, when they had gotten a good way on the journey, he said to them, "If your hearts had been sincerely towards us, you would not

¹ ABU'LFAR. p. 348, & seqq. D'HERB. p. 454.

(Y) Another copy reads *Al Atlak*,

"have fled from us," and, without any more ceremony, put every soul of them to the sword; so that none of them escaped, excepting those who were wise enough to stay in *Halep*. In the mean time, as soon as the *Egyptians* understood that the *Mungls* had evacuated *Syria*, they entered that country, and seized it anew.

THE same year, *Alao'ddîn*, son of *Badro'ddîn Lâlû*, lord of *Mausel Senjâr*, fled into *Egypt*; and, soon after, wrote to his brother *Al Mâlek al Sâleh Ismaël*, prince of *Mausel*: setting forth the power of *Bundokdâr*; and advising him to become a vassal to the sultân, who, after driving out the *Mungls*, would make him lord not only of *Mausel*, but several other provinces. When *Al Sâleh* had read the letters, he laid them under his bed: but *Shamsô'ddîn Mohammed Ebn Yûnes al Bâasbîki*, one of his father's commanders in the country of *Niniveh*, watching his opportunity, took them, and, departing forthwith, rode off to *Bâasbîka*. As soon as the king missed the letters, he suspected *Shamsô'ddîn*, and sent for him back, with design to put him to death: but *Ebn Yûnes*, making the messengers drunk, set out, in the night, with his family and effects, towards *Erbel* (or *Arbela*), giving out, that *Al Mâlek al Sâleh* intended to destroy all the Christians in the country of *Niniveh*, and then retire into *Syria*: upon which rumour, almost all the Christians of that quarter flocked to *Erbel*.

NEXT morning, the messengers, not finding *Ebn Yûnes*, imagined he was gone before to *Mausel*. But when *Al Sâleh* saw that they had returned without him, taking it for granted, that he was gone to bring the *Mungls* upon him, he, in great consternation, left the city, with many of his principal men, and what effects they could carry off; and went directly for *Syria*, without spoiling and then destroying the *Ninivitis* Christians, as he at first designed. Soon after he had departed from *Mausel*, a difference arose among his commanders, some of whom followed him, and others returned to the city; among which latter, was *Al Ano'ddîn Senjar*: but *Tarkân* of *Karazm*, wife of *Al Mâlek al Sâleh*, *Tasan*, a judge, and their partisans, shut the gates against them. However, being let in by *Mohayo'ddîn Ebn Zehellak*, at the head of a great body of the citizens, *Tarkân*, and her friends, retired into the castle: the contrary party, at the same time, fell upon the Christians, spoiling and killing all, excepting such as turned *Mohammedans*. *Al Sâleh* had likewise, before his departure, agreed with the *Kürds*, to come down with their forces upon *Niniveh*; which they did two days after, and, after spoiling

1. Khân Hulâkû. the Christians dwelling there, either killed, or carried away captives, all who remained.

The city
besieged,

MEAN time, a rumour being spread, that the *Mungl* forces were advancing through *Al Fazīreh* (or *Mesopotamia*), the amir *Al Amo'ddin Senjar*, with his party, left the city; and, being joined by the *Kûrd* commanders, went to meet the *Mungls*, led by *Turin*, judge of *Maufel*: by whom they were surrounded, and all cut to pieces. After this, the affairs of *Maufel* ran daily more into confusion, when, towards the end of summer, a report flew, that the *Mungl* army was coming; and, in effect, not long after, it did come, under the command of *Samdagû*, a great general, who favoured the Christians, and besieged *Maufel*. In a little time, advice being brought, that *Al Mâlek al Sâleh* was returned from *Syria*, the *Mungls* withdrew a little way from the city, to let him enter; and then sat down before it again. In one night they built a wall round it, and then began vigorously to attack the place. At length, provisions failing in the city, *Samdagû*, to delude *Al Sâleh*, made him very fair promises, and even forbore hostilities. During this cessation of arms, advice was brought, that an army from *Syria* was on its way to aid *Al Sâleh*, under the conduct of a general named *Bariû*. Hereupon the *Mungls* set forward; and meeting the enemy near *Senjâr*, surrounded, and slew them all, carrying away much spoil.

and sur-
rendered.

AFTER this, *Samdagû* so far wrought on *Al Mâlek al Sâleh*, by his artifices, that the former, opening the gates, came out to him, without any apprehensions, preceded by musicians and jesters. But he was no sooner lodged in the camp, than the *Mungl* army entered the city; where, for eight days, they plundered it, and killed an infinite number of people, besides those whom they made slaves of. Among the rest, there was slain *Alao'malk* (Z), son of *Al Mâlek al Sâleh*, whom, having intoxicated with wine, they cut in two, by the waist, near the castle. Then making *Shamso'ddin Ebn Yânes* governor of the city, *Samdagû* departed, carrying with him *Al Mâlek al Sâleh* to *Hulâkû*, who ordered him to be put to death. But *Shamso'ddin* did not long enjoy the fruits of his perfidy: for, in 661, one *Al Zaki*, or *Erbel*, accused him of defrauding the family of *Badro'ddin* of money and jewels; and also of poisoning him, by means of *Mowâffek*, a Christian physician. *Ebn Yânes*, denying the fact, was bastonadoed, to extort a confession: but, while he underwent the punishment, a paper dropped from him, containing some verse of the *Korân*; which *Al Zaki*

Hej. 661.
A. D.
1262.

(Z) In another copy *Alao'ddin al Molk*.

said

said was a charm against the *Mungls*. Hereupon he was put to death, and his accuser made governor in his room ^{1. Khân Hulâkû.}

MEAN time, *Hulâkû*, who, after his expedition into *Syria*, had returned into *Azerbaijân*, there to take some repose, assembled the principal astronomers to be found in the *Mohammedan* countries: to whom he gave large pensions, and furnished all sorts of necessary instruments for making observations, at *Marâgha* (A), where he built a famous observatory. He died in 663 (B), after he had reigned absolutely six years, since the death of his brother ^{2. A famous observatory.}: for the authors made use of by *D'Herbelot* suppose, that this prince, during the life-time of *Mangû Khân*, governed *Irân*, as his deputy; but that, on his death, in 657, he succeeded as fifth khân of the *Mungls*, in that part of *Asia* ^{Hej. 663. A: D. 1264.}. However, it appears, from what has been elsewhere related, that *Koplay Khân* was the immediate and true successor of *Mangû*, not only at *Karakorum*, but in all parts of the *Mungl* dominions, or empire; and that *Hulâkû* actually ^{Hulâkû dies.} acknowledged *Koplay* as such ^{3.}. 'Tis true, his successors in *Irân* did, at length, throw off their subjection to the successors of *Jenghiz Khân*, in the east: but it is not expressly mentioned under what prince this happened.

ONE of the principal wives of this monarch, named *Dughâz Hiswîqet*, *Khatûn*, was a Christian, and accompanied him in all his military expeditions; being much esteemed by him, for her prudence and knowledge. She died not long after him; and was buried near her husband, in the same city. It is reported, that *Hulâkû* demanded in marriage the daughter of *Michael Paleologus*, emperor of *Constantinople* (C), who drove the *Franks* out of that city: but 'tis more probable he asked her for his son and successor *Abâka Khân*; who married her, on her arrival, in 664, which happened after his father's death.

THE dominions which *Hulâkû* left at his death are reckoned up by *Ebn Shohnah*; as follows: The great province of *Khorassân*, of which *Nisabûr* was, at that time, the capital: *Jebâl*, or *Persian Irâk*, the country of the *Parthians*, whose ca-

¹ ABULFAR. p. 353.

² D'HERBEL. ubi sup. p. 454.

³ Ibid.

^x See Vol. IV. l. iii. c. 5. sect. 1.

(A) A city on the lake of the *Sbâh*, about forty miles to the south-west of *Tabriz*, or *Tauris*.

(B) Or 664, according to some authors.

(C) *Abûlfaraj* says, *Hulâkû* demanded the emperor's daughter in marriage: that she was

met at *Cæsarea* (in *Asia Minor*) with a messenger, with the news of *Hulâkû*'s death; but, as she could not return to her own country, she proceeded to the court of *Abâka*, who took her to himself.

1. Khân pital was *Ispâhân*: *Irâk Arabi*, called also *Irâk Bâbeli*, comprising *Affyria* (or *Kârdestân* and *Khaldea*), whose metropolis was *Bâghdâd*: *Adherbeijân* (or *Azerbeijân*), that is, *Media*, its chief city *Tabrîz*, or *Tauris*: *Pârs*, or *Proper Persia*, its capital *Shirâz*, formerly called *Cyropolis*; for *Esfekhâr*, or *Persepolis*, was then in ruins: *Khûrestân*, or *Khûzestân*, the antient *Susiana*, whose capital was *Tôster*, or *Shûster*, formerly called *Susa*, of *Persia*: *Diyârbekr*, which comprehends part of *Affyria*, or *Kârdestân*, and *Al Jazîreh*, or *Mesopotamia*, whereof *Mûssal* (or *Mosul*), built near the antient *Niniveh*, was the capital: lastly, the country of *Rûm*, or the *Romans*, containing *Armenia*, *Georgia*, and *Asia Minor*, whose capital was *Kontya*, the antient *Ikonium*†.

and conquests.

THE same author remarks, that the *Mungls*, or *Tatars*, in all the conquests which they made, were never defeated, excepting that once under *Ketbûga*, as before-mentioned. But it is not fact, as *D'Herbelot* affirms (perhaps without any authority), that all those countries were conquered by *Hulâkû*: for *Irân*, or *Persia* at large, was subdued by *Jenghiz Khân*. Nor does it appear, from what goes before, that any considerable part of it had revolted, or thrown off its subjection to the *Mungls*, excepting the country of the *Ismaëlians*. On the contrary, there seems to have been no considerable change in the state of those countries, from the account given by *Abû'lfaraj*‡; who informs us, that *Munkâka* (or *Mangû*) *Khân*, in '650, the year before *Hulâkû* was sent into *Irân*, had appointed *Argûn Aga* to govern the kingdoms of *Khorassân* and *Hindûstân*, *Mazanderân*, *Irâk*, *Pârs*, *Kermân*, *Lûr*, *Arrân*, *Azerbeijân*, *Gorjestân* (or *Georgia*), *Mausel* (or *Mesopotamia*), and *Syria*. It appears also, by the proceedings of *Bayejû Nowayn*, that the khân's authority extended even to *Anatolia*. So that *Hulâkû* came to the government of nearly as many countries as were in his hands at his death; and may be said rather to have more fully settled and completed the old conquests, than to have added new ones.

Founds the dynasty.

THE oriental historians begin this dynasty of *Mungl* princes with *Jenghiz Khân*, as hath been observed above: but as *Hulâkû* was the first of his descendants who reigned in *Irân*, we shall set him at the head of it. *Abû'lfaraj* dates the commencement of the *Mungl* dynasty in *Irân*, or *Persia* at large, from the destruction of the khalifat, in the year 656. The *Persian* historians give him a reign of six years only, reckoning from the death of *Mangû Khân*, in 657.

† D'HERBEL. ubi sup.

‡ Hist. dynast. p. 327.

ACCORDING to *Mirkond*, *Hulâkû*, before his death, divided his dominions among three of his sons, *Abâka* (D), *Yasmut*, and *Tandon*; to the first he gave the kingdoms of *Irâk*, *Mazanderân*, and *Khorassân*; to the second, *Arân*, or *Armenia*, and *Azerbejân*; to the third he assigned *Diyârbekr* and *Rabîya*, which are two provinces of *Al Jazîreh* and *Mesopotamia*. *Hulâkû* had, besides these three sons, two others, *Nikûdar Oglan*, and *Targahe* (or *Targhiyeh*) *Khân*, who had no share in their father's partition of his dominions; yet one of them obtained the empire himself, and so did the children of the other *.

1. Khân
Hulâkû.

CHAP. II.

The Reign of Abâka II Khân.

AFTER the death of *Hulâkû*, his son *Abâka* was, in an assembly consisting of his sons the princes, and the ladies his widows, unanimously acknowledged for his successor. He was a prince endowed with prudence, capacity, learning, and knowledge: which good qualities rendered him dear to everybody, and gave him success in all his transactions, both domestic and foreign *.

2. Khân
Abâka.

Hej. 663.
A. D.
1264.

As soon as this prince ascended the throne, he sent one of his brothers to *Dârbend*, on the *Caspian* sea, and another into *Khorassân*, to shut up the passages into his dominions from the descendants of *Tûsbi* or *Jûgi Khân* on one side, and those of *Jagatay Khân* on the other. He declared *Sunjak* (or *Sowenjak*) *Nowayn* general of his armies, and his lieutenant throughout his empire: gave the employment of grand wazîr, and president of his councils, to *Shams'oddîn Mohammed*, who made *Bahao'ddîn*, his son, wazîr of *Isfâhân*; and *Alao'ddîn Athao'l Molk*, his brother, wazîr of *Bâghdâd*. Under the wise government of this latter, that capital recovered its lustre, which it had lost by the arms of *Hulâkû*; the people flocking from all parts to settle there: on the contrary, *Bahao'ddîn* exercised so much rigour at *Isfâhân*, that he often involved the innocent in the same punishment with the guilty; nor could the advice of his father *Shams'oddîn*, to whom frequent complaints were made, reclaim him, till death freed the inhabitants from his severity.

* *MIRKOND* ap. *Texeira* hist. *Perf.* p. 309, & seq. * *AB'UL-FAR.* ubi sup. p. 355.

(D) *Texeira* spells most names *kay Kan*; and, for *Yasmut*, *Hyaxmet*.
for *Abâka Khân*, he writes *Hayb-*

2. Khân **At** the beginning of *Abâka's* reign, *Barkah Khân* (A), of *Abâka*. the race of *Jagatay Khân*, who reigned in *Great Bukhâria*, having marched with forces on the side of *Darbend*, with design to break into *Persia*, *Shamat*, brother of *Abâka*, who was posted in that city, opposed his entrance; and, after a battle, which he obtained against him, obliged him to retire in 664. *Invaded by Barkah, Hej. 664.* But this defeat did only irritate that prince: for, soon after, he set on foot an army of 300,000 men, with which he threatened utter desolation to *Persia*, had not *Abâka Khân* marched in time with all the forces of his empire. *Barkah Khân*, after conducting his numerous squadrons through the vast plains of *Kipjâk*, round the north side of the *Caspian* sea, had forced the narrow passages between that sea and mount *Kaukasus*, commonly called the *Iron Gates* (B); and was already arrived on the banks of the river *Kûr*, when *Abâka Khân* appeared at *Teflis*, capital of *Gurjestân*, that is *Gorja*, or *Georgia*: but, as the two armies were on the point of giving battle, *Barkah Khân*, very happily for *Persia*, was taken out of the world; for, immediately on his death, his army divided, and returned into *Tartary* ^b.

and Borak Khân. IN 666, *Borak Oglan* (C), who was also of *Jagatay Khân's* race, sent to the court of *Abâka Khân* one *Massûd*, under pretence of a compliment: but, in reality, to pry into the state of affairs; and observe the roads which were to be taken, in order to attack *Persia*. This being perceived by a soldier, he gave advice thereof to *Shams'o'ddin* the grand wazîr, who continued to treat him with great civility, as if he suspected nothing; resolving to have him seized, or cut off in his return: but *Massûd* had taken such precautions, by causing horses to be placed along the road, that the men sent after could never overtake him. *Borak Khân*, having received the necessary informations

^{a b} KONDAMIR ap. D'Herb. p. 1. art. *Abâka*.

(A) Called also *Berrak Khân*: he was fifth khân thereof; see before, page 142: but, as there he is said to have died in 1260, and it is not likely he would go so far about, thro' the dominions of another prince; possibly this might be *Bereke*, third khân of *Kipjâk*, whose death is placed by *La Croix* in 1266, coincident with that of *Barkah Khân*. See before, p. 134.

(B) In the *Mungl* or *Turkisch*

language, *Damîr Kâpi*, the same with *Darbend*, which, in *Persian*, signifies the *shut gate*. The *Arabs* call it *Bâb al Abwâb*, the gate of gates.

(C) This, doubtless, must be *Bereke*, or *Barkah*, fifth khân of *Jagatay*: but then his death must be placed, not in 1660, as it is in *D'Herbelot* and *La Croix*, but in 1670, or later; and so indeed his distance from *Hulâkî* seems to require.

from

from this spy, in 667 passed the *Jihân*, or *Amû*, with 100,000 horse; and, having presently reduced the great province of *Khorassân*, where he met with small opposition, he advanced as far as *Azerbejân*, where *Abâka* had the bulk of his forces. The *Tatars*, who came foremost, were soon repulsed: and at length, the year following, the two armies faced each other not far from *Herat*. There a bloody battle was fought; wherein victory, after a long suspense, declared in favour of *Abâka*, who became master of the field, with all the baggage and booty of the enemy. *Borak*, after this defeat, was obliged to repass the *Amû*; and *Abâka*, having left his brother *Benjsîn* with troops sufficient for the guard of *Khorassân*, returned to *Azerbejân* °.

z. Khân
Abâka.

A. D.
1269.

THE same year that *Abâka* was proclaimed khân, *Bundok-* *The Mam-*
dâr (D), lord of *Egypt*, sent to invite *Hâtem*, king of *Arme-* *lûks ra-*
nia (E), to submit to pay him tribute, and settle a commerce *vage*
between their respective subjects. As *Hâtem* would not con- *Hej. 663.*
sent to this, for fear of the *Mungls*, *Bundokdâr*, without more *A. D.*
ceremony, invaded his dominions. The *Armenian* king, upon *12*
this surprise, made a journey, to crave aid of *Nesji*, the
Mungl governor in *Rûm* (or *Anatolia*); who answered, that he
could not assist him without *Abâka*'s order. Mean time the
brothers and sons of *Hâtem* marched, with what forces they
could raise, to oppose the entrance of the *Egyptians*, but were
defeated; and, one of the king's sons being slain, the other
was taken prisoner. For twenty days the enemy plundered *Sis*
and *Ayyâs*, carrying away great numbers of people captives.
At length, when they were gone, *Hâtem* came with an army
of *Mungls* and *Rûms* (F); who, finding nothing but a waste
country without people, fell to making good cheer, and con-
sumed every thing which the *Egyptians* had left.

HATEM, grieved for the devastation made in his country, *Lesser Ar-*
but more for the loss of his son, sent to offer *Bundokdâr* cities *menia*;
and castles, with a good sum of money, for his ransom. *Bun-*
dokdâr made answer, that he would release him, provided only
Sankar al Asbkar, who was a slave among the *Mungls*, should

° KONDAMIR ap. D'Herb. p. 2. art. Abâka.

(D) He was fourth sultân of the *Turkish Mamlûks*, or slaves, who reigned in *Egypt* after the family of *Ayub*, or of *Salâh'eddin*.

(E) This is to be understood of the *Lesser Armenia* in *Anatolia*; of which *Sis*, about two

stages to the north of *Skanderûn*, or *Alexandretta*, was the capital. *Hâtem* is the same name with *Hayton*, *Haithon*, or *Aiton*, among *Europeans*.

(F) That is, people from *Rûm*, or *Anatolia*; probably for the most part *Greeks*.

2. Khân be sent to him. *Hâtem*, on this, made a journey in 668 (G) to the court of *Abâka*; who, pitying his tears, bad him go back, and promised to send *Al Afbkar* to him, if he was to be found. Accordingly, next year, *Al Afbkar* was conveyed to him from *Samarkant*; and, being transmitted to *Bundokdâr*, this latter returned *Hâtem*'s son in exchange. Afterwards *Hâtem* made another journey, to intreat that he might resign the crown to his son: to which *Abâka* consented. But the joy this favour created, was greatly allayed by a dreadful earthquake, which, in 670, happened in *Armenia*; and, besides overturning many castles, destroyed above 100,000 people, not to mention the cattle^d.

and Ana- In the year 675, *Abâka Khân* went to pass the winter at rolia. *Bâghdâd*. About the same time died the celebrated *Khoja Nasrô'ddin al Tûsi*, who was eminent in all kinds of philosophy, Hej. 675. and wrote many books on different subjects. This same year A. D. *Hâtem*'s son, now king of *Armenia*, understanding, by his correspondents, that *Bundokdâr* intended to invade the country of *Rûm*, thro' the instigation of some of the natives, gave notice to the *Mungl* commanders to be upon their guard: but, *Berwânah* having persuaded them that it was a false alarm, they neglected their security; so that the *Egyptians* came upon them when they were in liquor, and slew them all, with 2000 *Georgians*, out of 3000 who were along with them; however, they did not fall unrevenge'd, a multitude of the enemy having been slain. After this success, *Bundokdâr* marched to *Kaysariya* (or *Casarea*), where he staid fifteen days, but did no manner of harm to that city; saying, he came not to ravage the country, but deliver its lord from slavery.

Fly from Abâka. WHEN this news reached the court of *Abâka II Khân*, he was greatly enraged; and, assembling his forces, marched towards the country of *Rûm*: but, before he arrived, the *Egyptians* were withdrawn into *Syria*. Then sending for *Berwânah*, he received him without seeming at all offended; and carried him to the camp, under pretence of consulting with him what number of men would be sufficient to secure *Rûm* against the *Egyptians*. There, at a banquet, he plied *Berwânah* well with mares milk, for he drank no wine; and giving a sign, when the latter went out to make water, an officer in waiting

(G) According to *Mirkond*, he *Bukhâria*), but was defeated, and had war this year with *Bora* forced back. *Texeira*, ubi supra, *Khân*, who marched with an p. 310. army from *Chagatay* (or *Great*

^d ABU'LFAR. ubi sup. p. 356, & seq.

followed,

followed, and killed him. *Bundokdâr*, on his way to *Egypt*, 2. *Khân* died at *Hems* in *Syria*; some say, of poison; others, of a *Abâka*. wound in the fight, from a *Mungl* arrow^e. } Piece of gallantry.

KONDAMIR relates concerning this war, that, as soon as *Bundokdâr* had ascended the throne of *Egypt*, he was resolved, before he ventured to engage with the *Mungls*, to inspect himself into the condition of their forces. With this view he set out, accompanied by three or four persons only, and visited all the countries which the *Mungls* possessed on this side of the *Euphrates*. At his return, he sent a courier, by way of gallantry, to *Abâka Khân*, who had then newly succeeded his father *Hulâkû*, acquainting him: that having, for his diversion, made a tour over his (*Abâka*'s) dominions, he had left, in a certain inn which he named, a jewel of value, in pledge of the debt he had contracted, to defray his expences; and desired that he would send it to him. *Abâka* was so complaisant as to remit the jewel to the sultan by another courier, with very obliging letters on the occasion; and thus matters passed between the two princes, without coming to hostilities^f. But, as the contrary appears from *Abûlfaraj*, we perceive here a great defect in the *Persian* historian; who, besides, mentions nothing of *Abâka*'s expeditions into *Râm* and *Syria*.

In 679 *Sayfo'ddîn Kelawn*, surnamed *Al Alf* (H), having *Mungls* seized the dominion of *Syria* and *Egypt*, after the death of *invade* *Mâlek al Sâleh*, son of *Bundokdâr*, *Sankar al Asbkar* before-*Syria*. mentioned, who had opposed his advancement, fled to *Rahaba* (on the *Euphrates*), and confederating with *Ija ebn Mohânna*, a *Bedwîn* (I) prince; sent an ambassador to invite *Abâka Il Khân* into *Syria*, promising to deliver into his hands both that country and *Egypt*. On this engagement an army was sent, in the year 680, under the command of *Kungortay*, a younger brother of *Abâka*; but when, in winter, they arrived in *Syria*, *Al Asbkar*, being afraid to join them, shut himself up in the castle of *Sâhyûn*. The *Mungls*, for all this, advanced as far as *Halep*; and, having destroyed all the places in their passage, returned into *Irân*. However, next year (K) they in-

Hej. 679.
A. D.
1280.

Hej. 680.
A. D.
1281.

A. D.
1282.

^e Idem, ubi sup. p. 357. & seq.
p. 2.

^f *KONDAM.* ubi supra,

(H) He was seventh sultan of the *Turkish Mamlûks*, or third from *Bundokdâr*.

(I) The *Bedwîns*, or *Badwîns*, commonly called *Bedovîns*, are the field *Arabs*.

(K) *Kondamîr*, in *D'Herb* lot, places this in the year 669, twelve years earlier; but that cannot be, since *Bundokdâr* lived till the year 676.

2. Khân vaded Syria again with 50,000 troops, under the conduct of Abâka. *Munga Timûr*, youngest brother of *Abâka*, accompanied by the king of *Armenia*, with all his forces. The enemy, led by *Al Alfî* and *Al Asbkar*, who were now reconciled, met them between *Hamâh* and *Hems*, where a battle was fought, in which the *Mungls* prevailed: but, when they were on the point of gaining the victory, and had even put the *Syrians* to flight, the *Arabs* of the tribe of *Bâni Taglab* rushed out of an ambuscade on the left wing of the *Mungls*, who, thinking themselves surrounded by numerous troops, took to flight, followed by the main body. Mean time the right wing, in which was the king of *Armenia*, with 5000 *Gorjans*, not minding the ambuscades, put to flight the *Egyptians* who opposed them; and, pursuing them to the gates of *Hems*, killed a considerable number; nor gave over the slaughter, till the news of the flight of their companions drew them off. In their return, they fell in with certain troops of the enemy, who followed their flying squadrons: hereupon the battle was renewed, in which many were slain on both sides; but at length they returned laden with spoils.

They are
defeated.

Abâka's
death.

WHILE *Munga Timûr* was on his march back through *Al Jazireh*, some of his domestics, who had been tampered with, gave him poison one day, after he came out of the bath. The prince, finding himself much out of order, turned off towards *Nisibîn*, where he died. The people of the country were seized with great fear at this disaster; and, laying hold of *Al Sâfi al Karkâbi*, bound him, and carried him round all the market-places in *Al Jazireh*, after which they put him to death. This year was fatal likewise to *Abâka II Khân* himself. He made a progress first to *Bâghdâd*, from whence he went back to *Hamadân*, where he celebrated *Easter* day with the Christians, in their church (L). Next day one *Bahnâm*, a *Persian*, gave him a magnificent feast: but on *Tuesday* he found himself very ill, and became delirious; so that he died on *Wednesday* the twentieth of *Dhu'l-hajjah*, after a reign of seventeen years.

Suspicion
about it.

ON the occasion of the death of this prince, *Kondamîr* relates, that, soon after the defeat of his army in *Syria*, under his brother *Munga Timûr*, great troubles arose at court: for one *Magd'olmolc Yezdi* having, in concert with some of the principal lords, prejudiced *Abâka Khân* against *Shams'uddin* his prime wazîr, the authority of this minister daily diminished.

(L) Some authors say he was a Christian.

* ABU'LFAR. ubi sup. p. 360.

he

he had likewise the mortification to see his brother *Atho'molk* 2. Khân arrested, and called to account for matters laid to his charge. *Abâka*. At the same time *Abâka* happening to die pretty suddenly at *Hamadân*, it was judged that his death was hastened by a draught which *Shamso'ddin* had caused to be given him^b.

C H A P. III.

S E C T. I.

The Reign of Nikûdar Oglan, or Ahmed Khân.

ABAKA II Khân being dead, the princes of the blood, and the great men, with one consent, conferred the government on *Ahmed*, son of *Hulâkû* by *Kutay Khatûn*; as judging him most worthy to reign, and that the empire belonged of right to him after his brother. To all the qualities requisite in a prince, he joined a great knowledge of things, and was very munificent. Accordingly, one of his first acts was, to distribute the treasures which he found, among his sons, the grantees, and the army; nor was his benevolence confined to the *Mungls* alone, but was extended to those of all other nations, especially the principal men among the Christians^a. His *Mungl* name was *Nikûdar Oglan* (A); but, after he had embraced *Mohammedism*, which he did the first of all his family, he assumed that of *Ahmed*. On occasion of his conversion, he wrote a long letter (B) to *Al Mâlek al Mansûr Kelawn*, sultân of *Egypt* and *Syria*, who was at that time the most considerable of all the *Mohammedan* princes; to let him know that he would publicly profess the *Mussulman* religion; and offered his favour and protection to all the professors of it. According to the *Persian* historians, he succeeded *Abâka*, in prejudice to *Argûn*, that prince's son; and confirmed *Shamso'ddin* and *Atho'molk* his brother in all their employments; delivering up to them *Magdo'molk*, their capital enemy, to dispose of as they

3. Khân Ahmed.

Hej. 681.
A. D.
1282.

Turns Mohammedan.

^a KONDAM. ubi sup. p. 2.^a ABU'LFAR. ubi sup. p. 361.

(A) That is, according to *Merkend*, in *Ferreira*, *Nikûdar* the good son.

(B) *Abû'lfaraj* has given a copy of that long letter; where, in he acquaints the sultân, that he had an inclination for *Mohammedism* from his youth, and desired to live in peace with the *Mohammedan* princes: that, to spill

the blood of *Moslems* being contrary to his principles, he had therefore put a stop to the war which had been decreed in the *kuriltay*, or diet, called by his brother *Abâka*: that he had provided for the security of the pilgrimage to *Mekka*; and given liberty to all foreign merchants to trade in his dominions.

should

g. Khân Ahmed. should think fit. This sultân's change of religion excited great troubles in his family, and at length throughout his dominions : because the *Mungs* or *Tatars* of those times had an extreme aversion for the *Mohammedans*, although they loved the Christians ; so that this prince, though endowed with several excellent qualities, could never gain their affections.

Argûn
revolts.

THESE troubles began in the very first year of his reign, at which time *Atho'molk* departed this life. His nephew *Argûn*, who could not bear to see him upon a throne, which, he pretended, belonged to himself, retired immediately into the province of *Khorassân*, where he made preparations to dispute the sovereignty with his uncle ; but did not declare himself openly till the year 683, when he came to encamp with his forces at *Damegân*. As soon as *Ahmed* received advice of these motions at *Bâghdâd*, he caused his forces to march, under the conduct of *Al Inâk* (C), a sage and valiant commander, who soon dispersed the troops which *Argûn* had assembled. This young prince, being thus left without an army, was obliged to return to *Khorassân*, and at length to shut himself up in the castle of *Burdeh* ; whither *Al Inâk* did not fail to go and besiege him. However, without using force, he drew him out, by promising to reconcile him to his uncle ; but, as soon as he arrived at the imperial camp, he was confined by the sultân's order, and guarded by 4000 men.

Hej. 683.
A. D.
1285.

Ahmed
deposed ;

AFTER this, *Ahmed*, believing that he had no sort of danger to fear, resolved to return to *Bâghdâd*, there to enjoy the sweets of peace. Before his departure, he gave directions to the amir *Bûga*, who guarded *Argûn*, not to let him live above seven or eight days. But *Bûga*, in concert with several other lords of the court, who could not relish the soft and delicate manners of the sultân, resolved to set *Argûn* at liberty, and fall upon the quarters of *Al Inâk*. This design being immediately put in execution, *Al Inâk* was slain, with the principal officers of the sultân who had remained in the rear-guard of the army ; which latter was on the march. *Argûn* put himself at the head of the most resolute troops, and pursued the sultân ; who, having received information of this revolt, escaped from the city of *Esfarayn*, where he then was, to the camp of his mother *Kutay Khâtûn*, which was towards *Serâb* in *Azerbeijân*. But the scouts of *Argûn* followed him so swiftly, that they soon overtook, and brought him to the camp of his nephew. This prince forthwith delivered him into the hands of sultâna *Kângortây*, his mother-in-law ; who put him to death,

and put to
death,

(C) Or *Al Yanâk*, as in *Abû'lfaraj*.

to revenge the loss of her children, whom he had served in the same manner. This happened in the year 683^b, after he had reigned two years and two-months. 3. Khân Ahmed.

ACCORDING to *Abû'lfaraj*, *Ahmed* had ordered *Al Yanâk* to bring *Argûn* after him to his mother's residence, for which he intended to set out next morning: but that, at night, breaking the affair to a certain great lord, he said, he could not be secure, unless he made away with *Argûn*, and the rest of his nephews. When the amir *Buga* came to understand *Ahmed's* intention, he staid behind the sultân next day, under pretence of business; and, when night came, made known to all the princes of the blood what *Ahmed* had resolved upon. The princes, pierced with anger at this news, went all in a body to the place where *Argûn* was confined, and brought him forth; then, mounting him on a horse, they rode to the quarters of *Al Yanâk*; and, rushing on, slew him, and all the great men concerned with him, in the tent. After this, they ordered what they had done to be published through the camp, which remained very quiet on the occasion. Next morning they sent a numerous body of forces to pursue *Ahmed*, whom they overtook; and, having pillaged his whole ordâ, brought him back with his hands bound. Hereupon they deposed *Ahmed*, as not fit to govern; and set *Argûn* on his father's throne, on Wednesday the eleventh of *Jomada prior*, in the year above-mentioned.

MANY of the amirs and great lords were for having the deposed khân put to death. *Argûn* told them, that he would not consent to have his uncle slain; but should leave it to *Kungurtay*, his mother-in-law, and her sons, to dispose of him as they thought fit. This being resolved on, he was delivered into their power; and, after a few days respite, her sons deprived him of life, on Wednesday the second of *Jomada posterior*, to revenge the blood of their father, which he had shed^c. *in retaliation.* On his death the crown returned to the sons of *Abâka Khân*.

S E C T. II.

The Reign of Argûn Khân.

AS soon as *Argûn* was upon the throne, he gave the chief post in the empire to *Buga*, or *Boza*, who disposed of every thing with an almost absolute power. *Shâmso'ddin Saïd*, who was president of the diwan, that is, chief of the coun- 4. Khân Hej. 683 A. D.

^b KONDAMIR, ubi sup. p. 72. art. Ahmed. P. 367.

^c ABU'LFAR. 1284.

4. Khân cils (A), in the reign of *Abmed*, upon that prince's deposition, retired from court; and had already left *Ispahân*, in order to go into *Hindûstân*, when *Argûn*, whose good-will he suspected, sent for him, and confirmed him in his office: but *Buga*, finding his authority thus divided, presently contrived how to get rid of him. To do his business the shortest way, he accused *Saïd* of poisoning his father *Abâka*; and the too credulous prince, without examining the depositions of the witnesses, sacrificed that great man to the ambition of his rival, who wanted to put in his place a creature of his own*.

The wazîr
Saïd

THIS is the account of *Kondamîr* the *Persian* historian: but *Abû'lfaraj* relates the affair with other circumstances. According to him, *Argûn* received the information (but it is not mentioned from whom) in the reign of *Abmed*; and thereupon sent *Shams'o'ddîn* to acquaint the khân his uncle; desiring, at the same time, that *Saïd* might be delivered up to him. As *Abmed* refused to grant his request, *Argûn* concluded that he was pleased with his father's death. When *Argûn* was settled in the throne, the president of the diwân fled to the mountains of *Abwâz*, to the tribe of *Kürds* named *Al-Lâr*; whose prince, *Yûsef Shâh*, delivered him up to the khân. *Shams'o'ddîn*, after offering 100 tûmans in gold to save his life, desired time to raise more money, by selling the residue of his estate, and borrowing of his friends. Having, by this means, made up eighty tûmans more, he brought them: and, on delivering them, said, This is all I am able to raise; do with me what you think fit. Hereupon *Argûn* ordered him to be put to death; and he was accordingly executed on *Tuesday* the fifth of *Shaabân* 683.

put to
death.

SHAMS'O'DDIN was a man endowed with great understanding and experience; perfectly versed in all the art of government, and eminent for his humility: he always saluted those he met first, and suffered no man to prevent him*. Several elegies were composed, to console the people for his loss; and the historians report this circumstance of his death, that, when the executioner entered; to perform his office, he made the ablution usual before their prayers; and then opening the korân, to draw the *fâl*, or good lot, met with these words: "They who say to God, 'Tis you who are our master; and
"to those who walk in the right path, and conformable to
"that belief, God will send angels to comfort them in their

* *KONDAMIR* ap. D'Herb. p. 126. art. Argoun. FAR. p. 368.

* *ABU'L-*

(A) A dignity superior to that of prime wazîr.

"afflictions, and assure them of the paradise which has been 4- Khân
"promised to them." Argûn.

HOWEVER this be, *Buga*, seeing himself delivered from such a colleague, set no bounds to his ambition; and rose to such a pitch of authority, that he had but one step more to become master of the whole. At length he took off the mask; and, in 686, revolted openly against the sultân: but did not push his fortune any great length; for he was slain miserably, in the midst of his enterprise. After *Buga's* death, a Jew, named *Saëdo'ddawlet*, by profession a physician, and very agreeable in conversation, became so much in favour with Sultân *Argûn*, that all the affairs of the greatest lords of the empire depended on him. He put many of his own nation and religion into employments; without hurting, however, the interest of the Christians, who were very powerful at court. The *Mussulmans* were the only people who had no credit there, especially since the death of *Said*; which made them murmur continually against both. *Argûn*, at the solicitation of these latter, had taken from them (the *Mussulmans*) all the places belonging to the judicature, as well as the finances. In short, the two ruling parties carried things so far at last, that they denied them access to the sultân's camp; and, in the end, forbade them to appear at court.

A Jew
wasir.

Hej. 686.
A. D.
1287.

ARGUN, say the historians, had promised the Christians *Death of*
to convert the temple of *Mekka* into a church; where, instead *Argûn*.
of worshipping the Almighty God, they would have adored statues and images. But Providence, which always watches over the preservation of *Moslemism*, and the prayers of good *Mohammedans*, prevented this great-revolution; for *Argûn* fell sick at that very juncture. All they, throughout the empire, who had an interest in the life of that prince, spared neither prayers nor alms; and the Jew *Saëdo'ddawlet*, who was prime minister, sent express orders into all the provinces, to re-establish the things which he had unseasonably changed. But, as the moment of the sultân's death was fixed, neither their prayers nor alms availed any thing. Mean time *Argûn* grew extremely weak, and was even near his last agony, when he had the mortification to understand that his favourite the Jew was assassinated by his enemies. In fine, the sultân died in the year 690; and the *Mussulmans*, reckoning his death among the miracles of *Mohammed*, say, that it restored *Moslemism*, which had received a great dishonour under this prince's reign.

Hej. 690.
A. D.
1291.

SOME Arab historians, as *Abû'Isfeda*, relate, that the favourite Jew was put to death on a suspicion of having poisoned his master. Whether this accusation was true or false, it is

The Jews
massacred.

M. 2 certain,

4. Khân Argûn. certain, that the enemies of the Jews, who had beheld, with envious eyes, the great authority they were in, and; it may be, suffered many injuries at their hands, took this occasion, after the death of the sultan and his minister, to be revenged, by making a cruel massacre of them.

It was Argûn Khân who confirmed Massûd, son of Kay Kaw, last sultan but one of the Seljûks of Rûm, in the dominions which his family then possessed in Asia Minor.

S E C T. III.

The Reign of Ganjatû Khân.

5. Khân Ganjatû. THIS prince, named also Kaiktû (A), and Kaykatû, was the son of Abûka Khân, and succeeded Argûn Khân in the empire of the Mungls in Irân. Kondamir, the Persian historian, remarks, that the true name of this prince was Aykatû, or Gaykatû, which, in the Mungl language, signifies *marvellously fine and shining*. He adds, that this prince, notwithstanding his debauches, was the most liberal of all the descendants of Hulakû; and administered justice with so much circumspection, that, under his reign, no innocent person suffered death. Bahi Bok, or Basbi Bog, was generalissimo of the armies of this prince, under the title of Amtro' Omara; and Khovajeh Sadro'ddîn Khaled Zenjani was his prime wazir.

Gentrous, but debauched. Hej. 694. A. D. 1294. GANJATU Khân. fullied all the good qualities which he was possessed of, by his excessive lewdness. At length, several lords of his court, whose daughters he had seized to put in his harâm, conspired against him, and some of them were imprisoned on the occasion: but the rest sent privately to Baydâ Ogul, son of Targay (B), and grandson of Hulakû, then governor of Baghdâd, informing him; that, in case he took the field without delay, he might easily become master of the empire. Baydâ, having gathered what troops he could at so short a warning, advanced towards Mogân (C), where Ganjatû waited for him with his army: but this prince, finding himself betrayed and abandoned by his generals, escaped to a certain grotto; whither being followed by those lords whom he had

* KONDAMIR, ubi sup. p. 126, & seq.

(A) This happens by changing the punctuation, or dia-critical points, of the *nun* and *jim*, so as to convert those letters into *ya* and *kha*.

(B) Targhi, or Targhiyeh. See

Pocock, suppl. ad hist. dynast. p. 2.

(C) A great plain in Azerbejdân, bounded on the north by the rivers Araxes and Kûr, and on the east by the Caspian sea.

imprisoned,

imprisoned; and who had been released by the rest of the conspirators, he was by them assassinated, in the year 694^a.

5. Khân
Ganjatû.

THIS is the account of *Kondamir*: but his father *Mirkond* relates the occasion of the rebellion differently. According to this author, he would have introduced paper money into Persia, to pass, as it did in *Ketau Kotan* (D): but it met with great opposition, chiefly from his uncle *Badû*, who, on this pretence, made war on, and slew him, in 693, after he had reigned for three years^b.

Slain by
conspirators.

S E C T. IV.

The Reign of Baydû Khân.

THE partisans of this prince, having slain *Ganjatû*, saluted him emperor in the city of *Hamadân*, and afterwards caused him to be proclaimed thro' all the provinces and cities of the empire. The first thing he did, on ascending the throne, was, to testify his gratitude to *Dogajar*, who had been the principal instrument of his advancement, by giving him the chief command of all his troops; at the same time he made his friend *Jamâ'oddîn* president of the diwân, or his council. Mean time *Gâzân*, or *Kâzân*, who, from the death of his father, possessed the government of *Khorassân*, resolved to revenge the death of *Ganjatû*; and, for that purpose, consulted with the amir *Newrûz Gâzi*; with whom, for some time past, he had been in friendship. This amir was the son of *Argûn Aga*, who had possessed *Khorassân* as governor, under the descendants of *Jenghiz Khân*, during the space of thirty-nine years (A). After his father's death, he became an officer in the court of the emperor *Argûn Khân*, where he continued till such time as that prince put to death *Bega*, his friend and relation: for, being in fear of meeting with the same fate, he fled to the most eastern part of *Irân*. There, making open profession of *Mohammedanism*, he waged war upon the enemies of that religion, and gained several great advantages over them. On this occasion he had many quarrels with *Gâzân*, who then governed the province of *Khorassân*: but at length, matters being accommodated between them, the amir came to

6. Khân
Baydû.

^a KONDAMI, ubi sup. p. 359. art. Gangja.
ap, Texeira, p. 311.

^b MIRKOND

(D) By this must be understood *Katay*, or perhaps *Little Bukhâria*.

(A) As he was made gover-

nor in 650, as mentioned in the reign of *Hulâkû*, he must have died in 689, the sixth or seventh year of *Argûn Khân*'s reign.

6. Khân kifs the feet of that prince, and thenceforth became his best friend.

Gâzân

takes arms.

GAZAN having consulted *Newrâz* about the manner of wresting the provinces of *Azerbejân* and *Irâk* out of the hands of *Baydû*, to join them to *Khorassân*, which he already possessed; that amir told him boldly, that, if he would embrace *Mohammedism*, he would do his utmost to put him in possession of the empire, and expel his rival. *Gâzân*, without hesitation, gave himself up to the direction of *Newrâz*; and, soon after, made public profession of *Moslemism*, in the city of *Firâzkûh*: where a great number of persons embraced the same faith, and entered into his party. When this was done, he set forward with a numerous army, shaping his march towards *Ray*: and, being arrived near that city, sent an ambassador to *Baydû*, to demand the murderers of sultân *Ganja-tû*: but no regard was paid to his application. Hereupon he resolved to make use of hostilities; and his scouts having met with the van-guard of *Baydû*'s army, defeated, and took most of them prisoners; while the rest carried the news of this rupture to their camp.

Comes to terms.

GAZAN, after gaining this advantage, having recourse to artifice, sent a second ambassador to *Baydû*, to excuse what had happened, pretending it was done without his knowledge. This apology having been accepted of, it was agreed that the two princes should have an interview, each accompanied with a certain number of persons in his train. They met, and a conference was held; in which, after many compliments on both sides, *Gâzân* demanded of *Baydû* the government of the provinces of *Pârs* and *Irâk*, to hold of him by way of homage. The khân (B), who desired nothing so much as peace, yielded to his request: after which it was agreed, that, the day following, a splendid entertainment should be made, for joy of this accommodation; and that the two princes should visit each other in his tent. But *Gâzân*, having been informed that a plot was laid to assassinate him on his entering the khân's tent, broke off the conference, and immediately returned with his army into *Khorassân*.

Baydû eludes them.

HOWEVER, so soon as he arrived in that province, he sent a third ambassador to acquaint *Baydû*, that the cause of his hasty return, without taking leave of him, was, the advice he had

c KONDAM. ubi sup. p. 178. art. Baidu.

(B) Our author commonly, for king, or sovereign prince, uses the word sultân instead of most used in *Persia*. khân, the former being the name

received of a revolt among some of his officers; and prayed; at the same time, that he would send his orders into the two provinces above-mentioned, for delivering them up to him, pursuant to his grant. *Baydû* dissembled the chagrin which *Gâzân's* abrupt departure had given him; and directed *Jamâl-o'ddîn*, his wazir, to dispatch the orders for putting the officers of that prince in possession of those provinces. *Jamâl-o'ddîn* did so: but, at the same time, gave orders underhand to the contrary; so that *Gâzân's* officers were obliged to return without accomplishing the business which they were sent about. Hereupon the amir *Newrûz*, who managed the affairs of *Gâzân*, persuaded that prince to depute him to go to the sultan's court, under pretence of soliciting his interest there; but the real end of his embassy was, to form a party against *Baydû*, in favour of his master. In effect, he managed his intrigue so well, that, having gained *Dogajar*, prime minister of *Baydû*, they agreed together to dethrone this prince, and set up *Gâzân* in his room.

MEAN time *Baydû*, who had some suspicion of *Newrûz*, *Is deceived* caused him to be watched, and would not suffer him to stir by *Newrûz* out of his palace: but that amir assured him, with so many oaths, that, if he would permit him to return to *Khorassân*, he would deliver *Gâzân* bound into his hands, that at length he obtained leave. It is reported, that, as soon as *Newrûz* returned to *Khorassân*, to save his oath, he sent a kettle tied up in a bag to *Baydû*; thus joining raillery to his knavery: for *Gâzân*, or *Kâzân* (which word is pronounced indifferently either way), signifies, in the *Mungl* or *Turkish* language, a kettle. The sultan perceived, by this proceeding, that he had made a false step, in letting the amir *Newrûz* escape out of his hands: but now there was no help for it. In effect, that lord, after having corrupted the principal officers of *Baydû's* court, went back, to dispose *Gâzân* to put in execution the design which he had long thought upon; while *Shamso'ddîn* arrived very seasonably to forward the enterprise: for he informed *Gâzân*, who was then at *Sebzwar*, of the divisions which reigned among the lords of *Baydû's* court, and the general aversion which the people had to his person.

GAZAN finding, by this intelligence, that things were *Deserted,* arrived at the pass he wished them at, lost no time, but sent *and slain.* *Newrûz* before with the van-guard of his army. This commander set out immediately, and spoiled the country wherever he came: at the same time he made such haste, that, in one night's space, he reached a camp, which was only two days journey distant from that of the sultan. So soon as *Dogajar*, and those of his cabal, who had the chief posts in the

6. Khân Baydû. khân's army, heard that *Newrûz* was arrived, they, like base traitors, left their camp, and went over to his troops. The unfortunate prince, thus abandoned by his army, had nothing for it but to fly; and, thinking he might be safe in *Nakhshivân* (or *Nakshivân*, in *Arrân*), took the road to that city: but *Newrûz* pursued him so hotly, that he overtook him by the way, and put him to death (C), after a reign of no more than eight months, in the year 694^d.

S E C T. V.

The Reign of Gâzân or Kâzân Khân.

7. Khân
Gâzân.

GAZÂN Khân, who took the name of *Mahmûd*, after he turned *Mohammedan*, was the son of *Argûn Khân*. This prince was no sooner on the throne, than he received advice that some of his kindred had passed the *Jihûn*, in order to dispute it with him. Hereupon he sent *Newrûz* against them with a potent army; who obliged those princes to return, and leave *Gâzân* to enjoy in peace a kingdom which he governed with much wisdom and equity. In effect, he often sat himself in his court of justice, where all his subjects might freely make their complaints against the greatest lords and prime ministers of his court; whom he obliged to make satisfaction, according to the wrongs which they had done^a.

puts to
death

THE amir *Newrûz*, who had rendered his master such signal services in *Khorassân*, was again sent thither in quality of governor: but he was no sooner arrived, than several lords of the country, who sought that preferment, and envied his advancement, created a suspicion of him at court; this they confirmed, by means of a letter of *Newrûz*, which they pretended to have intercepted, and sent to *Sadr'eddîn Khâled*, president of the diwân; by which he seemed to enter into combination with the king of *Egypt*, to make war on *Gâzân*. As soon as the sultan was informed of this plot, he, without inquiring farther into the matter, immediately assembled his

Hej. 696. troops, in the year 696; and, sending them into *Khorassân*,
A. D. under the conduct of *Kutluk Shâh*, ordered that general not
1296. to return to court, till he had punished *Newrûz* for his re-
his general bellion. *Gâzân* was at this time at *Hamadân*, where he usu-
Newrûz,

^a KONDAM. ubi sup. p. 178. art. Baidû. ² Idem, ubi sup. p. 363. art. Gâzân. Pocock. suppl. ad Abû'lf. p. 2.

(C) *Mirkand*, in *Texeira*, says there dispatched him: but *Kondamir* says, he was put to death at *Nakhshivân*.

ally resided, altho' he had been crowned in *Tauris*, the capital of his empire; because the disputes which he had in *Syria*, with the king of *Egypt*, obliged him to be near that province (A). *Kutluk Sháh*, having entered *Khorassán*, presently constrained *Newráz* to abandon his government, and retire towards *Fákr'oddín Málek Kárt*, who was his son-in-law and creature: but this faithless prince, forgetting all his obligations, as well as duties of alliance and hospitality, delivered him up, loaded with chains, into the hands of *Kutluk Sháh*; who put him to death on the spot, and sent his head to *Gázán*.

7. Khán
Gázán.

IN 697, *Gázán* gave the government of *Khorassán* to Soltán *Al-japtu* (or *Al-jaytu*), his brother; who had many disputes with *Málek Kárt*, on account of the nearness of their dominions: but at length they came to an agreement, by means of the maffi *Shekíbo'ddín Jámí*. In 699 *Gázán* caused his wazír *Sadr'oddín Renjáni*, surnamed *Sadr Jeshán*, to be prosecuted for mismanagements in the finances; but, in reality, to strip him of the great wealth which he possessed. This minister having been put to death, his employment was divided between two considerable officers of state.

and trea-
surer.

Hej. 699:
A. D.
1299.

THE same year *Gázán* entered *Syria*, and gave battle to *Nasser*, son of *Kalawn*, sultan of *Egypt*, near the city of *Hems*; in which the latter, being defeated, escaped with no more than seven horsemen. After this, *Kutluk Sháh*, the *Mungl* general, took *Damaskus* by composition, and all the rest of *Syria* was subdued: but, shortly after *Gázán* had repassed the *Euphrates*, to return to *Hamadán*, the *Syrians* cut the throats of all the *Mungl* garrisons thro' the country. In 702 *Gázán* made a

Invades
Syria.

Hej. 702.
A. D.
1302.

second expedition into *Syria*, and came to *Halep*; where, having spent some time to divert himself, he left the care of recovering that province to *Kutluk Sháh*, and his other generals. Mean time *Nasser*, hearing of his return into *Syria*, was come with a powerful army to *Damaskus*; where he waited for the khán, who had already passed the *Euphrates*, in his way back: while his generals, deceived by their spies, and knowing nothing of *Nasser's* arrival, advanced towards *Damaskus*, expecting to surprise it; when, of a sudden, their van-guard, having descried the army of *Nasser*, was obliged to come to an engagement. The battle was long and bloody (B): but altho' the

His forces
defeated.

(A) But *Tauris* is as near *Syria* as *Hamadán*.

(B) *Abú'sfeda Ismael*, prince of *Hamah*, a great historian, and

the most famous geographer of the east, was in the army of *Nasser* when this battle was fought.

amir

7. Khân amir *Jubân* did surprising things, yet, not being well supported by the other *Mungl* officers, who turned their backs to the enemy, the latter gained a complete victory.

His death. *KUTLUK Shâh*, having been thus vanquished, retired with his forces, of which he had lost 10,000, into *Persia*; and, near *Kazwîn*, joined the sultân, who rewarded the valour of the amir *Jubân*, and punished with the korrah, or whip, according to the *Mungl* discipline, those who had not done their duty. Not long after this, he became bedridden; and died, greatly lamented by all his subjects, in a place named *Shâm Gâzân*, that is, the *Damaskus of Gâzân*^b. This was a town built by this emperor of the *Mungls*, near *Tauris*, in imitation of the *Syrian Damaskus*, and adorned with a stately mosque; where he was interred in the year 703. It was the only sepulchre of the *Mungls*, which remained standing in the time of *Kondamîr*, about 200 years after. He built two other cities, to which he gave the names of *Kaherah* (or *Kayro*) and *Halep*. In the year 702 this prince established *Kaykobâd*, son of *Feramorz*, last sultân of the *Seljuks* of *Rûm*, or *Anatolia*, in the sovereignty of those dominions^c. *Gâzân*, according to *Al Jannâbi*, died the thirteenth of the month *Shawal*, near *Hamadân* (others say in *Ray*); and thence was conveyed to *Al Shâm*, near *Tauris*, after he had reigned eight years and about ten months. Some say he was taken off by poison.

S E C T. VI.

The Reign of Aljaytu or Aljaptu Khân.

8. Khân Aljaytû. **T**HE name of this prince, who succeeded his brother *Gâzân* in 703, is variously written by authors; as *Aljaptu*, or *Ol-laptu*, and *Oljaytu*, according to the author of the *Magmu Al Rasbidiah* (A), who dedicated his work to him. This last word is written also *Aljaytu*, and, with some little variation, *Aljâytû*, which, according to *Al Jannâbi*, signifies the great emperor. He relinquished the religion of *Jenghiz Khân*, and became a *Mohammedan*; upon which occasion he assumed the name of *Gayâtho'ddin Mohammed Khodâbandeh*; which last word

^a *KONDAM* ubi sup. p. 363. art. *Gâzân*. ^c *D'HERBEL*. p. 773. art. *Shâm Gâzân*.

(A) This was the wazîr *Rasbido'ddin*, mentioned afterwards. It is a great collection of *Arabic* learning, and to be found in the king of *France's* library, N° I.; being the largest volume, and in the best order, of any *D'Herbelot*

had met with among the *Arabs*. He was author also of the *Yama'tawarik*, or history of the *Turkish* tribes, mentioned vol. iv. p. 20. See also *D'Herb.* p. 711. art. *Rasbid Thabib*.

signifies

signifies, in *Persian*, the servant of God : but, instead of *Khodâ-bandeh*, as *Al Jannâbi* and othes have it, *Abû'lfeda* and *Ahmed ebn Yûsef* write *Khorbandâ*².

8. Khân
Aljaytû.

THIS prince came from the province of *Khorassân* to *Arra-jân* (B), where he was crowned emperor ; and gave the post of *Amîr al Omara* (C), which is that of generalissimo, to *Kotluk Shâh* ; dividing the office of prime wazîr between *Rasbido'ddîn* and *Saedo'ddîn* : but this latter, being some time after suspected of committing certain misdemeanours, was put to death, and his place assigned to *Ali Shâh*. In 704 *Aljaytu* built the city of *Soltania*, and made it the seat of his empire (D). In the time of his abode here, several lords of *Syria* and *Egypt* came to implore his assistance against *Mâlek al Nasser*, son of *Kelawn*, sultan of *Egypt*. *Aljaytu*, who ardently desired to recover *Syria*, which his ancestors had possessed, passed the *Euphrates* in 712, with a great army, and encamped at *Ruhabat*, near *Damaskus*. Several skirmishes happened between the *Syrian* and *Mungl* forces : but they never came to a pitched battle (E) ; for the wazîr *Rasbid*, by his management, brought about a peace between the two powers ; and *Aljaytu* returned to *Soltânia*.

Hej. 712.
A. D. 1312.

HE was no sooner arrived there, than he received advice that *Kepek Khân* and *Bissur Oglan*, two princes of *Turkestan*, had passed the river *Amû*, with a design to reduce the province of *Khorassân*. These invaders had already defeated *Yessawul* and *Ali Kûshji*, the principal commanders in that province, when *Aljaytu* marched against, and compelled them to repass the *Amû* with great precipitation. This irruption of the *Turks* induced the khân to confer the government of *Khorassân* on his son *Abûsaïd*, sending with him considerable troops to defend that province ; and the amir *Sunej* to direct his affairs. The young prince began his government by punishing the two generals before-mentioned, who had fled from the *Turks* ; and caused such exact justice to be observed in all respects, that he quickly restored peace and commerce to that large province.

² KONDA. ubi sup. p. 88. art. Algiaptu ; & Poc. suppl. p. 3.

(B) Or *Al Rajân*, a city of *Khûzestân* ; but, by some geographers, ascribed to *Pârs*, or *Proper Persia*, one day's journey from the *Persian gulf*.

(C) *Amîr al Omara* signifies commander of commanders ; *Omara* being the plural of *Amîr*.

(D) According to *Mirkond*,

he built this city in 705, and removed his seat from *Tauris*, where he before resided ; and, the next year, possessed himself of the province of *Gheylân* and *Rasht*, *Texeira*, p. 312.

(E) According to *Mirkond*, in *Texeira*, he recovered *Shâm*, or *Damaskus*.

Not

8. Khân **Aljaytû.** NOT long after this, *Bissur Oglan*, having quitted the interest of *Kepek Khân*, went over to *Abûsaïd*; which turn must have occasioned a great war between the neighbouring powers: but the death of *Aljaytu*, which happened in 716, prevented the storm. This prince died at the age of thirty-six, after he had reigned twelve years (F); and made justice flourish in his dominions more than any other of the family of *Jenghiz Khân*. He had a great zeal for the *Mohammedan* religion; and honoured the chief professors of it, especially those of the sect of *Ali*, in favour of whom he caused the names of the twelve imâms to be engraved on his coin^b.

His death.
Haj. 716.
A. D.
1316.

S E C T. VII.

The Reign of Abûsaïd Khân.

9. Khân **Abûsaïd.** *ABUSAID*, surnamed *Behâdr Khân*, succeeded his father *Aljaytu*, and was crowned in the city of *Soltâniâ*. He immediately confirmed *Rashid* and *Ali Shâh*, his father's wazirs, in their employments; and made *Jûban Noyân* (A) generalissimo of his forces, who governed the empire as tutor to the young prince, then but twelve years of age.

Haj. 718. IN 718 *Ali Shâh* so far wrought upon the amir *Jûban* by his
A. D. management and presents, that *Rashid'addin* was turned out of
1318. his office, and some time after put to death. The same year
Amir Jû- *Bayfur*, a prince of the royal blood of the *Mungls*, revolted
ban-regent. against *Abûsaïd*; and, advancing from *Khorassân* into *Mazân-derân*, threatened to march on to *Soltâniâ* itself, if the sultan had not sent a potent army, under the conduct of the amir *Hûssayn Kurkhân*, to reduce him to obedience. The sultan at this time passed the winter at *Karabâgh* (in *Arrân*); where advice came, that *Uzbek Khân* (B) had crossed over the great

^b KONDAM. ubi sup. p. 88. art. Algiaptu.

(F) Twelve years and nine months, according to *Mirkoud*, who says, he first brought up the custom of taking away the children of *Christians* and *Jews*, to educate them in their manner, and be served by them.

(A) Written by some *Nowyân*, by others *Nevîân*. This person is named also amir *Jûbân*. In *Abûlghâzi Khân's* history *Zâpânî*, that is, *Jâpânî*, or *Chûpânî*; and, in *Teixeira*, *Chûbân*;

the *Persians* often using the *p* for the *Arab b*. *Abûlghâzi* says, the chiefs of the tribe of *Suldu*, from father to son, bore that name. Hist. Turks, &c. p. 188.

(B) Called afterwards *Shâh Uzbek*: the titles of *Shâh*, *Soltân*, *Khân*, and sometimes *Mâlek*, being given indifferently by the oriental historians, to the kings or sovereigns of different nations, with no small impropriety.

defare

desart of *Kapjak* (or *Kipjak*), and made himself master of the city of *Darbend*. This obliged him to depart immediately, with the few troops which he had about him, to go and encamp on the *Kâr*, in order to hinder the *Tatars* from passing that river. On the other hand, the amir *Jâbân*, who had followed the amir *Hâssayn*, to appease the troubles raised in *Khorassân*, no sooner heard of the irruption of the enemy, than he turned back, to strengthen the army of Soltân *Abûsaïd*.

g. Khân
Abûsaïd.

As the *Tatars* had hitherto done nothing but plunder the country, without undertaking any thing of consequence, their army was much diminished; so that Shah *Uzbek*, finding himself no equal match for the sultan, whose forces were now considerably increased by reinforcements, resolved to break up his camp, and retire: but, being followed at the heels by the amir *Jâbân*, he lost a great number of men in his retreat. After this success, while *Abûsaïd* marched back to *Soltâniâ*, the general caused several of the principal officers of the sultan's army to be whipped, according to the *Mungl* discipline; for not having done their duty in his absence, and then proceeded towards *Gorja* (or *Georgia*). Mean time the officers, who had received the correction, plotted to revenge that disgrace; and engaged in their party several officers, who bore with impatience the severe humour of the amir *Jâbân*.

THE malecontents, having formed a pretty considerable army among themselves, followed that general, who had already entered *Gorja*; and, while he had left his camp, to go on some enterprise against the enemy, they seized on, and pillaged it. After this surprise, which reduced the amir to great want of every thing, they gave battle to, and defeated him. *Jâbân* stood in need of all his courage, but more of his wit and address, to save his person out of such imminent danger. In effect, by making use of several stratagems; he at length escaped; and, by marching many round-about ways, arrived at *Soltâniâ*. The khân, not thinking himself safe in his capital, while the rebels continued in arms, gathered all the troops he could in haste, and marched to chastise them. The revolted, losing all respect for the sultan, gave him battle, but were defeated; and it was on this occasion that *Abûsaïd* got the surname of *Bahâdr*, or *Brave*, by rushing into the midst of the enemy.

In 719 the amir *Hâssayn Kurkhân*, who was at war with *Marries Bayfur* in *Khorassân*, obtained so many advantages over him, *Abûsaïd*, that he at length constrained him to repass the *Amû* into *Great Sistan*: *Bukhâria*; where he was slain some time after, in fight with a

Hej. 719.
A. D.

* KONDAM. ap. D'Herb. p. 32. art. Aboufaïd.

9. Khân prince of the race of *Jagatay*, son of *Jenghiz Khân*. In 721 the sultan married his sister, named *Satibeg*, to the amir *Jubân*, whose nuptials were celebrated with great magnificence. Next year *Timurtash*, son of *Jubân*, who was governor of the country of *Râm*, or *Anatolia*, revolted against *Abûsaïd*; setting up for sovereign in his department. The amir, on this advice, tho' in the depth of winter, set out with a powerful army, to bring him back to his duty: which the son no sooner understood, than he laid down his arms, and put himself into his father's hands; who carried him as a prisoner to the feet of the sultan. By this means *Abûsaïd* was appeased; and, pardoning the son, in consideration of the father's services, restored him to his government.

Disobliges him. IN 723 *Ali Shâh* the wazir died; and his post was given to *Sayn*, lieutenant-general of the amir *Jubân*. Some time after Hej. 723. this, the amir gave his daughter, named *Bâghdâd Khâtûn*, one of the greatest beauties in all *Asia*, in marriage to the amir A. D. *Hassan Ilkhâni*, son of *Sheykh Hûssayn* (C): but this marriage 1323. proved very fatal to him; for Sultan *Abûsaïd*, having fallen in love with that lady, demanded her in marriage of her father. Now, according to the laws of the *Mungls*, every private person was obliged to repudiate his wife, when the khân had a mind to espouse her. For all this, the amir *Jubân* never would consent to his daughter's divorce; and even uttered disrespectful words against this young prince, who required nothing contrary to the laws, or his own duty^b.

Out of favour. ABUSAID at that time dissembled the resentment which he conceived at this refusal: while the amir *Jubân*, thinking to cure his passion by absence, sent his son-in-law and daughter to *Karabâgh*; and carried the sultan, against his inclination, to *Bâghdâd*, there to pass the winter. But *Abûsaïd's* love, far from diminishing by this separation, only increased the more. Mean time the wazir *Sayn* inflamed the aversion of the prince against *Jubân*, by several false reports which he framed, relating to the conduct of the amir and his sons. As these practices of the wazir came to the knowledge of *Damask Kho-wajeh* (or *Khoja*), son of the accused, one of the chief officers of the sultan's household, and who had oftenest access to him, he took care to send his father an account of them. On this occasion the amir *Jubân* took a very bold step: for, under pretence of going to quash some insurrections which were begun

* KONDAM. ubi sup. p. 32. art. Aboufaïd.

(C) The same with the amir *Hûssayn Kurkhân*, mentioned a little above.

in *Khorassân*, he departed hastily from *Bâghdâd*, and went to *9. Khân Soltânia*, carrying with him the wazîr *Sayn*, as it were by way of hostage for his son, whom he left at court. *Abûsaïd*.

THIS son remained there, to direct all affairs: for *Jâbân*, *His son* who had the intire management of them, communicated them *Damashk* to none but him. It happened, at length, that *Damashk*, abusing his father's authority, disposed so absolutely of all things, that *Abûsaïd* had little left to him besides the name of sultân. This prince, weary of being always under guardianship, discovered his dissatisfaction to some of his confidants; and they informed him, that *Damashk* carried on an intrigue with one of the wives of the late sultân *Aljaytû*, his father. On this advice, the prince ordered *Damashk* to be watched, to discover the truth; and, in a short time, was himself witness of a rendezvous made by the two lovers. The sultân, wounded in his honour, as well as authority, by this insolent minister, would readily have signed the order for his death: but as none of his domestics durst undertake so dangerous a task, he found there was a necessity of leaving things to chance; which soon turned out to his wishes. For it happened, at this very juncture, in 727, that some heads of men, who had revolted in the provinces, having been brought to the sultân's palace, a report was spread, that they were the heads of the amir *Jâbân* and his adherents, which had been sent from *Khorassân*. This rumour so frightened *Damashk*, that, without inquiring into the truth of the matter, he left the palace, in the night, with only ten men, and took to flight. As soon as *Abûsaïd* was informed of this, he sent after him *Mesr Khowajeh*, one of his confidants, who overtook, and cut off his head, which he brought forthwith to the sultân.

Hej. 727.
A. D.
1326.

THIS prince, delivered from the son, proposed soon also to get rid of the father: for this purpose, he sent strict orders to the officers of *Khorassân* to seize the person of *Jâbân*; and couriers to those of other provinces, to put to death all who could be found, either of his relations or dependents. But as these officers lived in good understanding with that general, instead of executing the sultân's mandate, they immediately gave him notice of it. Upon this intelligence, he lost no time: for, making use of the favour and credit of his friends, he set on foot an army of 70,000 horse, with which he moved towards *Kasbîn*; whither the sultân was advanced, with all the forces which he was able to assemble. *Jâbân*, before he left *Khorassân*, caused the wazîr *Sayn* to be slain, by way of reprisal, for the death of his son; and *Abûsaïd*, to be even with him, appointed for wazîr *Gayâtho'ddîn Mohammed*, a person of learning,

Raises an army.

9. **Khân Abûfaid.** learning, son of *Rashido'ddîn*, whom the amir had also put to death, as before hath been related.

His troops desert. MEAN time, the amir *Jâbân* marched forward, with design to make himself master of the court, and the person of the sultân. When he came to *Sennân* (in *Kumes*), he made a visit to *Rokno'ddîn Alao'ddawlet*, whose tomb is still respected there, by *Mohammedans*, for his great sanctity; and, after some conferences with him, promised, on oath, to follow strictly his advice in every thing: proposing, as a testimony of his sincerity, that the sheykh should go from him to the sultân, to demand the murderers of his son, and the conditions of a good peace. *Abûfaid* received the sheykh with respect, and did him a thousand honours: but refused either to deliver up the assassins, or, in any sort, treat with *Jâbân*. The amir, enraged at this refusal, no longer kept any measures with the sultân; and came to encamp within one day's march of his ordû, or imperial camp, in a place named *Kuha*. But he did not continue long in that post: for several of his principal officers, who intirely owed their fortunes to him, abandoned him, with 30,000 horse, and went over to their sovereign.

He retreats.

As the amir *Jâbân*, after such an instance of inconstancy in so considerable a part of his troops, could not prudently confide in the rest of them; he quitted his camp, and took the road of the desert of *Nubendijân*, with design to retire into *Khorassân*. This long and difficult march, joined to a farther desertion of his officers, so weakened his army, that, being no longer able to support his party in that province, he resolved to repair to *Turkestan*: a country where there were several great princes, who often made incursions into the dominions of *Abûfaid*, as hath been already remarked. This resolution would probably have proved very advantageous to the amir, had he pursued it: but his evil destiny so ordered it, that, when he came to the river *Morgâb*, he of a sudden changed his mind, and turned back, to throw himself into the arms of *Gayâtho'ddîn*, surnamed *Mâlek Kurt*; whom he had bred up from his youth, and advanced to the principal posts in the armies of *Asia*.

Betrayed, and slain,

MALEK Kurt proved not more faithful to him than the rest: for having, at the same time, received an express from the sultân, with dispatches full of great offers and promises, if he would send him *Jâbân's* head, the first visit of this ingrate was that which he made him by the executioner. The amir could never obtain so much as the favour to see him: so that finding he must die, he required three things of him. First, That, as soon as his head was severed from his body, he should send one of his fingers, which was double at the end, to the camp

camp of *Abûsaïd*. Secondly, that he would cause his body to be sent to *Medînah*, there to be buried in a chapel which had been built at his expence. And thirdly, That he would convey his son *Jalayr*, whom he had by *Satibeg*, to the court of Soltân *Abûsaïd* his uncle. These three requests being granted him, the executioner cut off his head : which *Mâlek Kurt* sent immediately to the sultân ; and set out soon after himself, to receive the reward of his perfidy. But he was much surprised, when he understood, on the road, that *Sheykh Hassan* had divorced his wife, the daughter of *Jâban*, and sent her into the sultân's harâm. What still more increased his chagrin was, that *Sheykh Hassan*, by this submission to the desires of *Abûsaïd*, had obtained the employment which he expected at court ; and that *Bâghdâd Khâtûn* (D) had gotten an intire influence over the mind of the prince ^c.

8. Khân
Abûsaïd.

THIS disagreeable news made him resolve, before he proceeded any farther, to send his orders into *Khorassân*, to put to death *Jalayr*, son of the amir *Jâban* ; whose life he had preserved, at the request of his father, though contrary to the sultân's orders. After this second execution, he continued his rout towards *Karabâgh* (E), where *Abûsaïd* then resided : but, through the great credit which *Bâghdâd Khâtûn*, who was married, in a solemn manner, by the sultân, possessed at court, he received but a very cold reception ; and was considered rather as the murderer of the sultâna's father, than a person who had rendered a great piece of service to *Abûsaïd*. He was even made to wait in the camp, all the time which the corps of *Jâban* and his son were bringing from *Khorassân* to *Awsân* ; where the sultân ordered them to be put into the hands of the pilgrims of *Mekka*, to bury them at *Medînah*. To defray this expence, he caused 40,000 dinars to be paid to them ; and gave to *Mâlek Kurt* no other reward, than the permission of returning to his own country. With regard to the amir *Jâban*, we shall only observe farther, that he had always passed for a good man, a lover of justice, and a great zealot for his religion.

^c KONDAM. ubi sup. p. 33. art. *Abûsaïd*.

(D) According to *Mirkond*, in *Texeira*, *Abûsaïd* gave her the title of *Khândekar*, which was the royal style ; and that he put the whole government into her hands, which she managed with much wisdom and discretion, while he diverted himself with reading, being very

bookish. 'Tis added, that his judgment was sound, and his person graceful.

(E) According to the same author, *Jannâbi*, and the *Nighiariştân*, he spent his summers in *Soltaniya*, and his winters at *Karabâgh*.

8. Khân *Abûsaïd*. IN 732, some persons envying the good fortune of Sheykh *Hassan*, and uneasy at the great power which the sultâna had in affairs, began to whisper about, that this princess still carried on a secret intimacy with her first husband. As these reports came, at length, to the sultân's ears, he banished Sheykh *Hassan* to the castle of *Kamakh* (F); and shewed great coldness to his new spouse. But the falsity of those insinuations having been discovered, and the authors of such black calumny punished, *Abûsaïd* restored the sultâna and the sheykh to his favour; and even conferred on the latter the government of part of *Rûm*, or *Asia Minor*, which, at that time, belonged to his dominions.

Hej. 736. A. D. 1335. *Uzbek Khân's invasion*. IN 735, Shâh *Uzbek* made a second irruption into the territories subject to Sultân *Abûsaïd*; who, next year (G), marched to fight his enemy: but he was scarce arrived in the province of *Shîrwân*, when the heat, and malignity of the air, threw him into a dangerous sickness. For this, his physicians prescribed bathing: but one day, after taking medicines, while he was in the bath, he fell into a swoon, and died not long afterwards. The author of the preface to the *Jâfer Nâmeh* writes, that the sultâna *Bâghdâd Khâtûn*, perceiving a change in this prince's affections towards her, gave him poison, which took away his life, at the age of thirty-two, of which he had reigned nineteen years. His corps was transported to *Soltâniya*, with a pomp worthy of so great a monarch, and inhumed in the sepulchre of his ancestors (H). *Arbah Khân*, his successor, caused the sultâna to be put to death, who was accused of being concerned in the death of *Abûsaïd*; and had been convicted of corresponding with Shâh *Uzbek*, who disputed the crown with him ^d.

Abûsaïd dies.

^d KONDAM. ubi sup. p. 34.

(F) *Kamkh*, or *Kemak*, as some authors write, stands on the *Euphrates*, twenty-one miles to the south of *Arzenjân*, in *Rûm*, or *Anatolia*.

(G) This year, 736 of the Hejrah, of Christ 1335, was remarkable, as well for the birth

of *Timûr Beg*, or *Tamerlan*, as for the death of *Abûsaïd*.

(H) He was buried near his father *Khodabandeh*, under the fine dome of the mosk of *Soltâniya*; on the walls of which, the whole *Korân* is written, in golden characters. *La Croix* hist. Gengh. p. 404.

C H A P. IV.

Dynasties which sprung up on the Death of Abûsaïd Khân.

ON the death of *Abûsaïd*, in 736, the empire of the *Mungls* *Confusion* in *Irân*, or *Persia* at large, fell all to pieces, and into great confusion: for, after him, they acknowledged no single monarch of the race of *Jenghîz Khân*; but cantoned themselves in the several provinces, which were plundered by the frequent wars which the lords waged among themselves, every one aiming at the sovereignty, and to reduce the rest under his power. Nor did these disorders cease, till the time of *Timûr Beg*, who, after the conquest of the countries to the north of the *Jihân*, or *Amû*, turned his arms against those to the south of that river; and, in a short time, brought all the jarring princes of *Irân* under his obedience.

A. D.
1335.

AMONG the petty dynasties which, during this interval of by petty distraction, sprung up in that great region, historians mention *dynasties*. two *Mungl*, which rose out of the ruins of their empire, immediately on the death of *Abûsaïd*. The first, called *Il Khânian*, its princes being descended, in a direct line, from *Hulâkû Khân*, surnamed *Il Khân*. The second, named *Jûbânian*, or *Chûbânian*, as being founded by the family of *Jûban*, or *Chûban*. The first had four princes, who reigned from the year 737 to 813, the space of seventy-six years. The second had but two, who held the scepter only twenty years, that is, from 738, two years after the death of *Abûsaïd*, to 758; though some make their dominion end two years sooner. The *Il Khânians* reigned in *Arabian Irâk* and *Azerbeijân*; the *Jûbânians* in this latter province, and the *Persian Irâk*. Although these two dynasties were cotemporary, and their affairs blended together, yet we shall treat of them separately; but avoid all repetitions, except what must be used to make the necessary connections.

S E C T. I.

*The Dynasty of the Il Khânians.**Reign of Shzykb Hassân Buzruk.*

THIS dynasty had four sultâns, or princes; the first of whom was amir *Hassan*, or *Hassan Nowyân*, son of the amir *Hufsayn Kurkhân*, one of *Abûsaïd Khân*'s generals, mentioned in the reign of that sultân. *Hassan* married the famous *Bâghdâd Khâtûn*, daughter of the amir *Jûban*, or *Chûban*, with whom

1. Sultân
Shzykb
Hassân
Buzruk.

1. *Soltân Shейkh Hassân Buzruk.* *Abûsaïd* was enamoured; and, after the death of her father, divorced her, to gratify that prince: who, in 732, conferred on him the government of the *Mungl* dominions in *Râm*, or the country of the *Romans*, meaning chiefly *Anatolia*. This *Hassân* was surnamed *Buzruk* (A), or *the great*, in the *Mungl* or *Turkish* language, to distinguish him from *Hassân*, surnamed *Kujuk*, or *the lesser*; who, near the same time, founded the dynasty of *Jâbanians* *. *Arab Shâh* says, that *Hassân Buzruk* was the son of *Hussayn*; and *Hussayn*, the son of *Ak Buga*; that *Ak Buga* was the son of *Id Khân*; and that *Id Khân* descended from *Sherfoddîn Sebth Alkân*, or *Ilkhân Argûn*, son of *Abûsaïd*. *Arabshâh* does not say who this *Abûsaïd* was †; yet *D'Herbelot* will have him to be *Abûsaïd Khân*. But this cannot be; since *Hassân Buzruk* was cotemporary with *Abûsaïd Khân*, and, from circumstances, older: whereas his ancestor *Abûsaïd* was, at least, five or six generations earlier than *Abûsaïd Khân*. The same author furnishes no more materials relating to this founder of the *Il Khânian* dynasty. But *Abû'l-ghâzi Khân* gives us some farther particulars of his history. According to this author, on the death of *Abûsaïd*, those of the tribe of *Suldus*, the heads of which bore the name of *Zûpani*, or *Jûpani* (B), put the sceptre into the hands of *Arpa*, or *Arba Khân*, descended from *Artokbuga* (C), son of *Tawlay* (or *Tuli*) *Khân*.

SOME time after this, *Ali*, a chief of a tribe of the *Virats*, by the great credit which he had in the city of *Bâghdâd*, caused *Musa*, descended from *Hulâkû* (D), to be proclaimed khân there: who marching to attack *Arpa Khân*, defeated, and slew him; whereby he became master of all his territories †. This *Arba Khân*, according to *D'Herbelot*, reigned no more than six months (E); and, on his coming to the crown, put to

* D'HERBEL. p. 489. art. *Il Khân*. † ARABSHAH, hist. Timûr, l. iii. § 3. † ABU'LGHAZI KHAN, hist. Turks, p. 188.

(A) In the *English* translation of *La Croix's* history of *Genghiz Khân*, p. 404, he is named *Buzure Hassân*; a mistake, perhaps, for *Buzurc*, or *Buzurk*, as that author seems to have read it.

(B) *Jûpani*, or *Jûbani*, is the gentile name of *Jûban*, formed by adding the final *i*.

(C) *Arba Khân* was the son of *Sengbigân*, son of *Mâlek Timûr*, son of *Arsaka Buga*, son

of *Tuli*, son of *Jenghiz Khân*. *D'Herbelot*, p. 382. art. *Genghiz Khânian*. *La Croix* makes *Arpa Khân* the son of *Ali*, son of *Baydu Khân*, son of *Tragay* (or *Tarigbi*), son of *Hulâkû*. Hist. *Gengh*. p. 404.

(D) *Musa* was the son of *Ali*, son of *Baydu Khân*, son of *Targay* (or *Targhiyeb*), son of *Hulâkû Khân*.

(E) According to *La Croix*, he died in 1335.

death *Bâghdâd Khâtân*, the beloved wife of *Abûsaïd Khân*^d, for the reasons already mentioned, in the reign of that prince.

As soon as *Sheykh Hassan Jalayr* (F), called also *Sheykh Hassan Buzruk*, who was then very powerful in the provinces of *Râm* (or *Anatolia*), heard that the people of *Bâghdâd* had proclaimed *Musa* in quality of khân, he caused *Mohammed*, a descendant of *Hulâkû* (G), to be acknowledged khân of the *Mungls* in that country. This prince, immediately on his advancement, got together a great army, and marched from *Râm* to the borders of *Irân*. At the news of his approach, *Musa Khân* marched as far as *Tabriz* (or *Tauris*) to meet him: but coming to a battle, was intirely defeated; and having in the action lost *Ali* (H), by whose interest he had been raised to the throne, he fled for shelter to the *Virats*.

1. *Soltân Sheykh Hassan Buzruk.*
Musa Khân.

ADVICE of this revolution coming to the knowledge of *Sheykh Ali*, son of the amir *Ali Koshji*, who, at the same juncture, commanded in *Khorassân*, he halted to *Bastâm*, and there proclaimed *Togay Timûr*, one of the descendants of *Jujikar*, brother of *Jenghîz Khân*, who formerly resided in *Mazânderân*. Soon after, being joined by *Musa Khân*, they all three went in quest of *Mohammed Khân*: but the sheykh *Hassan Jalayr* advancing against them, with a powerful army, as far as *Yagarm Rudh* (I), intirely routed them. *Musa Khân* lost his life in this action (K): but *Togay Timûr* and *Sheykh Ali* escaped into *Khorassân*.

Mohammed Khân.

WHEN *Sheykh Hassan Kujuk* (L), who commanded on the

Togay Timûr Khân.

^d D'HERB. p. 34, & 382, art. *Abûsaïd & Genghizkhanian*.

(F) By this, he seems to have been of the tribe of *Jalayr*. *Soltân Ahmed* likewise is, by *Sharîf'eddîn*, in the life of *Timûr Bek*, called *Ahmed Jalayr*.

which, in the *Persian*, is called *Rudh*: the *dh* being sounded like *th*, in *them*, *this*, &c.

(K) *Mohammed* caused his head to be cut off. This happened in 1336. *La Croix*, p. 405.

(G) *Mohammed Khân* was the son of *Yol Kattuk*, son of *Timûr*, son of *Anbarji*, son of *Mangu*, son of *Hulâkû Khân*, according to *Abû'lghâzi Khân*: but *La Croix* makes him the son of *Ma-juni*, son of *Amûjin*, son of *Hulâkû Khân*: he puts his death in 1337; and says, some call him *Mahmûd*. Hist. Gengh. p. 405.

(L) This is the grandson of *Hassân*, son of the amir *Jûban*, founder of the *Jûbanian* dynasty. *Abû'lghâzi Khân*, to distinguish him from *Sheykh Hassan Buzruk*, calls him *Sheykh Hassan Khoja*; possibly, because the authors he made use of do not add the surname of *Kujuk*, which we, to prevent confusion, have put instead of *Khoja*; as, afterwards, we have substituted *Buzruk* for *Jalayr*.

(H) *La Croix* calls him *Ali Shâb*; and says, he was another khân of *Hulâkû's* race. Hist. Gengh. p. 404.

(I) This seems to be a river;

1. *Soltân Sheykh Hassan Buzruk.* borders of *Râm*, in the time of *Abûsaïd Khân*, received information of the ill success of this battle, he gathered in haste a numerous army, and took the field against *Mohammed Khân*, and the *Sheykh Hassan Buzruk*. After some skirmishes of no moment, the competitors came, at length, to a decisive battle, near *Nakhshivân*; in which *Mohammed Khân* being killed, and his forces defeated, *Sheykh Hassan Buzruk* fled for shelter to the city of *Soltâniya*. On this occasion, *Sheykh Hassan Kujuk* conferred the government of *Tabriz* (or *Tauris*) on a lady named *Satibika* (N), while he marched in pursuit of his enemies. *Sheykh Hassan Buzruk*, perceiving the victor pressed him close, and that that there was no likelihood of escaping out of his hands, implored his clemency, and surrendered himself at discretion. After this, *Sheykh Hassan Kujuk* returning to *Tabriz*, *Satibika* delivered him the keys of that city, after she had governed there a whole year; and the sheykh, to recompense her fidelity, married her to *Soleymân*, a lord descended (O) from *Hulâkû*.

Jehân
Timûr
Khân.
A. D.
1356.

SOME time after this, the *Sheykh Hassan Buzruk*, having found means to escape out of the hands of his conqueror, fled to *Bâghdâd*, and caused *Jehân Timûr* (P) to be proclaimed khân. This done, he set forward, to try his fortune once more against the sheykh *Hassan Kujuk*: but, having met with another defeat, he retreated to that capital; and believing he had reason to be dissatisfied with *Jehân Timûr*, deposed him, and seized the supreme authority himself*. It does not appear that he had any farther contest with *Hassan Kujuk*, whose death seems to have

* ABU'LGHAZI, ubi supra.

(N) This must be *Satibeg*, daughter of *Abûsaïd Khân*, and married to the amir *Jûban*, grandfather of this *Hassan*, who was son of *Timûrtosh*. *La Croix* names her *Shâh Zâdeh Shâhibek Kâtûn*; and places her as the sixth khân among the eight khâns which, according to his authors, reigned after the death of *Abûsaïd*.

(O) *Soleymân* was son of *Mohammed*, son of *Sangu*, son of *Yasmut*, son of *Hulâkû Khân*; so writes *Abû'lgâzi Khân*. *La Croix*, less accurately, says, he was the son of *Sanki*, son of

Ahmed, whom some called *Shemed*, son of *Hulâkû Khân*. The same author makes him the seventh khân; and says, his wife gave him that title, in 1338.

(P) *Jehân Timûr* was son of *Alfrân*, son of *Kajeytû Khân*, son of *Abâka Khân*, son of *Hulâkû Khân*. *Kajeytû* of *Abû'lgâzi Khân* is the same with *Kaiktû*, or *Ganjatû Khân*; that is, the eighth khân of *La Croix*, who seems to have made his fourth and fifth out of *Togay Timûr*: the first called *Tagur Khân*; the second *Bûka Timûr Khân*.

happened

happened not long after (Q) : nor do we meet with any thing relating to him further (R), than that he died in 757, after a reign of twenty years ; and left for his successor his son Soltân *Avîs*.

1. *Soltân*
Sheykh
Hassân
Buzruk.

The Reign of Soltân *Avîs*, or *Weîs*.

A*VIS*, or *Avîs* (called also *Vêis*, or *Weîs*, and commonly *Sheykh Avîs*, or *Vêis*), on the death of his father *Sheykh Hassan Ilkhâni*, surnamed *Buzruk*, succeeded to the states which he possessed (S) ; at a time when several *Mungl* princes, descended from *Jenghîz Khân*, had divided the empire of *Abd-sâid Khân*, the last sole monarch of *Irân*, amongst them. In 759, *Sheykh Avîs* entered *Azerbejân*, with an intent to conquer it ; and defeated *Akhijuk*, who was master of that province (T), although attended with a powerful army. *Akhijuk*, on this disaster, fled to *Tauris* ; but, not thinking himself safe in that city, he abandoned it to his enemy, and retired to *Nakhshivân*, on the borders of *Armenia*. *Avîs* would have found no more enemies in all that great province, if he had not procured them himself, by his severity : for having put to death forty of the principal lords of the country, he so alienated the minds of the rest, that they joined with *Akhijuk*, and put him in possession of all which he had formerly lost. Thus *Avîs*

2. *Soltân*
Avîs.

Hej. 759.
A. D.
1357.
Conquers
Azerbe-
jân.

(Q) *Viz.* in 745 ; for he is reckoned to begin his reign in 738, and to have sat on the throne seven years.

(R) For we know not what to make of what *La Croix* says, that *Buzruk Hassan* at last got himself crowned king of the *Medes* (he must mean *Azerbejân*), and afterwards of *Khaldea*, by the reduction of *Bâghdâd*, *Hilleh*, *Wâjet*, and *Bâsrah*, which had been possessed by *Malek Asbrâf* the *Chubanian*, unless *Asbrâf* had taken them from him before.

(S) *Hassan Buzruk* seems to have been master of *Bâghdâd*, and the places dependent on it, or of *Arabian Irâk* at most, at the death of *Hassan Kujuk*. 'Tis possible he enlarged his dominions in the remaining eleven years of his reign, and during

that of *Malek Asbrâf* (the successor of *Hassan Kujuk*), who was a debauched prince.

(T) Here we meet with a difficulty. *Azerbejân* was conquered by *Jani Bek*, eighth khân of *Kipjâk*, in Hejrah 756, A. D. 1355 ; then returning, he left his son *Birdi Bek*, who did not return till two years after his father's death, which happened in 758 : so that *Birdi Bek* must have staid in *Azerbejân* till 759, if not till 760. Yet, in the text, we are told *Akhijuk* was master of that province in 759. How happened this ? did *Birdi Bek* leave it to *Akhijuk* ? or did *Akhijuk* seize it after *Birdi Bek*'s departure ? This seems to be the case ; since *La Croix* tells us, that *Birdi Bek* left the country of *Azerbejân* to Soltân *Avîs*.

2. *Soltân* being constrained to abandon his new conquest, retired with
Avîs. a shattered army to *Bâghdâd*, which he made his residence.
 However, he did not lose courage on this reverse of fortune;
 A. D. but still pursued his first design: for, the next spring, he
 1358. caused fresh troops to march towards *Tauris*; where having
 surprised *Akhjuk*, who had been disturbed all the winter by
 another enemy, named *Mohammed Modbaffer* (C), or *Mozaffer*,
 he seized his person, and put him to death.

Quells a IN 765 *Avîs* was engaged in troubles at home: for, while
rebellion. he was in *Azerbejân*, *Khowâja Merjân*, with whom he had
 Hej. 765. there left the command of the troops in his absence, refused to
 A. D. obey his orders; and obliged him to come in person, at the
 1363. head of his forces, to bring him to his duty. But this expedi-
 tion was soon finished: for *Merjân* opened the gates to him;
 and received pardon for his transgression, on making new pro-
 testations of fidelity. After taking one year's repose in his ca-
 pital, he of a sudden fell upon the cities of *Mosul* and *Mardin*
 in *Diârbekr*, and reduced them both in a very short space.

Hej. 772. IN 772 *Soltân Avîs* marched against the amîr *Veli*, who had sub-
 A. D. dued the province of *Mazânderân*, after driving out *Togâ*
 1370. *Timûr Khân* (D), whom he put to death; and, having de-
 feated him in battle, pursued him as far as *Semnân*, towards
 the borders of *Khorassân*.

His death. AFTER this victory, *Avîs* returned to *Bâghdâd*; where he
 A. D. resided in peace till 776, when he fell sick; and, his distemper
 1374. increasing, the principal ministers intreated that he would give
 orders about the succession; for he left four sons, *Hassan*, *Huf-*
sayn, *Ahmed*, and *Bayezîd*. His answer was, that he chose
Hussayn for his successor; and that *Hassan* should be content
 with the government of *Bâghdâd*. The ministers replied, that
Hassan, being the eldest, would possibly not rest satisfied with
 that disposition. Upon which the sultan said, *You know that*
which must be done. By these words the ministers concluding,
 that the sultan gave them power to do that which they judged
 most for the good of the state, seized *Hassan*, and put him
 under a strong guard. As *Avîs* lost his speech not long after,
 so that he could not explain himself farther with relation to
Hassan, as soon as his eyes were closed, the ministers of state,
 who were desirous to secure the crown to *Hussayn*, put *Haf-*

(C) This might have been where he reigned forty-two
Mobarazo'ddin Mobammed, foun- years.

der of the *Mozaffrian* dynasty in (D) Before called *Togay Ti-*
Pârs, or *Proper Persia*, in 718, *mûr Khân*, set up by *Sheykh Ali*.

san their prisoner to death, and buried both the father and son on the same day^a. 2. Soltân Avis.

SOLTÂN *Avis* reigned nineteen years. According to *Arab. fâh*, he was a religious, good, and just prince : had few vices ; and many virtues, which were visible in his aspect. He was an excellent commander, and very courageous ; a great warrior, and successful in his expeditions : was well beloved and respected by all degrees of persons^b. But, in what the same author adds, that this prince resigned the crown to *Hussayn* (whom he calls his eldest son), to lead a devout life, on account of a dream which he had of his death ; and that he died, after having lived holily more than thirty years, he seems to have been mistaken : since the *Persian* writers are silent as to any such thing ; and what is related above, appears more probable.

The Reign of Soltân Hussayn.

HUSSAYN, second son of Sheykh *Avis*, or *Vâs*, had the surname of *Kurkhân* ; because he was nearly related to the *Mungl* sultâns of the race of *Jenghiz Khân*, as well as that of *Il Khâni*, as being descended from *Hulâkû*. This prince, who was possessed of *Arabian* or *Babylonish Irâk*, and *Azerbejdân*, carried his arms into *Persian Irâk* ; and probably would have subdued that province, had he not been prevented by the rebellion and fratricide of his brother *Ahmed*, in the following manner. In the year 784 Soltân *Hussayn* sent *Adel Aga*, general of his troops, to besiege certain castles belonging to the city of *Ray*, or *Rey*, in *Persian Irâk* ; and having, for that purpose, given him the greater part of his forces, *Ahmed* took the opportunity, under pretence of some discontent, to retire from the city of *Tabriz*, or *Tauris*, where the court then was, to that of *Ardebil* (about thirty miles distant). The sultân, being informed of this retreat, immediately sent an express after him, to order his return : but this prince, who had great designs in his head, refused to obey the command ; and, at the same time, raising what troops he could, came and surprised his brother, who remained in a manner disarmed in his capital. *Hussayn*, not being in a condition to make resistance against this unexpected attack, endeavoured to conceal himself, that he might not fall into *Ahmed*'s hands : but he was soon discovered, and brought before his unnatural brother, who ordered him to

3. Soltân Hussayn.

Hej. 784.
A. D.
1382.

Slain by Ahmed.

^a KONDAM. ap. D. Herbel. p. 149. art. Avis, ubi sup. l. iii. §. 3.

^b ARABSH.

3. *Soltân Hussayn*. be put to death ^a. *Arabshâh* relates, that *Ahmed* revolted in the latter *Jomada* of the year 783; and, after keeping his brother a year in misery, put him to death; at which time he was turned of twenty. According to the same author, this prince, whom he names *Jalâlo'ddîn Hussayn*, was the most virtuous, and worthy to reign, of all the sons of *Sheykh Avis*, in whose steps he trod: he was good to his subjects, and very generous, full of courage and magnanimity ^b.

The Reign of Soltân Ahmed.

4. *Soltân Ahmed*. **M**OGHITHO'DDIN *Ahmed*, called also *Ahmed Jalayr* (A), third son of *Sheykh Avis*, having put his brother *Hussayn* to death, immediately assumed the title of *soltân*; but was in danger of losing it almost as soon as he had usurped it: for his younger brother *Bayezîd*, frightened at the horrid murder which he had committed, fled for refuge to *Adel Aga*, who commanded the army. This general, shocked at the horrid act no less than the young prince, immediately acknowledged him for lawful *soltân*, and marched in pursuit of *Ahmed*; who, not having forces sufficient to resist his, fled in his turn, and retired to *Marvand*. However, while *Adel Aga* persisted to pursue *Ahmed*, and had almost gotten him into his hands, the principal officers of the army mutinied against him, in favour of the usurper; so that he was forced to retire with his new *soltân* to the city of *Soltâniya*. *Ahmed*, on this advice, did not fail to throw himself immediately into *Tauris*: but he was no sooner arrived there, than he received the news that *Sheykh Ali* and *Pîr Ali* were advancing to besiege him.

Expelled
and re-
stored.

AHMED, tho' not sufficiently prepared for such a sudden attack, yet, being full of courage, marched out of *Tauris* to give them battle. The two armies were now in sight near a place called *Hest Rûdh*, or the *Seven Rivers*, when *Omar Kipchâki* went over with his troops from *Ahmed*, and joined *Sheykh Ali*. As this piece of treachery lost him the victory, of which he seemed already secure, he found he had no other course left but to retire in haste to the city of *Nakhshivân*, and obtain succour of *Kara Mohammed* the *Turkmân*, first prince of the dynasty named *Kara Kuyunlu*, or the *Black Sheep*. This prince intirely re-established the affairs of *Ahmed*: for, joining him

^a KONDAM. ubi sup. p. 149. & 464. art. *Avis* & *Houssain ben Avis*. ^b ARAESH. ubi sup.

(A) Called *Moghitho'ddîn* in *Arabshâh*, and *Ahmed Jalayr* in *Sharifeddîn's* life of *Timûr Bek*.

with

with 5000 horse, they marched against their enemies; and defeated them so effectually, that both *Sheykh Ali* and *Pîr Ali* were killed on the spot. After this victory, *Ahmed* returned in triumph to *Tauris*; but he did not remain quiet long: for *Adel Aga* still maintained his ground in *Soltâniya* with *Soltân Bayezid*, and gave him no small uneasiness; till *Timûr Bek*, in the year 795, subdued *Persian Irâk*, when that city, with the rest, fell into his hands.

BUT at the same time *Timûr* took this thorn out of *Ahmed's* side, he thrust a worse into its place: for, the same year, that conqueror marched to besiege him in *Bâghdâd*, from whence the sultan fled, leaving his capital at the mercy of the enemy. A party of *Tatars* pursued him hotly as far as the plain of *Kerbela*, on the west side of the *Euphrates*: where, after several skirmishes, *Ahmed*, by stratagem, escaped out of their hands, with *Kara Yûsef* the *Turkmân*; who had accompanied him ever since the great service which he had done him at the battle of *Hest Rudh*. After this narrow deliverance, they continued their road, nor stopped till they arrived in *Anatolia*: but, not finding themselves safe enough there, they passed into *Egypt*, under the protection of *Al Mâlek al Nâsser Farraj*, second sultan of the *Cherkassian Mamlûks*, who began his reign in 801. This prince, who, through fear of *Timûr's* power, was willing to hold a good correspondence with him, did not fail to send him notice of the arrival of these two new guests.

TIMUR, on this advice, wrote to *Farraj*, that, if he would give him some proof of his friendship, he should send him *Soltân Ahmed* under a strong guard, and keep the *Turkmân* prisoner. The king of *Egypt*, willing both to preserve the laws of hospitality, and in some measure satisfy *Timûr*, set guards upon the refugee princes: but, as they had liberty to converse together, they formed a league among themselves, by which they engaged to remain firm in the sultan of *Egypt's* alliance, and to assist each other against all opposers, as soon as they should recover their liberty; which did not happen till the year 807, after the death of *Timûr*. As soon as *Farraj* received this news, he loaded his prisoners with caresses, and dismissed them: but scarce had *Kara Yûsef* gotten out of the *Egyptian* dominions, when, putting himself at the head of his *Turkmâns*, he seized great part of *Irâk Arabi*, and *Al Jazîreh*, or *Mesopotamia*. *Farraj*, highly incensed at this irruption, complained in sharp terms to *Soltân Ahmed*, on whose account that conquest was made: but, receiving no satisfaction, he intirely withdrew his protection from him.

MEAN time *Ahmed*, losing no courage, altho' he saw himself abandoned by so powerful an ally, had recourse to stratagem;

4. *Soltân Ahmed.*

Expelled by *Timûr*.
Hej. 795.
A. D.
1392.

A. D.
1398.

Detained in *Egypt*.

Hej. 807.
A. D.
1404.

Recovers *Bâghdâd*.

4. *Soltân* tagem : he put himself, with some of his people, in the habit of mendicants ; and, by that means getting into *Bâghdâd* undiscovered, stirred up a great tumult against the governor, who there commanded in behalf of *Omar Mîrza*, to whom *Timûr* had given it. The effect was, that the governor was driven out ; and then *Ahmed*, appearing among the inhabitants, was proclaimed *soltân* by them. Towards the end of the year 808, while *Abûbekr Mîrza*, grandson of *Timûr*, was engaged in the siege of *Isfâhân*, Sheykh *Ibrâhîm*, king of *Shîrwân*, came and reduced the city of *Taurîs*. On this news, *Ahmed* immediately set out from *Bâghdâd* with his army : but, on his approach, *Ibrâhîm* returned to *Shîrwân* ; while the *soltân*, entering that city, became again in possession of all his dominions, on which account he made great rejoicings.

Defeated
and slain,

NEXT year Sheykh *Ibrâhîm*, after he had reduced *Isfâhân*, resolved to pay *Ahmed* a visit ; and, having marched to *Taurîs*, obliged him to leave that city, and fly full-speed to *Bâghdâd*. In the mean time *Kara Yûsef*, taking advantage of the divisions which reigned among these neighbouring princes, who made war upon each other, fell with his fresh and warlike troops upon the province of *Azerbejdân*, and subdued it intirely within the space of two or three years. *Ahmed*, unable to see this conquest without regret, resolved, in 812, to attack the *Turkmân* ; and wrest out of his hands a country which he considered as the patrimony of his ancestors. For this purpose he took the opportunity, when he was most employed in the war which he then carried on against *Kara Othmân* (prince of the *White Sheep* dynasty), in the *Greater Armenia*, and surprised *Taurîs* ; which he entered in 813, without any resistance. *Kara Yûsef* no sooner heard this trick which *Ahmed* had played him, than he marched with his troops against the *soltân* ; who advanced to meet him with all his forces, two leagues from *Taurîs*, where a most bloody battle was fought between these two princes.

by Kara
Yûsef.

THE *Turkmân* obtained the victory in so complete a manner, that the *soltân* had scarce time to save himself in a neighbouring garden, where he remained hidden for some time ; but, being at length discovered, he was presented to his vanquisher ; who reproached him with his late treachery, but without depriving him either of his life, or the title of *soltân*. However, he disposed of his dominions, and laid him under an injunction never to attempt any thing against his authority. But, not long after, the principal lords of *Irâk Arabi*, who were incensed against the *soltân*, counselled *Kara Yûsef* to cut him off ; alledging, that this prince, who was naturally of a restless disposition, would not remain long without involving

ing them in some new war, which would complete their ruin. The *Turkmân* followed their advice; and commanded both him and his children to be put to death that same year, 813 (A). Thus ended the family of *Sheykh Hassan Buzruk*, which had raised itself to a very high pitch of grandeur as well as power; and that of the *Kara Kuyunlu*, or *Black Sheep*, succeeded in its room ^a.

4. *Soltân*
Ahmed.
Hej. 813.
A. D.
1410.

It appears from the above history of this prince, that he was of a cruel, tyrannical, treacherous, and turbulent disposition; which is agreeable to the character given of him by *Arabshâh*: who informs us, that, after he was become master of *Bâghdâd*, by the murder of his brother *Hussayn*, he gave a loose to his violent and unjust humour, by treating his subjects very ill; and never ceased from doing mischief, depriving them of their effects and lives at pleasure. In short, his debauchery, cruelty, and rapines, grew at length so intolerable, that it was reported the citizens of *Bâghdâd* called in *Timûr* to relieve their misery. The same author recites two lines which this sultan wrote to that conqueror, when he fled before his army: the sense of which is, *If I have been maimed, so that I cannot fight; yet I have not been so lamed, but that I am able to run.* These verses were cutting, as they hinted at a lameness in the arm and leg, such as *Timûr* is reported to have had ^a.

His character.

SECTION II.

The Dynasty of the Jubânians, or Chubânians.

The Reign of Sheykh Hassan Kujuk.

SHEYKH *Hassan Kujuk*, or the *Lesser*, so called to distinguish him from *Sheykh Hassan Buzruk*, or the *Greater*, founder of the dynasty of the *Ilkhânians*; was the son of *Timûrtash*, son of the amir *Jubân*, or *Chûbân* (B), who was tutor to *Abûsaïd Khân*, and general of his armies. In virtue of these great employments, he acted as regent during the minority of his pupil; and discharged his trust with so much justice and

1. *Soltân*
Hassan
Kujuk.

^a KONDAM. ubi sup. Avis, Ahmed.

ARABSHAH, ubi supra.

(A) The reader will meet some obscurities which may occur in the text.

(B) It has been noted in the former section, that this name belonged to the chief of the tribe of *Seldus*.

fidelity,

1. *Soltân*
Hassan
Kujuk.

1. *Soltân* fidelity, that, as soon as he heard that his son *Timûrtasb* had rebelled in the country of *Rûm*, or *Anatolia*, of which he was governor, he marched against him, and brought him in chains to the foot of the throne, for *Abûsaïd* to dispose of him as he thought fit : but having afterwards disobliged that prince, by refusing to consent to the divorce of his daughter, whom he had married to *Sheykh Hassan Buzruk*, and give her up to his embraces, conformable to a law among the *Mungls*, which intitles the khân to the wife of any of his subjects ; *Abûsaïd* never rested till he found an occasion of destroying him, as hath been already related in the history of his reign.

Rise and
power.

A. D.
1335.

As for *Timûrtasb*, that prince not only pardoned his crime, the amir *Jûbân* being then in favour, but also restored him to the government of *Rûm*, where, for the future, his conduct was free from blame : but, not thinking himself safe in that country after the death of his father, in 727, he took shelter in the court of *Al Mâlek al Nasser*, sultan of *Egypt*. Thus matters stood with his family till the year 736 : when, on the demise of *Abûsaïd Khân*, who left no issue, *Hassan*, surnamed *Kujuk* (A), son of *Timûrtasb*, seeing the governors of provinces set up for sovereigns in their respective departments*, and assume the title of sultan, or prince, believed he had no less a right to aspire to a crown. In order to compass his design, he returned to the country of *Rûm*, where his father had many friends ; and, assembling a considerable number of troops, marched into *Azerbejân*, against *Mohammed Khân* and *Hassan Buzruk*, whom he vanquished, killing the first in battle ; and so distressing the latter, that he at length surrendered himself into his hands. It is true, *Buzruk* made his escape to *Bâghdâd* some time afterwards ; and, having set up another khân in the room of the deceased *Mohammed*, marched to try his fortune anew against *Hassan Kujuk* : but he was again defeated, and took refuge in *Bâghdâd*, as has been before related in the foregoing section.

Murdered
by his
wife.

MEAN time *Hassan Kujuk* became every day more formidable ; and it is not known how far he would have carried his conquests, if he had not been cut off, in the midst of his career, by a violent death, in the following manner. This prince having caused one *Yâkûb Shâh* to be arrested on some occasion or other, his wife, who had an intimacy with that person, imagined the secret had been discovered ; under which apprehension, she took the opportunity, while *Sheykh Hassan* was fast

* D'HERBEL. p. 403. art. Gioban.

(A) *Abû'lghâxi Khân* calls him *Sheykh Hassan Khoja*.

asleep,

asleep, after hard drinking, to cut his throat. It is remarkable, that, notwithstanding this sheykh was so powerful, he never assumed the title of *khân*^b. This prince founded the dynasty of the *Jábánians* in 738, two years after the death of *Abúsaïd Khân*, and reigned seven: during which time he was always at war with some or other of his neighbours, and made himself master of *Azerbejdán* and *Persian Irák*; which dominions he left to his brother *Málek Afbráf*^c.

1. *Soltán*
Háffan
Kujuk.

Hej. 738.
A. D.
1337.

The Reign of Málek al Afhráf.

SHEYKH *Háffan Kujuk* having come by an untimely death in the manner above related, his brother *Málek al Afbráf* succeeded him in the usurpation of the supreme power; and, immediately after, conferred the dignity of *khân* upon *Naw. Shírwán*, one of the descendants of *Hulákú Khân*: but, in a short time, repenting of what he had done, thrust him from the throne to which he had advanced him, and seized it for himself. As this prince was very tyrannical, and led a most scandalous life, great numbers of his subjects, and, among others, the chief justice, left his dominions, and went into *Kipjáq*, where *Jáni Bek Khân* then reigned; to whom they represented the actions of *Málek Afbráf* in such a light, that he thought himself obliged in conscience to invade his dominions^a. Accordingly he set forward; and, after a long march, entered *Azerbejdán*; in which, advancing as far as the city *Khui*, or *Koy*, he was met by *Málek Afbráf* with nearly equal forces: but, victory declaring in his favour, the latter was defeated and slain, in the year 756. Hereupon *Jáni Bek Khân* seized his dominions; and divided among his subjects all the treasure of that usurper, which amounted to 400 camel-loads of gold and jewels, besides other valuable effects. After this, the *khân* returned home, leaving his son *Birdi Bek* to govern the conquered countries^b. The oriental authors give to *Málek al Afbráf* a reign of thirteen years.

2. *Soltán*
Málek al
Afhráf.

Hej. 756.
A. D.
1355.

^b ABU'LGH. KHAN, p. 190.

^c D'HERB. ubi supra.

^a See before, p. 106.

198.

^b ABU'LGHAZI KHAN hist. p. 191.

B O O K VI.

The History of Timûr Bek, commonly called Tamerlan, and his Successors.

C H A P. I.

The Transactions preceding Timûr's Reign.

Sharifo'd-
din Ali.

AMONG the many oriental authors who have written the life of this great prince, two are particularly famous. The first is the mûlla *Shartfo'ddin Ali*, a native of *Yezd*, in *Pârs*, or *Proper Persia*; who wrote in *Persian* (A), at the command of *Ibrahim Soltân*, son of *Shâh Rukh*, son of *Timûr*, in the year 1424, nineteen years after the death of that conqueror. Not only *Kondamîr*, but all other historians, agree that he is the most valuable of all those who have written on the subject, on account both of the delicacy of his style, and completeness of his work^a: nor is this to be wondered at, when the reader is informed, that it was compiled from a journal, or memoirs, wherein the minutest actions and discourses of *Timûr* on all occasions were penned down by *Tatar* and *Persian* secretaries, who always attended him for that purpose. To these were added, reports of facts, by several officers and great lords who were upon the spot; after they had been verified, in the presence of *Timûr*, by other credible witnesses, whom he examined himself^b.

Ahmed
Arabshâh.

THE second author is *Ahmed ebn Arabshâh*, a *Syrian*, who wrote in *Arabic*; and, thirty-five years after the death of *Timûr*, published his history, which is reckoned by *Golius* to comprise all the elegance of that language^c (B). But this author lived at too great a distance to be acquainted with the actions of that prince so well as the former; besides, being prejudiced against *Timûr*, like several other *Turkish* and *Arab* historians:

^a Hist. Tim. Bek, pref. edit. p. 6, & seq. ^b Ibid. pref. auth. p. 30. ^c Ibid. pref. edit. p. 8. & VATIERS Translat. of Arabsh. pref. p- 6, & . 11.

(A) This history is intituled, *Asîr Namah Amîr Timûr Gûr Khân*; that is, *The history of conquests of prince Timûr, son-in-law of the khân*. *sliny, in the life and actions of Timûr; composed by Ahmed, son of Arabshâh*. The history of *Al Hasen*, or *Hassan*, and others, are full of fables, and not much to be regarded.

(B) The work is intituled, *A memorial of the wonders of de-*

for having conquered their countries, he takes all occasions to vilify and blacken his character. These writers make him originally a shepherd, who raised his fortune by robbing on the highway: they have changed his name from *Timûr Bek*, or *Beg*, to *Timûr Lenk*, which signifies *lame*, pretending that he was lamed by an arrow, with which he was shot by a shepherd whose sheep he was stealing; and from hence *Europeans* have formed the name of *Tamerlain*, or *Tambourlan*^d.

As the first of these two authors (C) is, in many respects, *The first to be preferred*, we judged we could not do better than give *followed*; the reader an abstract of his history; yet adding, by way of notes, what we thought proper, from *Ebn Arabshâh*, and others. Our giving the history of this prince, as well as *Jenghiz Khân*, in some detail, may serve to make the reader some amends for the scanty memoirs relating to the intermediate successors of the latter. And indeed, from the reign of one great prince, we receive more useful knowledge, by the variety of extraordinary events which happen, than from those of many others, who have made no great figure in the world. But, before we enter directly upon the reign of *Timûr Bek*, it will be proper to recount certain transactions which preceded it, and, in effect, prepared the way to his future grandeur.

It hath been already mentioned*, in the history of the khâns *Confusion* who succeeded *Jagatay* in *Great Bukhâria*; that, after the *in Jagatay* death of *Kâzân Khân*, in 747, the princes of the empire assumed the government, and made the khâns at pleasure; leaving them little more than the bare title, while themselves usurped all the authority. The first of those princes was amir *Kazagan*; who, in the administration of affairs, acquitted himself with a conduct which deserves to be immortalized in history. *Hej. 747 A. D. 1346.*

AFTER the death of *Abûsâid Khân*, eighth successor of *Hulâkû* in *Irân*, or *Persia* at large, who died in 1335, the affairs of that country fell into confusion for want of a successor of the race of *Jenghiz Khân* to succeed in his dominions, which the princes and governors divided among themselves; and as the *Turks*, *Moguls*, and *Tatars* (D), had no longer the fove-

* Hist. Timûr Bek, pref. edit. p. 8. & VATIER'S Translat. of Arabh. pref. 6 & 11. * Page 145.

(C) They have been translated into *French*, the first by *M. Petit La Croix* the son; the second by *Mr. Vatiez*; and *Goultas* gave an edition of it in *Arabic*. The history of *Timûr Bek* has been translated into *English*; and both are valuable, for the considerable light which they give into the geography of several countries of *Asia*.

(D) These names, with that of *Jagatays*, are promiscuously used by our author.

A. D. 1351. *Mâlek Hussayn*, surnamed *Moazo'd-dîn*, son of *Mâlek Kayazo'ddîn*, prince of *Herât*, capital of that country, took advantage of the conjuncture to extend his authority. *Massûd*, surnamed *Vejedîn*, king of the *Serbedâls*, who, on the death of *Abûsaïd*, had formed a small kingdom at *Sebzwar*, a strong city towards *Nisâbûr*, to put a check to this rival, marched from that fortress in 743 (1342). The armies met near *Zâve*, between both cities; and that of *Mâlek Hussayn* was defeated. But this prince, rallying 300 horse, fell on the *Serbedâls* while they were plundering his camp, killed their general, made a great slaughter, and took all their camp, the young king escaping by flight*. On this victory *Mâlek Hussayn* assumed the authority of a king; and, knowing that *Kâzân*'s tyranny had thrown *Jagatay* into confusion, made incursions as far as the borders of *Andekûd* and *Shebûrgân*, near *Bâlk*, in *Khorassân*. *Mîr Kazagân*, on this advice, passed the *Jihân*, or *Amû*, with the grand khân, and princes of the empire, and marched towards *Herât*; near which *Mâlek Hussayn*, with 4000 horse and 15,000 foot, expected him: but, after an obstinate battle, his troops were defeated, and he fled into the city only with his guards. Next day the *Jagatays* besieged the place, which held out vigorously for forty days; at the end whereof, *Hussayn*, weary of the leaguer, with the consent of his lords, proposed, in case *Mîr Kazagân* would withdraw his forces, to go next year, and ask pardon of the grand khân and him. *Mîr Kazagân*, who was of a sweet and merciful temper, consented on those terms, and returned to *Great Bukhâria* in 752†.

Hej. 752. A. D. 1351. *MEAN* time the commanders of *Mâlek Hussayn*'s army set up his brother *Mâlek Baker*: but he was restored next year, by the bounty of *Mîr Kazagân*; who, now having sent his son *Mîrza Abd'allah* to conquer *Karazm* (which he effected), after passing the spring, as usual, at *Karânver*, went to spend the summer and autumn at the city of *Munek*, for the convenience of hunting. One day, parting unarmed from *Sâli Saray* with only fifteen persons, he crossed the *Jihân*, with design to hunt in the country of *Arhenk*: but, while he was in the chase, *Kotluk Timûr*, his son-in-law, in revenge for an affront, fell on him with a company of robbers, and slew this great prince; but some of his officers, pursuing the assassin, overtook and killed him; then carried back the body of *Mîr Kazagân* to *Sâli Saray*, in 759. Upon his death, all the princes paid homage to his son the *mîrza Abdo'llah*, who immediately confirmed *Beyan Kûli* in the dignity of khân. After

* Hist. Tim. Bek, l. i. c. 5.

† Ibid. p. 6—11.

which,

which, contrary to the advice of the princes, he removed to *Samarkant* with the grand khân, whom he caused to be assassinated, to secure himself of the empress, with whom he had fallen in love; placing on the throne *Timûr Shâh Aglen*, son of *Bisun* (or *Tasun*) *Timûr Khân*. A. D. 1357.

TIMÛR Shâh Khân did not long enjoy his dignity: for, the princes offended at *Abdo'llah's* proceeding, *Beyan Seldûz*, the chief of them, raised an army at *Hissar*, or *Shaduman*; and, being joined at *Kesh* by *Haji Berlâs*, *Timûr Bek's* uncle, marched to *Samarkant*; where *Abdo'llah* (E) being routed, and his brothers taken, they were both put to death, together with the khân of his making. The two princes, who were at that time in great reputation and authority, made themselves masters of the country, and took on them the government. *Beyan Seldûz* was of a good-natured and pleasant disposition: but, as he loved wine to excess, and seldom passed eight days without a debauch of that kind, it bred great confusion in his kingdom, and made the princes set up for sovereigns, some thro' ambition, and others in their own defence.

THE city of *Kash*, or *Kesh*, with its dependencies, remained in the possession of the princes *Timûr* and *Haji Berlâs*, as it had done from the time of *Karashbar Noyân*, the lieutenant of *Jagatay Khân*. The country of *Kojend* was in the hands of prince *Bayezîd Jalayr*: *Mîr Hussayn*, son of *Mufella*, son of *Mîr Kazagân*, made himself master of *Kabul*, and several other lordships; where he maintained himself, as long as he was able, in the dignity of his grandfather: *Olaja Boga Seldus* became sovereign of *Bâlk*: and *Mehemed Kojâ Aperdi*, prince of the *Naymâns*, took possession of *Shebûrgân*: the kings of *Badâghân* fortified themselves in their mountains; while *Key Khosrû* and *Olaja Itû Aperdi* seized *Katlân* and *Arhenk*: lastly, *Kefer Yefûri*, prince of the tribes of *Serpöl* and *Takun*, assumed the title of king. All these princes were continually at war; and some were slain in battle, particularly *Mehemed Kojâ Aperdi*, in a rash attack upon *Mâlek Hussayn*, prince of *Herât*.

TOGLUK Timûr Khân, prince of *Jetah* (F), son of *Aymel* *Koja* (G), son of *Dava* (or *Doyji*) *Khân*, to whom the crown of this country belonged; taking advantage of the confusion

8 Hist. Tim. Bek., p. 11—15.

(E) This young prince fled to *Anderâb*, a city of the little kingdom of *Badaghân*, where he spent his days.

(F) He was king of *Kâshgar*, or, more properly, *Little Bukhâ-*

ria, with perhaps the neighbouring parts of *Tartary* on the north.

(G) Or *Amul Kojâ*, the same with *Isan Buga*, eleventh khân of *Great Bukhâria*.

A. D.
1359.

which at this time reigned there, in 761 invaded it with a great army, by way of *Tashkunt* and *Khojend*; the prince of which, *Bayezid Jalayr*, judged it prudent to join them. *Haji Berlâs*, after raising troops at *Kash* and *Kârshî*, thought fit to retire into *Khorassân*. Prince *Timûr Bek*, who was but twenty-five years old, and had just lost his father *Tragay*, concluded the only way for him to save his patrimony, and serve his country, was, to give way to necessity, and submit to the grand khân. This submission was so acceptable to *Toghluk Timûr's* commanders, who had entered *Great Bukhâria*, that they conferred on him the command of a toman, or 10,000 men, which had belonged to his great ancestor *Karashar Noyân*; and the principality of *Kash*, or *Kesh*, with its dependencies. Soon after this, a dissension arising between the said commanders, they marched out of the country, to attend their master ^h.

Timûr
assists
Hussayn

MEAN time Amîr *Hussayn*, intending to make war on *Beyân Seldûz*, sent to desire aid of *Timûr Bek*, *Keshîre Yefûri*, and *Bayezid*. These princes agreed to assist him; and, while the two first went to join him, the third was sent, to excuse this step, to *Toghluk Timûr Khân*: but finding, when he came to *Kojend*, that the khân was returned home, he proceeded no farther. The other two princes having joined Amîr *Hussayn*, they all marched to *Hissar*, or the fortress of *Shaduman*; and *Beyân Selduz*, not being in a condition to oppose them, fled to *Badâghshân*, whither they pursued him. This obliged the king, *Shâh Bahâ'oddîn*, to fly also; by which means the whole country fell into the hands of Amîr *Hussayn*, who afterwards put to death *Key Kôbûd*, brother of *Key Kosrâ*, prince of *Katlân*. The war being thus finished, *Timûr Bek* and *Kefer Yefûri* returned home; but were not there long, before Amîr *Hussayn* sent again to desire their assistance against *Toghluk Seldûz*, who had broken the peace by several acts of hostility. The princes hastened to his aid: but the enemy fled; on the news of their approach.

against
other
princes.

TIMUR Bek, being on his way back, was informed that his uncle *Haji Berlâs* was on his return to *Kash*; and had joined *Mîr Bayezid*, with design to attack *Kefer Yefûri*. Hereupon he joined prince *Kefer* with his troops, and marched towards that city: *Haji Berlâs*, on this advice, marched thither also. The two armies meeting, a bloody battle was fought; in which *Timûr* gained the victory, and obliged his uncle to fly to *Bayezid* at *Samarkant*. The two princes resolved to follow him thither: but, in the way, all the troops of *Kash*,

by what motive is unknown, abandoned *Timûr*, and went over to *Haji Berlâs*. This desertion raised a jealousy in *Kefer Yâsûri*; which he making known both by his words and behaviour, *Timûr* at length quitted him, and returned to his own country; where his uncle gave him a kind reception, and conducted him to *Mîr Bayezîd*. A. D. 1360.

THESE resolving to renew the war against *Kefer*; *Timûr*, *Escapes* ^{plot.} who longed for an occasion to revenge the affront, readily joined with them, and marched at the head of the van-guard. He met the enemy beyond the mountain of *Kash*; and, after an obstinate fight, obliged them to fly. This victory secured *Bayezîd* in the throne, and *Haji Berlâs* in possession of his territories. Yet these two princes had a consultation, the next day, to the disadvantage of *Timûr*: who, discovering it in the council, pretended his nose bled; and went out: then, returning home, he mounted his horse, and retired with his arms into the field; by which means he avoided the snare. As soon as his uncle heard of his departure, he sent to desire him to raise the troops of the desert, and return to his assistance against two princes who threatened them with war. *Timûr* did as he was intreated; and defeated *Alî Gurguri* near *Termed*, which he entered¹.

MEAN time *Togluk Timûr Khân*, of *Jetah* (or the *Getes*), *Togluk* renewing his design of conquering *Great Bukhâria*, in 762 *Timûr* marched on that side with a great army. As soon as he arrived at *Kojend*, *Mîr Bayezîd*, prince of that place, paid him his respects: *Beyân Seldâz* went to meet him as far as *Samarkant*; and *Haji Berlâs*, at this time, made no scruple to wait on him. But, the khân having seized and put to death *Mîr Bayezîd*, *Berlâs*, for fear of the like treatment, fled with a few troops, and crossed the *Jihân* (or *Amû*). There, being overtaken by the regiment of *Kashnîr*, a bloody battle was fought, in which *Shugam Berlas* was killed; yet *Haji Berlas*, with his brother *Idékû*, escaped, only to be slain by robbers at the village of *Korash* (dependent on *Sebzawâr*); which, on the reduction of *Khorassân* soon after, *Togluk Timûr Khân* gave to *Timûr Bek*, who slew the murderers of his uncle. The khân likewise confirmed him in the sovereignty of *Kash*; and of a *roman* which descended to him by the death of *Haji Berlâs*. A. D. 1360.

AFTER this, *Togluk Timûr Khân* marched against *Amîr Hufsayn*, who waited for him at the river *Vâkash*: but *Key Koshû*, *Timûr* prince of *Katlân* (whose brother, *Key Kebâd*, *Hussayn* had put to death), going over to the *Getes*, that prince fled; and was pursued across the *Jihân*, as far as *Kondoz*. The khân, after

¹ Hist. Tim. Bek, p. 22—28. c. 5.

A D,
1362.

this, returning to *Samarkant*, put to death *Beyân Seldûz*, on suspicion of harbouring inclinations to revolt: but behaved obligingly to those whom he judged to be sincerely in his interest; and, having brought the empire of *Jagatai* to submit to his authority, gave the government of the conquered countries to his son *Eliaş Koja Aglen*. Several lords and great officers were ordered to attend him, under the command of *Bikijek*; and *Timûr* had the principal administration of affairs under the prince: after which, *Togluh Timûr Khân* returned to his capital^k,

who joins
Hussayn.

WHEN the khân was gone, prince *Timûr*, observing that *Bikijek's* proceedings, in contempt of his master's authority, would throw things into confusion, thought fit to withdraw from court, and repair to Amir *Hussayn*, in the desert of *Kivak*. The two malecontent princes went to *Tekil*, the governor of *Kivak*; but, he having a design to seize them, they left him. *Tekil* pursued them with 1000 horse: but, tho' they had only sixty men, they made so brave a stand, that, when they had but seven men left, the enemy were reduced to fifty; who still continued the fight, and had twice slain *Hussayn*, but for *Timûr*. At length, the first having dismounted *Tekel* with an arrow-shot, the latter dispatched him with a pike; whereupon the battle ended. After this, the two princes thinking it safer to part, *Timûr* crossed the desert, with his wife *Turkhân Aga*, *Hussayn's* sister, and came to *Jûrfey*, where he was surrounded by *Turkmâns*; and must have fared ill, if he had not been known by one of them, who prevented their attacking him, and put him in a condition to join his brother-in-law at a place called *Mahmûdi*, in the desert.

Taken pri-
soner;

MEAN time *Ali Bey*, having advice of their arrival, with sixty horse, surprised and carried them prisoners to *Makhân* (H); where he detained them for two months, notwithstanding the remonstrances of his brother *Mohammed*, from *Thûs* (or *Masbhâd*); he also seized the presents which *Mohammed* sent them, and dismissed them with one lean horse, and an old camel. In this distress *Mobarek Shâh*, prince of *Sanjer*, went in quest of them with several fine horses, and other necessities; which enabled them to pursue their design of returning privately into *Great Bukhâria*. *Timûr*, being known at *Samarkant*, retired to *Kesh*, and thence to *Kandahâr*^l. From

released
again.

^k Hist. Tim. Bek, p. 28—31. c. 6,
cap. 7.

^l Ibid. p. 31—37.

(H) Or *Makhân*, a city in *Khorasân*, from whence the *Othmâns* are said to have retir'd into *Asia Minor*, on the irruption of the *Mongls*.

hence,

hence, at the request of the prince of *Sîstân* (or *Sejestân*), they marched to his assistance with 1000 horse. In their return they were intercepted by some people of the country; in which conflict, *Timûr* was sorely wounded in the hand (I). At length, arriving at *Arfis*, near *Bakalân*, they were there joined by several princes, and bodies of men. Others, hearing of the success of their affairs, broke with the *Getes*, and went to meet them in the country of *Bâlk*. There they were opposed by *Abûsâid*, son of *Tayfû*, *Mengheli Buga Seldâz*, and *Hayder Andekûdi*, three princes, their enemies, with 6000 men. The battle, which lasted from morning till night, was renewed next morning; and, altho' the troops of the two princes were much inferior in number, yet, by *Timûr's* valour, they gained the victory.

Of two thousand horse, which remained, *Timûr* took one moiety; and, passing the *Jihûn* at *Termed*, sent scouts to *Kolûga*, or the iron gate. But these, falling asleep, were surprised by *Ajâni*, brother of *Biktjek*; so that, while *Timûr* thought himself secure, both the scouts and enemy arrived at his camp. The soldiers, not having time to draw up in order, were under a necessity to repass the river; which they did in barks, while *Timûr* made a stand in an isle, to favour their design. The two parties remained in sight of each other for thirty days; after which, *Timûr*, having burnt the barks, went to join *Mîr Hussayn* at *Kulmî*, on the borders of *Bâlk*. From thence they marched towards *Badâgshân*: and, having gathered troops, went and encamped near *Ghûlek*. Here they learned that a new army of *Getes* was arrived in *Great Bukhâria*; and that several princes were encamped between *Jâla*, and the bridge of *Senghîn*, with 20,000 troops. This news caused 6000 men to desert the princes: yet *Timûr*, not dismayed, marched with 2000 men to dispute the passage of the bridge^m.

THIS prince, after maintaining the fight from morning till night, finding himself not strong enough to execute his design, had recourse to policy. He left 500 men at the foot of the bridge; and, swimming over the *Jihûn* with the rest, in the night, went and posted himself on the hills. Next morning the enemy, perceiving, by the tracks of horses, that troops had passed the river, abstained from fighting that day. When

^m Hist. Tim. Bek, p. 37—44. cap. 8.

(I) This wound seems to have lamed him; and hence possibly the *Turkish* historians make him lame of a leg. This he revenged afterwards at *Sîstân*, by putting to death the author of it.

A. D. 1363. night came, *Timur* ordered his men to approach them, and light fires on the tops of the hills. This struck the *Geses* with such fear, imagining themselves furrounded with a numerous army, that they fled in disorder; but not towards the bridge, because they believed the men posted there to be much more numerous than they were. Mean time *Timur*, perceiving the effect of his stratagem, came down from the mountains; and, being joined by *Hussayn*, made a great slaughter of the enemy. This defeat gained great reputation to *Timur*, who recovered *Kash* by another stratagem.

Another overthrew Hej. 765. A. D. 1363. ABOUT this time *Elias Kaja*, who was encamped at *Tash* four leagues from *Kash*, received advice of the death of his father *Toghluk Timur Khan*. But *Timur*, whose troops were much increased since the late victory, proposed to pay him a visit before his departure, tho' his army was greatly inferior to that of the enemy. He encouraged them by declaring, that, in his sleep, a voice said to him, *Fear nothing; for the most high God will graciously give thee the victory.* With this assurance, they marched against the *Geses* in two bodies; *Hussayn* commanded the right wing, and *Timur* the left. The new emperor likewise divided his army into two bodies; and, putting himself at the head of the left wing, gave the conduct of the right to *Mir Tokatmur* and prince *Bikijek*. The two armies being at length engaged, *Timur* broke thro' the enemy with such fury, that he threw the right wing into disorder, and drove the first rank upon the second. Having put them to flight with great slaughter, he advanced to attack *Bikijek* and *Tokatmur* in the rear, whom *Hussayn* had engaged in front: so that, notwithstanding the number of their troops, and bravery of their generals, they were compelled to follow their companions. *Tokatmur*, with other generals, were killed; and *Bikijek*, with *Elias Kaja Khan* himself, besides other great commanders, taken: but these two being known by some of *Timur's* soldiers, they generously gave them their horses, and let them escape. *Timur* pursued the enemy to the river *Tam*, where he made a great slaughter; then crossing the *Sihun* (or *Sir*), at *Kojend*, in pursuit of the *khan*, encamped at *Tash-kunt*.

New *khan* elected. THE two princes, observing that the rest, who had joined them against the *Geses*, paid them no great deference, and aimed at being independent, found the only way to prevent things running into confusion, was, to elect a grand *khan*; and, having represented this in a general assembly, proposed *Kabul Shah Aglan*; who was accordingly chosen at *Samar-kant*. Then, causing him to ascend the throne, they presented him

him with the royal cap, after the custom of the *Turkish* kings, and bowed nine times before himⁿ.

AFTER the election of *Kabul Khân*, *Timûr* made a great feast; which being over, he proposed to deliver out of prison *Amir Hamid*, lieutenant-general of the *Getes*, whose father had been his friend, and prince *Eshânder* his companion. *Hussayn* consented, altho' the latter was his enemy. When those, who assisted at the assembly, were returned home, *Timûr* sent two amirs to release the prisoners: but their keepers, seeing the amirs at a distance, and imagining they came to put *Hamid* to death, to save them the trouble, knocked him down, and cut off his head. This mistake proved fatal also to *Eshânder*: for, when *Amir Hussayn* heard of it, he sent to demand that prince; who was sent to him, and put to death.

A. D.
1364.
Kabul
Khân.

Timûr's
gratitude.

THINGS seemed now to be in a settled condition; when, *New in-* the beginning of next spring, news was brought that the *vasion* *Getes* were marching towards *Great Bukhâria*. The princes, having passed the *Sihûn* at *Kojend*, met the enemy at *Ezam*, between *Tâsbkunt* and *Chinaz*: the amir *Hussayn* commanded the right wing, and *Timûr* the left. The *Getes* were led by the emperor *Elias Kojâ* himself; and, tho' they were by far inferior in number to the troops of the princes, yet they overcame them by help of the stone *Jedi* (K), which, steeped in water at a certain hour, has power to produce tempests, rain, and thunder. However that be, such a storm and deluge fell, that the earth shook like a sea; and this excessive moisture bred the *esterka*, a cruel distemper, which renders the limbs paralytic, and dries up the body to skin and bones.

FOR all this, when the rain was over, the princes attacked of the the enemy courageously: but the *Getes*, who had covered *Getes* themselves and horses with felts, brought for the purpose, received them with such vigour, that their forces were obliged to fly. *Timûr* at length rallied them, and a terrible carnage ensued: every man must have been slain, had not *Shem Kân Noyân* (brother of *Amir Hamid* before-mentioned, who commanded the enemy's right wing), been slain by prince *Yaku Berâs*, as he was rising to strike *Timûr* with his sabre. As soon as *Elias Kojâ Khân* heard that his general was killed, he retreated with his troops, who were pursued by *Timûr*. Mean time the left wing of the *Getes* pressed on the right wing, even to the guards of *Amir Hussayn*. The fight was bloody, and

ⁿ Hist. Tim. Bek, p. 44—53. cap. 9, 10, 11.

(K) We have already taken notice of this superstition among the *Mungs* and *Tatars*.

A. D. 1364. the enemy triumphing, when *Timūr* advanced, and put *Shamso'ddīn*, one of the generals, to flight. This gave *Hussayn* an opportunity to rally his troops; and he might have obtained the victory, had he followed *Timūr*'s advice to advance: but, whether thro' envy or presumption, he twice abused the messengers sent, for that purpose, by *Timūr*; who, seeing so fair an opportunity lost, thro' *Hussayn*'s caprice, gave over the attack, and resolved to be revenged. When the other was recovered from his ill humour, he sent several messages to *Timūr*, to intreat him to come and see him: but this prince, weary of his manner of acting, refused to go.

Timūr defeated. NEXT morning the battle was renewed, and, the *Getes* being soon put to flight, *Timūr* pursued them. In the way, his men perceiving the standard of prince *Shamso'ddīn*, who was separated from the rest, with a great number of troops, they gave over the pursuit, and turned towards the white standard: the enemy likewise, perceiving them, rallied, and returned to the charge. The fight was bloody; and at length *Timūr*'s forces were defeated: a great number perished in the sloughs and marshes; many more were killed in the pursuit; more than 10,000 were slain in the whole. This famous battle, called that of *Lay*, or *The slough*, was fought in *Ramadān*, in Hej. 766. 776. After this great defeat, *Hussayn*, and the other princes, crossed the *Jihān*, and returned to *Sheberto*: but *Timūr* staid **A. D. 1364.** in the country, with a resolution to oppose the *Getes*. However, finding his endeavours vain, he in some time repaired to *Bālk*, where he took no small pains to augment his forces^o.

Samar-kant besieged. MEAN while the *Getes* laid siege to *Samarkant*, at that time without a citadel. The inhabitants defended themselves a long time very bravely: but, provisions at length beginning to fail, they must have surrendered, had not the loss of three-fourths of the enemy's horses, by a mortality, obliged them to retire. The principal men of the city hereupon assumed a superiority over the rest, and caused great disorders in the place. On this advice, *Timūr* and *Hussayn*, having renewed their friendship more strongly than before, agreed to be at *Samarkant* the beginning of spring; where they put to death all the *Serbedāls* who had usurped the authority, excepting *Mulāna Zāde* (L), whom *Timūr* saved thro' a motive of piety. It was now that **Hussayn's avarice.** *Hussayn*, seeing all obstacles removed, discovered his insatiable avarice, and meanness of spirit. Altho' *Timūr* had as much,

^o Hist. Tim. Bek, p. 53—63. cap. 11, 12.

(L) They were all, or most of them, ecclesiastics, and this *Mulāna* the chief of them.

or a greater, share in the war, he even taxed his domestics. He exacted vast sums of the princes who had lost all in the wars; and, altho' he saw his sister's jewels among the cash which *Timûr* lent them to make up the demand, he did not hesitate to receive them. Indeed, when *Timûr* gave his horses, to satisfy for 300 dinars (or gold ducats) which remained unpaid, he would not take them; but waited till *Timûr* discharged that debt another way.

THE lords, highly incensed at this conduct of *Hussayn*, *Confederated* resolved to break off the union between him and *Timûr*: to *cy against* whom, after humbling the other, they proposed to give the *him*. absolute power; as he was of a sweet temper, generous soul, and, in short, possessed of every virtue necessary to form a great prince. To bring this about, they wrote *Hussayn* word, that *Timûr*, offended with the grand khân and him, was raising forces to attack him. *Hussayn*, on this, sent to desire *Timûr* would come to *Samarkant*, to confront his accusers. *Timûr* immediately went thither, and his accusers fled to *Kojend*: but, finding *Hussayn* still harboured his suspicion, and knowing his temper, one day opened his heart to the princes, declaring his intention to remedy the evil. *Shîr Bahrâm*, and *Bahrâm Jalayr*, on this, took off the mask; declaring their hatred, and design of all the princes to break with *Hussayn*: hereupon they entered into a treaty with *Timûr* to make war on him, and then retired. *Shîr Bahrâm*, having raised troops at *Katlân*, began hostilities against *Hussayn*: but this politic prince, by his artifice, gained him over to his interest. For all this, *Timûr* pursued his enterprise; and, having at length raised an army, consisting of the most valiant men of the empire, in autumn 767 detached prince *Seyfo'ddîn*, with the van-guard, against *Hussayn*; who, on this, sent a treaty, drawn up in the most enticing manner, to soften *Timûr*: but this prince would pay no regard to his overtures. However, as the governor he had left at *Samarkant* (M), and some other princes, had before gone over to *Hussayn*; so, on this occasion, the tribe of *Yefûri* deserted him^p.

A. D.

1365.

Hej. 767.

A. D.

1365.

MEAN time *Hussayn* set forward with a great army: but, *His trea-* aiming still to over-reach his rival, sent another letter to him, *chery*. with the korân; and, declaring that, by virtue of that book, his intentions were sincere, proposed a conference at *Sheki-*

^p Hist. Tim. Bek, p. 63—73. cap. 13, 14.

(M) About the same time also lost the cement of union with *Timûr*, *died* his wife *Olâja Turkhân Aga*, *sister* of *Hussayn*; who thereby

A. D. 1365. *chek*, each to be accompanied with no more than 100 men. *Timûr*, convinced of the deceit, was not for going: but, to gratify the princes, who chose peace, if it could be had, went. He took 300 men; and, leaving 200 at some distance, advanced with the rest to the place of interview. *Hussayn*, after putting *Shîr Bahrâm* to death, detached 3000 men to surprise *Timûr* at *Dehno*; of which a peasant, who had been a domestic of this prince, fled from the enemy to give him notice. But the officer, who stood centinel at the palace, not giving credit to what the man said, sent him away, without mentioning the matter to *Timûr*: so that, when this prince was near the place of rendezvous, he was alarmed with the appearance of those forces; whose march he stopped in a narrow passage, and then made his retreat fighting.

Timûr
surprises
Kârshi.

THE army, to whom news was brought of *Hussayn's* treachery, concluding all was lost, dispersed themselves; and *Timûr*, with the other princes, retired to *Makhân*, in *Khorassân*, where he kept a saray of women. There he stopped all the karawâns; and, when he gave them leave to depart, took the road to *Herât* in their sight, as if he designed to go to that city. This the merchants reporting, when they arrived at *Kârshi*, Amir *Mûssa* left the fortress, intending, with 7000 men, to visit *Uzkunt*: but *Timûr*, when the karawâns were at some distance, returned to his old station; and, having staid while the merchants might be going to *Kârshi*, set out for the same place, altho' he had but 200 men, and there were 12,000 in the neighbourhood of that city, which makes the action so much more remarkable. Being arrived near *Kârshi*, with several lords who accompanied him, he went with only two more; and, walking round the walls with great precaution, at length perceived a proper place for scaling. On this, *Timûr* returned; and, sending 100 men with ladders, to mount the wall, went, with an hundred more, to wait for the opening of the gate in the morning: but the scalers, having succeeded in their design, came and opened it for him, after slaying the drunken guards in the arms of their mistresses. *Timûr* made himself master of the city, while the troops seized the castle, where they took *Mehemed Bey*, son of the amir *Mûssa*.

Defeats
Amir
Mûssa.

THIS lord, being very young, was suffered to escape, that the news might cause his father's troops to disperse. Instead of this, he and *Mâlek Behâdr*, next day, invested the city with 12,000 horse: but they were so harassed and beaten by the sallies of only 100 men, that at length *Mûssa* fled with his 7,000 horse; and left *Mâlek*, who still stood his ground, with 5000 koronas (N): yet, as soon as he perceived *Timûr* ad-

(N) Koronas are a militia.

vancing

vancing with his horse, he fled likewise; and, being pursued, his men dispersed. In the pursuit, *Timûr*, perceiving the wife of *Amîr Mûssa*, who fled with *Mâlek Bahâdr*, called to him to quit her. *Mâlek*, to save his life, which, on that condition, was promised him, abandoned the lady, and fled before. For all this, the lady continued her flight full speed; and, as *Timûr* alone pursued, a servant offered to shoot, if he advanced. The prince, who had neither buckler nor arrows, taking him for a better archer than he was, stopped, till *Dawlet Shâh* joined him; and, covering his head with his buckler, renewed the pursuit. On this, the valet let fly at him: but, missing his aim, he fled as fast as the rest, so that *Dawlet Shâh* was not able to come up with them. *Azû Mulk*, then nine months gone with child, was soon after delivered of a princess, named *Tâmân Aga*, who was afterwards married to *Timûr*.

A. D.

1366.

THIS prince wintered at *Kârshi*; where he gave the government of *Amûya* to *Nikepeysba*, and that of *Bokhâra* to *Manâcha*; whose son-in-law, *Ali Yefûri*, came and submitted with his tribe, after often refusing to obey *Timûr*'s summons. *Amîr Hussayn* was astonished at the recital of what had passed: yet, having raised an army, he set out from *Sâli Saray*; and sent *Amîr Mûssa* before with 10,000 koronas, who encamped at *Shekedâlik*. *Timûr* at first intended to attack them in the night; but, having only 200 men, he thought fit, after appearing in sight of the enemy, to retire to *Bokhâra*; and from thence to *Makhân*, by way of *Merû*. Mean time *Hussayn* came and besieged *Bokhâra*, where *Manâcha* and *Ali Yefûri* made a brave defence: but their soldiers, having suffered by venturing too far in a sally, could not be brought to fight afterwards. This obliged them to fly by night to *Makhân*, and leave the city to the enemy. Soon after, *Timûr* set out with 600 men to reduce *Nikepeysba*, governor of *Amûya*; which having done, he went and defeated the army of the koronas, encamped near *Bokhâra*; then returned to *Makhân*.

Retires to
Makhân.

TIMUR, unable long to be idle, crossed the *Jihûn* again with 600 men, and sat down before *Kârshi*: but, hearing 500 koronas were at *Kuzimondak*, he marched to attack them, not knowing that they had been joined by several other troops. However, after a bloody fight, he drove them back as far as their main army, which he advanced to reconnoitre: and, on their approach, rushing forward like a lion, in less than an hour, intirely routed this vast multitude. In the pursuit to *Shekedâlik*, they took the principal officers prisoners, with a great booty. *Timûr* resolved not to give the enemy time to

Attempts
Karshi.

¹ Hist. Tim. Bek, p. 73—85. cap 15, & seq.

A. D. 1366. recover their loss, but march against amir *Hussayn* : however, the princes refusing to assist in that enterprise, he returned to *Sa-markant*. At his approach, the governor *Ushâra Bahâdr* sallied out with the Amir *Mussa*'s troops, but was routed, and hardly escaped ; yet he made another sally, with 1500 raw soldiers, who fled at the cry of *Timûr*'s men. While this prince diverted himself in the delicious valley of *Sogd*, news arrived, that a great body of koronas was encamped on the *Tâm*, and Amir *Hussayn* with a numerous army at *Kârsbi*.

Crosses the Sir. ON this advice, *Timûr* thought proper to defer his revenge ; and, disbanding his other forces, with his first 600 men retired towards *Kojend*, where he crossed the *Sihân*. Understanding here, that *Key Kosrû* and *Bahrâm Jalayr* were at *Tâshkunt*, with 7000 *Getes*, just brought from *Jetâh*, he turned that way ; in hopes *Bahrâm*, who had by his means recovered his patrimony, and had sworn to join him against *Hussayn*, would assist him, when now in his power : but not finding the friendship he had reason to expect, he reproached the amir with his ingratitude. On the contrary, *Key Kosrû*, who was son-in-law to *Togluk Timûr*, khân of *Jetâh*, entertained *Timûr* magnificently, at his palace, for a month ; promised to join him against every body, and to give *Rakia Khân*, his daughter by another wife, to the Mirza *Jehân Ghîr*, *Timûr*'s eldest son.

Defeats the enemy. MEAN time, Amir *Hussayn* having entered *Sebz*, with a great army of koronas, sent before 20,000 men, under the command of Amir *Mussa*, and his most considerable generals ; who, through fear of *Timûr*'s valour, detached three great squadrons, by different roads, to intercept that prince's passage. *Timûr*, accompanied by *Key Kosrû*, and 2000 *Getes*, on this advice, crossed the *Sihân* (or *Sîr*) at *Kojend* ; and, with 1500 men, in the night, attacked *Jehân Shâh*, who had with him the same number, and dispersed them. Next day, he defeated *Khermân*, with his 1000 soldiers, at *Dizâk* : then, with 200 horse only, departed, to attack *Mâlek Bahâdr*, who had with him 3000. When the enemy saw the thirty men so well equipped, who were sent before, advancing with great boldness, they were surprised ; and, taking them for the van-guard of the *Mungls*, that is, the *Getes*, began to fly. *Timûr* pursued ; while the fugitives approaching the main body under *Mâssa*, caused them to fly full speed also, to rejoin *Hussayn*.

Peace with Hussayn. WHEN this prince saw them, he was wroth ; and, departing with the khân, sent 10,000 choice men as scouts, to attack the two princes ; who marched to *Barsin* with 1500, and there caused the trumpets to be sounded ; the noise of which

so frightened the enemy, that they fled back to *Hussayn*. After which, *Key Kofrâ* went to winter at *Otrâr*, and *Timûr* at *Tâsb-kunt*. In spring, the messengers, whom *Timûr* had sent to *Jetah*, returned; and brought word, that a numerous army was coming from thence to his assistance. As this news soon reached *Hussayn*, he resolved to make peace with *Timûr*; and, the better to succeed, applied to the doctors of *Kojend* and *Tâsb-kunt*, to dispose him to it. The mollahs undertook the task; and urged the danger which the state was in of being ruined by war, and the *Muslimâns* being plundered, as well as slaughtered, by idolaters (O). These remonstrances, with a dream which followed, determined *Timûr* to resolve on peace, and to go himself to *Hussayn*, as the most effectual way, to agree on articles. He was met near *Sâli-saray* by the amîrs *Mûssa* and *Olajia Itû*, on the part of *Hussayn*, to ask pardon for all that had passed. When the peace was settled, the princes disbanded their armies; and having regaled themselves with diversions, *Timûr* returned to *Kash*, to enjoy the sweets of this delightful kingdom.

NOT long after, while Amîr *Hussayn* and the khân were gone to reduce the kings of *Badâgshân*, who had revolted, *Mâlek Hussayn*, prince of *Herât*, sent forces to ravage the provinces about *Bâlk*, which were subject to the amîr. On this news, *Timûr* set forward, to repulse the enemy, who did not wait for him. After which, he went in quest of the khân and amîr; who, meeting him at *Kondoz*, renewed their friendship. They then marched to reduce *Pulâd Buga* and *Ak Buga*, who had revolted at *Kâbul*; which, after some loss, they effected. In their return from this expedition, *Hussayn* asked *Timûr*'s advice in relation to a design he had to reside at *Bâlk*. *Timûr* endeavoured to dissuade him, by the example of his uncle *Mirza Abdo'llah*; who, contrary to the advice of his lords, would remove his seat to *Samarkant* *. Although *Hussayn* could not but approve of *Timûr*'s counsel, yet he did not follow it: but prevailed on him to go to that city; where, as soon as he arrived, he began to rebuild the fortrefs of *Hendwân*. This was in 769 †.

MEAN time, advice arriving, that an army of *Getes* were on the march towards *Great Bukhâria*, the two princes set forward to repulse them: but, while the enemy wintered at *Tâsb-kunt*, discord arose among the lords of *Jetah*. *Kamro'ddîn*, of

* See before, p. 211.
c. xxi—xxiii.

† Hist. Tim. Bek, p. 100—110,

(O) The *Getes*, or *Mungls*, of *Kashgar*, and the parts of *Tartary* eastward, were, for the general, idolaters.

A. D. 1368. the tribe of *Uzlat*, *Kepék Timûr*, and *Shîrawl*, joined against *Haji Arkenût*, who resolved to give them battle. When they were ready to engage, a peace was clapped up; and *Arkenût* returned home. But the other two, instead of following him, retreated with their troops; and *Shîrawl*'s son cut off *Arkenût*'s head: which putting the *Gete* army into disorder, obliged them to retreat. *Timûr* was for pursuing them in this confusion: but, as the king of *Badâghshân* had renewed his irruptions into *Hussayn*'s dominions, this prince prevailed with him to march on that side. On his approach the enemy fled: yet at length they fought, and were routed; *Sheykh Ali*, the king, being made a prisoner.

In great danger.

HOWEVER, part of those who fled having defeated *Jehân Mulk*, Amîr *Hussayn*'s son, who pursued them, and taken 630 horses; *Timûr*, enraged, ascended the mountain: but as his soldiers, being fearful, would not follow him, he, with only thirteen horse, seized a narrow pass, where he fell on furiously, and defeated the enemy; although he confessed this was the roughest battle he had ever been engaged in. Mean time, fifty of their foot, covered with their bucklers, boldly marched up, and let fly a shower of arrows at *Timûr*: at the same time, 200 more advanced, to second them. But the prince escaped this danger, by the address of *Elchi Bâga*; who running up to them, on foot, began to wheedle them, touched them several times on the neck, and speaking in a soothing manner: *The person you see, said he, is the great Timûr: he will restore you your slaves: why then do you fight to no purpose? You know, if you are either killed or made prisoners, you will bear the blame of having your slaves taken.* When the soldiers heard that prince's name, they gave over fighting, kissed the earth, in token of submission, and sent two of their number to beg pardon. *Timûr* promised to return their slaves, provided they brought the horses and bucklers they had taken; next morning, to his camp; which they performed.

Hussayn's jealousy.

NOT long after, Amîr *Hussayn* having sent to acquaint him, that *Mehemed Beyân Seldûz* and *Key Khosrû* had made war on him, *Timûr* left *Badâghshân*: On which notice, the rebels wrote to him the cause of their discontent, and begged his assistance. As the prince knew this letter was intercepted by *Hussayn*, he became jealous that *Hussayn* did not shew it him at their interview: and, at his return to *Kesh*, three persons came to tell him, *Hussayn* designed to surprise him. This was confirmed by a lord, who shewed him a letter from the Khan *Kabul Shâh* (P); importing, that Amîr *Mûssa* had orders

(P) It is the *hân Adel Soliân* for *Kabul Shâh* was now *khân*, in our author, by some mistake; and succeeded *Adel Khân*.

to

to watch an opportunity to seize him. *Timûr*, far from distrustful so much, or fearing danger, went to know the truth of this from *Hussayn*, whom he met on the bank of the *Jihân* (or *Amû*) : but, as he was about to speak, word came, that the enemy was near ; and being desired to march forthwith against them, he set forward with the troops ; on whose approach, *Sheykh Mehemed* and *Key Kojrû* fled. After the pursuit, *Timûr* returned to *Kesh* ; and *Hussayn* went to *Balk*, to reside in the castle of *Hendwân* u.

A. D.
1368.

ALTHOUGH *Timûr*'s attachment to *Hussayn* was all the latter's support, yet he ceased not to do him ill offices. He sent for all that prince's subjects in *Kash*, to people *Balk*, and to bring away *Timûr*'s sister : because her husband, *Amir Muyad*, had, in his drink, killed a man, and fled. He likewise dismissed prince *Jehângîr*, whom *Timûr* had placed near him. Upon all these provocations, he took counsel with *Amir Mûssa*, and other lords : who after having concluded to make war on *Hussayn*, as a prince not to be trusted, as well as an oppressor of the people, they began the rupture, by the death of *Ali*, brother of *Kezer Yesûri* ; and then *Timûr* boldly declared war against him at once.

HAVING raised troops, he kept with him *Mûssa*, to command the rear ; and, after consulting his astrologers, departed from *Kash* : but, at *Kuzar*, that amir, as usual, seized with a panic fear, returned to *Samarkant*. *Timûr* seemed to take no notice of this action : but sent *Siorgatmish Aglen*, with the *Amirs Muyad* and *Hussayn Berlâs* before, as scouts, who found those of *Amir Hussayn* at *Termed*. At *Boya*, within three leagues of that city, *Timûr* met the holy *Seyd Bereke*, the most considerable of the sharifs, or descendants of *Mohammed* : who presenting him with a drum and standard, which are the usual marks of sovereignty, as if inspired, sang a hymn, predicting *Timûr*'s future grandeur. Here that prince contracted an inviolable friendship with this great sharif ; and ordered, that after his death he should be buried in the same tomb, with his face turned side-ways : that at the day of judgment, when every one should hold up their hands to heaven, to implore assistance of some intercessor, he might lay hold on the robe of this child of the prophet.

TIMUR, having passed the *Jihân*, or *Amû*, and encamped at *Kulm*, was there joined by a great number of princes, who hated *Hussayn*, and came from all parts with their troops. Among the rest, were the *Amir Olajia Iliû*, placed in *Kondoz* by *Hussayn* ; *Sheykh Mehemed*, king of *Badâghshân*, whom *Timûr* had

u Hist. Tim. Bek, p. 111—117, c. 24, 25.

A. D.
1368.

mâr had invited; the Amîr *Key Kofrâ*, who had fled from *Katlân*, to avoid *Hussayn*; the Amîr *Yâkû*, with the troops of that country; and *Zende Hasbam*, with the hord of *Aperdi*: so that *Timâr* saw himself at the head of a powerful army. Then he gave *Siorgatmisb Aglen* the title of *khân*; and having regulated his army, departed for *Bâlk*. As soon as he arrived, he blocked up the city on all sides, and besieged the citadel, called *Hendwân*. The enemy made a vigorous defence: they sallied out to repulse the confederates; and the two armies fought with unparalleled courage till night. In this battle, prince *Omar Sheykh*, a son of *Timâr*, fighting bravely, though but fifteen years old, was shot through the foot with an arrow; and though the surgeons drew a hot iron through the wound, he bore it with extraordinary patience *.

Hussayn
surrenders:

NEXT morning, at sun-rise, the besieged made another sally, and renewed the fight. *Hussayn*, who at a distance beheld this terrible encounter, perceived his affairs to be in a desperate condition. *Timâr* sent to acquaint him, that, if he desired his life, he must submit, and deliver up the fortrefs. *Hussayn*, for once, acting with prudence, sent two of his sons, with the *khân* he had set up, offering to resign his crown to *Timâr*; and only requesting a free passage out of the citadel, in order to go in pilgrimage to *Mekka*. *Timâr* having granted this request, the amir sent again to acquaint him, that he would depart the next day; and requested a promise, that no person should attempt any thing against his life. *Timâr* yielded to his desire: but *Hussayn* was so accustomed to break his word, that he suspected the prince could not keep his promise; and therefore went out the same night, with two servants. After wandering for some time, not knowing where to go, he arrived at the old city of *Bâlk*; and, when morning came, through fear, got upon the minâra (Q) of the principal mosk, where he hid himself.

taken, and
lain,

THIS prince might have escaped, if the time fixed by fate for his death, says our author, was not come: for a soldier of *Timâr*, who had lost his horse, going up, to try if he could perceive it from thence, spied *Hussayn*, whom he knew. The amir, who, in his prosperity, had never the least generosity to a soldier, flung down a handful of pearls; and, promising greater things, made the man swear he would not discover him. But the soldier, as soon as he got down, ran to *Timâr*,

* Hist. Tim. Bek, p. 118—125, c. 26, & seq.

(Q) Steeple, or turret, built near the masjeds, or mosks, from whence the muzims, or

cryers, proclaim the times of prayers. *La Croix.*

and

and related the whole. When the officers and foldiers heard this, they ran to the mosk; while *Hussayn*, who perceived them coming down, hid himself in a hole. But, still pursued by ill-luck, a skirt of his garment happened to be seen: so that, being taken, he was carried bound to *Timûr*; who, unwilling to break his promise, said to the amirs who were near him, "I renounce the right I have of taking away his life; and cancel the sentence of his death, by which I might revenge myself." But when *Hussayn* was dismissed from *Timûr*'s presence, *Kây Kofrû*, prince of *Katlân*, desired that the amir might be delivered to him, in order to do justice on him for taking away his brother's life. *Timûr* exhorted that prince to forego his resentment; while the remembrance of his antient friendship, as well as alliance, with *Hussayn*, melted him into tears. Upon this *Olajia Itâ*, an amir of years, and great experience, imagining, that if *Hussayn* escaped, through *Timûr*'s affection, they might all repent of it afterwards, made signs to *Kây Kofrû* and *Muyad* to go out of the assembly: which they did, without asking *Timûr*'s leave; and, taking horse, followed *Hussayn*, and slew him.

At length the fortrels of *Hendwân* being taken, *Konsâid* the citadel and *Norâz Soltân*, two of *Hussayn*'s sons, were burnt, and destroyed. their ashes scattered in the air. His two other sons, *Jehân Mulk* and *Kalâl Soltân*, fled into *India*, where they perished. The khân whom *Hussayn* had set up was also put to death (R). *Timûr* got all the treasure which that prince had amassed with so much avarice; and kept four ladies of his saray to himself; these were, *Saray Mulk Khânâm*, daughter of *Kâzân Soltân Khân*; *Olûs Aga*, daughter of *Boyan Seldûz*; *Islâm Aga*, daughter of *Kezer Yefûri*; and *Toji Turkhân Kâtân*. He gave the great queen, *Sevenj Kotlûk Aga*, daughter of *Turme-shîrîn Khân*, *Hussayn*'s first wife, *Dilshad Aga*, to *Zende*; and the other ladies to considerable lords. He likewise ordered, that the inhabitants of *Bâlk*, who had shut themselves up in the citadel, with their late prince, should return to the old city, and rebuild it. The citadel, as well as palaces of *Hussayn*, were all razed to the foundations; and every thing belonging to him destroyed, that there might remain no footsteps of a prince so hated.

† Hist. Tim. Bek, p. 125, & seqq.

(R) This was *Kabul Shâh* (or *Soltân*) *Khân*.

A. D.

1369.

CHAP. II.

The Exploits of Timûr, from his Enthronement, to the Reduction of Irân, or Persia at large.

Timûr enthroned.

AFTER the taking of *Bâlk*, all the amîrs, princes, and generals of the army, the khâns of *Termed*, and *Seyd Berke*, chief of the sharifs, who had predicted *Timûr*'s advancement to the throne, assembled in that city, and unanimously chose him to fill the imperial seat of *Jagatay*. When the lucky hour arrived to perform the ceremony of coronation, *Timûr* ascended the throne, placed the crown of gold on his head, and girded himself with the imperial belt, in presence of the princes of the blood, and the rest, who all kneeled down before him; and, having wished him prosperity, made him sumptuous presents, sprinkled handfuls of gold and precious stones upon his head, and gave him the title of *Sahb Karân*, which words signify, *the emperor of the age, and conqueror of the world*. This happened in the *Mungl* year of the *Dog*, which

Hej. 771. answers to that of the Hejrah 771, in the month of *Ramazân*.

A. D. He treated the inhabitants with the utmost rigour, beheaded
1369. some, imprisoned others, enslaved their wives and children, burnt their houses, seized their riches, and ravaged the country. Thus he rooted out the rebels, and, at the same time, distributed the plunder among his lords and officers.

A plot discovered.

FROM *Bâlk*, *Timûr* returned to *Kash*; where he appointed officers of state, both military and civil. He then repaired to *Samarkant*, which he made the seat of his empire (A). The Amîr *Mussa*, who had deserted *Timûr* through discontent, as is before-mentioned, on that prince's success, fled to *Turkestan*; but, being pursued, fled back to *Zende Hasbâm*, at *Shebârgân* in *Khorassân*, and prevailed on him to revolt. *Timûr* having ordered the *kûrultay*, or dyet, to be held; and *Zende Hasbâm* not appearing, he sent him a threatening summons: but this young prince, instead of obeying, imprisoned the messengers. Hereupon the emperor went with an army, and besieged him in *Sefiddez*, or the *white fort*. At the sight of the imperial troops, *Zende Hasbâm* lost courage; and, having sued for pardon, delivered up the Amîr *Mussa*: whom, instead of punishing, *Timûr* feasted, and loaded with favours, giving him the command of a tribe, and a province. For all this, *Hasbâm* re-

(A) This removal was contrary to his own advice given before to *Hussayn*, whom he would have dissuaded from re-

moving from *Sali Saray* to *Bâlk*, as a thing highly imprudent, and dangerous. See p. 223.

belled a second time; but being besieged in *Sheburgân*, submitted a second time, was pardoned, and received among the officers of the court *.

A. D.
1370.

IN the year of the *Hog*, which answers to 772, *Timûr* crossed the *Sihûn* (or *Str*), to invade the country of the *Getes*; two of whose princes, *Komze* and *Orenkitmûr*, submitted to him, with their tribes and countries, the government of which he gave to *Kopek Timûr*; who soon after rebelling, he marched against him, by way of *Sayrâm*, on the borders of *Jetâh*, and, in a month, reduced the enemy. Mean time, the Amîr *Mûssa*, and *Zende Hafsâm*, forgetting all their obligations, conspired, with *Abû Is-hâk*, and others, to seize *Timûr*, while hunting: but the plot being discovered, the conspirators were tried, and convicted: yet the emperor put none of them to death. He pardoned *Mûssa*, on account of his great age, and relationship by marriage; only banished two sheykh, as descended from *Mohammed*; and condemned *Zende Hafsâm* to a dungeon at *Samarkant*.

Invades
the Getes.
Hej. 772.
A. D.
1370.

As soon as *Timûr* was returned to his capital, he sent ambassadors to *Hussayn Sofi* (B), king of *Karazm*, to demand restitution of the countries of *Kat* and *Kivak* (C); which he had seized five years before, during the troubles, though belonging to the empire of *Jagatay*. *Hussayn's* answer was, *That he had conquered them by the sword; and that Timûr might recover them the same way, if he could*. Hereupon the Mullah *Jalâlo'ddîn*, who was the emperor's mûfti (D), to prevent bloodshed, desired leave to try what he could do: but the *Karazmian*, instead of listening to his advice, imprisoned the mullah. On this notice, *Timûr*, in 773, marched at the head of his army, by way of *Bokhâra*; and, at *SePAYE*, on the *Jihûn* (or *Amû*), defeated the enemy's scouts. From thence, they arrived at *Kat*, which they invested. *Kûchey Mûlek* was ordered to go down into the ditch, but being afraid to venture, the *Chaussh Komâri* readily obeyed. He was followed by others; who advancing towards the breast-work, Sheykh *Ali Behâdr* first laid hold of it, and would have mounted. *Mobashscr*, envying him this honour, took hold of his heel, and both fell; yet *Ali* returned, and got upon the parapet. Then the foldiers, having forced a passage, on all sides, into the town, seized the

Attacks
Karazm.

Hej. 773.
A. D.
1371.

* Hist. Tim. Bek, p. 130—141, l. ii. cap. 1—4.

(B) Son of *Yangbaday*, of the tribe of *Konkegrat*, called also *Kunkurat*, *Kongorat*, and by the Chinese, *Honkila*.

place with *Kayuk*, in *Abu'lghâzi Khân's* history. See the description of *Karazm* hereafter, Vol. VI.

(D) Or chief priest, who decides affairs of the law.

(C) This seems to be the same

A. D. 1371. governor, and put the greater part of the garrison, as well as the inhabitants, to the sword; carrying away the wives and children, whom *Timûr* next day set at liberty. As for *Kâchey Mâlek*, he ordered him, for his cowardice, to be bastonadoed, and then led to *Samarkant*, tied to the tail of an ass.

Grants a peace. AFTER this, he advanced, and his van-guard having defeated the enemy, at *Jiwi Korkan*, he ordered inroads to be made on every side; so that all the provinces of *Karazm* were ruined. *Hussayn*, being in no condition to defend himself in the city of *Karazm* (E), sent to beg pardon, and demand quarter: but, diverted by *Kay Kofrâ*, who promised to go over to him, with his *Tomân*, he marched out with his troops to the river *Kawn*, six miles from the capital. However, he was repulsed; and finding himself blocked up in his fortrefs, soon died with grief. His brother *Isûf* (or *Tusef*) *Sofi*, who succeeded him, had recourse to submission: and as *Timûr* thought that *Sevinâ Bey*, commonly called *Khân Zâdeh* (F), the daughter of *Ak Sofi*, *Isûf*'s brother, who was reckoned the greatest beauty in the world (G), would be a fit match for his son *Jehân Ghîr*, he granted peace, on condition of the marriage. On his return to *Samarkant*, he ordered *Kay Kofrâ Katlani* to be arrested, and prosecuted for his intrigues with *Hussayn Sofi*: of which having been convicted, he was delivered, bound, to the officers of Amîr *Hussayn*, who put him to death, to revenge the murder of that prince; and his province given to *Mehemed Mireke*, son of *Shîr Bahrâm*, his relation^b.

Marries Jehân Ghîr. WHEN *Kay Kofrâ* was apprehended, his son *Soltân Mahmûd*, with two other lords, left the court, and retired to *Karazm*; where they persuaded *Isûf Sofi* to violate the peace: and accordingly, in autumn, he laid waste the country of *Kat*.

Hej. 774. But, in *Ramazân* 774, on the news of *Timûr*'s march, he sent persons to intecede for him, and renew the treaty; promising A. D. 1372. forthwith to send the princess *Khân Zâdeh* to *Samarkant*. Next spring, *Timûr* dispatched ambassadors, with rich presents, to conduct to his court that princess; who set out with a portion of precious stones, jewels, and furniture, of great value. *Timûr* gave her a magnificent reception; and the marriage with his son was solemnized with the greatest pomp, after the happy

^b Hist. Tim. Bek, p. 143—156, c. 7.—11.

(E) The same with *Urjengh*, called *Korkanj*, and *Jorjania* by the *Persians*.

(F) That is, the daughter of the *khân*.

(G) The poets say, since *Adam*; and that she had the genius of an angel, and shape of a fairy.

moment had been fixed, with the exactest care, by the most learned astrologers, and profound philosophers.

In the month of *Shawal* 776, which was the beginning of the *Mungl* year of the *Hare*, *Timûr* set forward on his march to *Jetâh*, sending before his son, the *Mirza Jehân Ghîr*, with the van-guard. When they had passed *Sayrâm*, and were arrived at *Jarân*, a town of *Jetâh*, they were informed, by a prisoner; that *Kamro'ddîn* (H), prince of the tribe of *Uglat*, was encamped with an army at *Gheuk Tâpa*, or the blue hill, where he waited for *Haji Bey*, not expecting any enemy. On this advice, they hastened their march: but *Kamro'ddîn*, getting intelligence of their approach, retired to an inaccessible place, called *Birkey Gûrian*, where there are three defiles of mountains, extremely steep; and three great rapid rivers. *Jehân Ghîr* was now advanced to the third defile, where *Kamro'ddîn* had fortified himself, and having attacked his forces, with great slaughter, till night, they took to flight. Next morning, the prince pursued them; and *Timûr*, coming up at sun-rise, detached some of his chief captains, who swam along the stream of the river *Abeile* (I). When they got on the enemy's lands, they plundered all who did not submit.

A. D.

1373.

Marches

into Jetâh.

Hej. 776.

A. D.

1374.

Timûr went on to *Baytak*; from whence he sent the *mirza* his son, with a great army, to fight and seize *Kamro'ddîn*. The prince, having ruined the cantons which are in *Uch-fermân*, found his enemy in the mountains, whom he pursued, and obliged to abandon his troops. He ravaged all the country, razed his palaces, and, among other ladies, seized on his wife *Buyân Aga*, with his daughter *Dilshad-aga*. After *Timûr* had waited fifty-three days at *Baytak*, he received this news; and, on his way home, married the princess *Dilshad-aga*. Then setting forward again, marched by *Yâssi Daban*, and encamped at *Ozkunt*. Here *Adel Shâh*, son of *Bahrâm Jalayr*, now dead, gave him a splendid entertainment, and presented him with some fine horses. Under this mask, his design was, in concert with two other lords, to have seized *Timûr*: but conceiving strong suspicions, by the motions of the conspirators, he left the assembly, and thus frustrated their plot. During the winter, when he was returned to his capital, they came and confessed their crime; while *Timûr* politically pretended to have

Avoids a
conspiracy.

* Hist. Tim. Bek, p. 157—165, c. 11.—14.

(H) He usurped the kingdom of *Kâzgar* from *Ilyas Kôja Khân*, as related before, p. 150.

(I) This seems to be the river

Ilî, rising in *Little Bukhâria*, on which the khân of the *Eluths* encamped. *Ab-ilî* signifies the water *Ilî*.

A. D. known nothing of it, and, at the same time, highly cared for
1374. *Adel Shâh*.

*Punishes the plot-
ters.*
Hej. 777.
A. D.
1375.
IN the beginning of the year 777, the troops were ordered to assemble, as if to invade *Karazm*. As soon as the amirs arrived at the imperial city, the *Sheykh Mehemed Bayân Seldûz* (one of the conspirators in the late plot) was apprehended; and his crime having been fully proved, he was delivered into the hands of *Heri Mulk Seldûz*, his relation, who put him to death, in revenge for killing his brother. *Ali Derûîsb* and *Mehemed Derûîsb*, being equally guilty, were also put to death. In spring, *Timûr* sent several amirs, with 30,000 horse, into *Jetâb*, with orders to search diligently for *Kamro'ddîn*, and, when found, to put him to death. After this, he marched with a great army towards *Karazm*; and being come to *Se-paya*, on the *Jihûn*, saw *Turkhân Erlât*, another of the conspirators, pass over with his troops, as willing to join him; but, through some sudden fear, he immediately returned to his orda, near *Korzwan Pulâd*, who was ordered to pursue him day and night with some troops, having passed *Andkûd*, overtook him at *Farâb* (or *Otrâr*), on the *Sihûn*. The two parties fought like lions: but, at length, the enemy flying, the victors pursued, and *Pulâd* alone overtook *Turkhân*; who, finding his horse tired, got off, and brought down *Pulâd's* with an arrow. He let fly another at his enemy, before he was able to get up: but, as it went through his cap, without hurting him, *Pulâd* rushed on; and closing him, after a long struggle, flung him on the ground, and cut off his head. At the same time, an officer brought the head of *Tûrmîsb*, brother of *Turkhân*, and both were laid at the foot of the throne.

*Amirs re-
volt.*
AMONG the amirs sent to *Jetâb*, *Sâr Buga* and *Adel Shâh*, conspiring with *Katay Bahâdr*, *Elchi Buga*, and *Hamâdi*, whom *Timûr* had left governor of *Andekhân*, on the frontiers of *Turkestan*, got together their ordas of *Jalayr* and *Kipjâk*, and marched to *Sapmarkant*, which they besieged. Hereupon *Ak Buga*, the governor, wrote word of this to *Timûr*; who, though he had already passed by *Kat*, and was arrived at *Khas*, immediately returned. While he encamped near *Bokhâra*, the *Mirza Jehân Ghîr*, who advanced before, met the rebels (obliged to raise the siege) at *Karmîna*, and defeated them. After which, they retired to the desarts of *Kipjâk*, and listed themselves in the service of *Urûs Khân*, emperor of that country. *Sâr Buga* and *Adel Shâh* had not been long in the service of that prince, before they fled from his court, after having killed his lieutenant, and went to *Jetâb*; where they

persuaded *Kamro'ddin* to join them, in making war on *Timûr*. Hereupon that prince marched to the country of *Andekbân*, where *Omar Sheykh*, *Timûr's* second son, was governor: but, being deserted by the *hezâra* of *Kûdak*, he retired to the mountains, and sent his father word, that the enemy, with a great army, had ruined *Andekbân*.

THIS news so incensed *Timûr*, that he immediately set out *Kamro'd*. for *Jetâb*. On which advice, *Kamro'ddin* commanded his *din de-* household and orda to leave *Atbâstbi*, while he remained in am- seated. bush with 4000 horse. *Timûr* coming to the place, and suspecting no such ~~state~~, sent his amîrs, with all the army, in pursuit of the enemy; while he followed, with no more than 200 men to accompany him. *Kamro'ddin*, glad of this occasion, sallied out with his men upon the emperor; who, no way dismayed, spurred his horse against the enemy, and, being obliged to expose his person, performed surprising acts of valour; which were so well seconded by his soldiers, that they at length defeated that numerous host. After this, he met *Kamro'ddin* again at *Senghez Agâjeh*, and constrained him to fly. *Ucbkara* pursued him so closely, that, at length, he obliged him to return, with eight men only; who being surrounded by the amîr's soldiers, *Kamro'ddin*, after having his horse killed, had much ado to get off on foot, wounded in several places.

BEFORE the last battle, *Timûr* dreamed; that in one of the *Death of* forty-six visions, which are esteemed prophetic, he saw the *Jehân* *Sheykh Bûrhâno'ddin Klich*; and having humbly begged of him *Ghîr*, to pray for his son *Jehân Ghîr*, then sick at *Samarkant*, the holy man only answered, *Be with God (K)*. This, with another dream he had afterwards, increased his melancholy, and convinced him, that he should lose his dear son; whom he found dead, at his return to that capital. This prince, who was but twenty when he died, was buried at *Kasb*; and left two sons: *Mohammed Soltân*, by *Khân Zâdeh*; and *Pîr Mohammed*, a posthumous son, by *Bâkti Mulki Aga*, daughter of *Elias Yefûri*.

TIMUR, about this time, being informed, that *Adel Shâh* and *Adel Jalayr* was in the mountains of *Karachuk*, beyond *Otrâr*, sent *Shâh*. thither two amîrs, with fifteen horse; who having found him at *Aksûma*, a spy-tower on the top of mount *Karajik*, put him to death, according to law. Soon after, *Mirza Omar Sheykh*,

(K) We insert such particulars, as proper to shew the character of this prince; who, tho' a great, and, in other respects, a wise, judicious man, was yet a dupe to the superstitious folly of dreams and fortune-telling, owing to the force of bad instruction when young.

with

A. D. 1375. with several amirs, were sent against *Kamro'ddîn*; whom they met, and defeated, on the borders of *Kûratû*, a country of the *Getes* ^e.

War in
Kipjak.

THE troops were no sooner returned, than *Timûr* resolved to march in person into *Jetâh*; and his van-guard were so lucky as to come up with *Kamro'ddîn*, at *Bugam Afî Gheul*: where, after a furious battle, they put him to flight, ravaged his country, and reduced his subjects to obedience. After pursuing him as far as *Kûchar*, *Timûr* returned to his capital, by way of *Oynagû* and *Uzkunt*. That prince, when at *Kûchâr*, being informed, that *Tokatmîsh* (or *Toktamîsh*) *Aglen* had withdrawn from the court of *Urûs*, khân of *Kipjak*, in order to come over to him, sent *Tumen Timûr Uzbek* to meet and conduct him to *Samarkant*; where he was received with great honour. *Timûr* heaped favours on him, and gave him the government of several places for his subsistence. He likewise assisted him against *Urûs Khân*, who soon after attacked him; entered his dominions with a great army, and placed *Toktamîsh* on the throne of *Kipjak*. This prince being driven out, he restored him again, in 778. But as these wars have been already related more at large, in the history of that empire ^f, we shall say no more about them here.

Timûr's
greatness.

Hej. 779.

A. D.

1377.

THE sovereignty of *Timûr* seemed now to be arrived at the summit of felicity, many of his officers bearing the titles of khân and sultân; when, to increase his happiness, in the year of the *Serpent*, and that of the Hejrah 779, in the month of *Rabiyo'laker*, the *Mirza Shâh Rukh* was born. Soon after this, *Timûr* made a fourth expedition into *Karazm*. Whilst he was at *Otrâr*, to observe *Urûs Khân*, *Isûf Sofî*, king of that country, sent an army to *Bokhâra*, which ravaged the province, and carried off whatever they could meet with. *Timûr*, on this, sent an ambassador, to complain of these hostilities: but *Isûf*, instead of shewing any reason, threw the ambassador in prison. He did the like to a second envoy; and sent *Tui Bogay*, surnamed *the robber*, with his followers, to carry away the cattle of the *Turkmâns*, which were about *Bokhâra*. However, *Timûr* let him alone for this year, the remainder of which he spent at *Zenjir Saray*, after he had married *Tuman Aga*, daughter of the Amir *Mûssa*; for whose sake he adorned *Samarkant* with several beautiful monuments, and, among the rest, a pleasure-house, to the west of that city, called *Bâghi Behisht*, or, *the garden of paradise* ^g.

^e Hist. Tim. Bek, p. 170—178, c. 16—18.
p. 107.

^f See before.
^g Hist. Tim. Bek, l. ii. p. 178—193, c. 19—26.

IN *Shawal* 780 *Timûr* set forward with his army; and, entering *Karazm*, invested the town of *Eski Skuz* (L), while several parties ravaged the country. On this, *Ifuf* or *Yusef Sofi* sent a challenge to *Timûr*; who, putting on his armour, contrary to the prayers of his commanders, went to the edge of the ditch, and called on *Yusef* to come out: but that prince thought it safer to keep within the walls. However, *Timûr*, having received some melons from *Termed*, judged it might be thought uncourteous if he did not send *Yusef* some, when he was so near him: this was done in a gold basin, delivered at the wall. But *Yusef* had so little courtesy, that he ordered the fruit to be thrown into the ditch, and gave the basin to the town-porter. After this, the besieged sallied; and frequent skirmishes drew on a general battle; in which the enemy were defeated, and retired into the city. After this, *Timûr* ordered the amîrs to begin the siege of the capital; which having continued near four months, in which time the castle was ruined, the khân *Yusef Sofi* died with grief, as the emperor had predicted (M). At the same time the batteries being renewed, and breaches made, the town was attacked, and at length taken, after a very brave resistance. The city was pillaged, many of the inhabitants killed; and all the learned men, as well as tradesmen, sent to *Kash*.

A. D.
1378.Karazm
conquered.

Hej. 781.

A. D.

1379.

THIS city, which had long before this been a seminary of *Kash* learning, hence was surnamed *Kûbbet Eilimi Veledeb*, that is, *walled*. The Dome of Science and Virtue: it was also called *Shâhr Sebz*, or *The Green City*, from the verdure of its gardens and meadows. At the end of the year 781 the emperor declared it his ordinary residence in summer, and the second seat of the empire. He therefore inclosed it with new walls; and built a new palace, called *Ak-saray*, from the exceeding whiteness and height of its walls. After this, he divided the city among his amîrs, and the troops of his household.

IN winter *Timûr* sent to summon *Mâlek Kayâzo'ddîn Pîr Mâlek Ali* (son of *Mâlek Huffyây*n, prince of *Herât*, who died in *Kaya-zo'ddîn* 1369) to the *kûrûltay*, or assembly of the states, which was to be held the next spring. *Pîr Ali* pretended submission to the summons: but delayed the messengers with excuses, in order to finish the fortifications of *Herât*; which he had encompassed the year before with a wall two leagues in circuit, in-

summoned.

(L) This, possibly, was the old city of *Karazm*, *Korkanj*, or *Urjengb*, or some part of it; for, by what follows, it was this city which was besieged.

(M) The author, on several occasions, intimates as if *Timûr* had the spirit of prophecy. *La Croix*.

A. D. 1379. closing the suburbs, and gardens without the wall of the old city. These things were reported to *Timûr* at the time when *Ali Bey*, son of *Argûn Shâh Jân Garbani*, returned to his obedience, and was pardoned. The emperor even consented that his daughter should marry his grandson *Mehemed Soltân*, son of *Jehân Ghîr*; and conferred with him about his design upon *Herât*, whither *Ali Bey* promised to go in spring^a.

Timûr's ambition. It was *Timûr's* ambition of universal monarchy which made him undertake such glorious things: he used to say, *that it was neither fit nor decent that the world should be governed by two kings*. About this time many rebels had seized the provinces of *Irân*, and set up for independent monarchs. This exceedingly displeased *Timûr*; who, having conquered the kingdom of *Tûrân*, which *Jenghîz Khân* formerly divided between his sons *Tûsbi* and *Jagatay*, he resolved to subdue the empire of *Irân*, or *Persia* at large. Preparatory to this, he made his son, the mirza *Mirân Shâh*, then but fourteen years of age, governor of *Khorassân*; and sent him thither, accompanied with several amîrs, and fifty companies of horse. The *Tatar* troops, having crossed the *Jihûn*, passed the autumn, and most of the winter, at *Bâlk* and *Shebûrgân*; but, towards the end of that season, took from *Mâlek* the town of *Badghîz*.

Heinrvades Mâlek. TOWARDS the end of the year 782, *Timûr*, having raised a great army of *Turks* and *Tatars*, crossed the *Jihûn*, and advanced within the country of *Khorassân*. When he arrived at *Andekûd*, his devotion prompted him to visit the illustrious *Santon Baba Senkû*, one of those darwish who make profession of folly (N). This person, in an enthusiastic fit, flung a breast of mutton at the emperor's head; who, believing this to be a good augury, said: "I am persuaded that God will grant me the conquest of *Khorassân*, because this kingdom has always been called the breast, or middle, of the inhabitable world." This prediction, says our author, had its effect. *Timûr* left *Andekûd*; and, as soon as *Mâlek Mehemed*, brother of *Mâlek Kayazo'ddîn*, who was then in the fortress of *Saraks*, had notice of his march, he came before the throne, and had the honour to kiss the imperial carpet, as well as to

^a Hist. Tim. Bek, p. 194—201. c. 26—29.

(N) These are natural fools, or blockheads, at least they pretend to be so, of whom the east is full. The *Mohammedans* have an extraordinary veneration for them; and say, that God loved

them before their creation, and, on that account, did not endue them with reason; so that they are incapable of offending. *La Croix*.

receive many careffes and presents. When, after a long march, the army had passed by *Maru Arrâd*, commonly called *Morgâb*, they at length encamped at *Chekedalek*, eleven leagues from *Herât*.

A. D.
1380.

HERE the emperor sent to desire *Ali Bey* to raise troops forthwith, and join him, according to the league between them: but he not only refused to obey, but imprisoned the envoy. As *Mâlek Kayâzo'ddîn* had that day taken *Nishâbûr* from the *Sarbedals*, *Timûr* marched to *Jam* (O) and *Kâsûpa*, that the enemy's troops, who were in those parts, might not join *Mâlek*. The governor of *Kâsûpa* went to meet the emperor; who, after paying a visit, at *Taybâd*, to the learned and virtuous doctor *Zayno'ddîn Abubekr*, marched to *Fûshenj*, about twenty-five miles short of *Herât*, and besieged it. This town was surrounded with high walls, a good rampart, and deep ditch, full of water. Its other fortifications were so strong, that no citadel could compare with it: yet the soldiers, crossing the ditch on planks, advanced to the wall, and made a great slaughter of the enemy with their arrows. *Timûr*, who often rode round the place without armour, to encourage his men, was wounded with two arrows. Mean time some amirs mounted the wall, while others forced the gate; and, entering also by the breaches, put to the sword all who escaped their hands before. Thus *Fûshenj* was taken at the first assault; after which, the army marched to *Herât*, and laid siege to that city¹.

THE troop of *Gûris* (or *Gowris*), reckoned the most valiant men of *Irân*, made a sally: but being forced to retire, after a bloody conflict, the citizens, to save their lives, and fine houses from destruction, refused to make resistance: so that *Mâlek*, finding he could not bring them to a second sally, was obliged to submit; and, coming out to beg pardon, kissed the imperial carpet on his knees. *Timûr* gave him a vest of honour, carested, and then dismissed him. This was in *Muharram*, the first month of the year 783. Then the conqueror ordered the treasures, and other riches, which the *Gowri*, or *Gawri*, kings had amassed for several years (consisting of silver coin, brute precious stones, the richest thrones, crowns of gold, vessels of plate, gold and silver brocades, with other curiosities), to be carried away: he likewise commanded the walls, both old and new, to be razed. A tax likewise was levied on the inhabitants, for their ransom; and the gates of the city,

Hej. 783.
A. D.
1381.

¹ Hist. Tim. Bek, p. 201—208. c. 30—32.

(O) *Jam* is about seventy miles to the east of *Nishâbûr*.

covered

A. D. covered with iron plates, and adorned with sculptures and inscriptions, were carried to *Kasb*. After this, *Mâlek Kayazo'ddîn* was ordered to deliver up the fortrefs of *Eskilj*, called also *Amân-kûh*; then governed by the amir *Gowri*, his youngest son, reckoned the most brave and experienced lord in the kingdom, whom *Mâlek* prevailed on to deliver up the place, accounted by him impregnable.

Osber
places sub-
mit.

TIMUR, highly pleased with his success at *Herât*, sent troops to conquer *Nisbâbûr* and *Sebzwâr*: but, as the affair of *Ali Bey* disturbed him, he marched in person to *Kellât* and *Tûsb* (or *Masbhâd*), making a visit to the tomb of *Abû Mûslem Merûzi* (P), in the way. *Ali Bey*, on advice of the emperor's march, came out and submitted; so did the governor of *Sebzwâr*; and both were received with favours. He then proceeded for *Esferâyîn* (Q), belonging to the Amir *Veli*, (or *Wali*), prince of *Mazânderân*. The soldiers immediately rushed on the walls, in which they made considerable breaches; and, entering the place, put to the sword a great number of people, and demolished all the houses of that great city. After this, *Timûr* sent an ambassador to the Amir *Veli*; who submitted, and promised shortly to repair to his master. While the emperor diverted himself at the pleasure-house called *Ogûl Tatû Taylak*, they put to death the robbers of *Kûrasbe*; who had killed the Amir *Haji Berlâs* and his brother, *Timûr's* near relations, as before-mentioned.

Ali Bey
revolts.

TIMUR, having made several regulations in the political state of *Khorassân*, confirmed *Mâlek Kayâzo'ddîn*, prince of *Herât*, and the other amirs, in their respective governments; after which, he returned to his own dominions, and passed the winter at *Bekhâra*. But, while he diverted himself in that proud city, his pleasure was embittered with the loss of his daughter *Taji Khân*, called also *Akia Beghi*, married to *Mehemed Bey*, son of Amir *Mûssa*; a princess who had scarce her equal in beauty and virtue. He was so deeply afflicted at her death, that, when advice was brought that *Ali Bey*, in conjunction with the Amir *Veli*, had besieged *Ali Muayd*, whom he had left governor of *Sebzwâr*, he was no-way moved; nor would have repented the insult, but for the remonstrances of his sister *Kotluk Turkhân Aga*, who urged the bad consequences which would attend his neglect of affairs. Roused by the words of this princess, he

(P) General of *Abûl Abbâs Saffah*, first of khalifahs of the house of *Abbâs*, to whom these princes owed their advancement. *La Croix*.

(Q) A city between *Nisâbûr* and *Jorjân*, dependent on the former; called also *Al Mebr- ejân*. *La Croix*.

assembled

assembled his forces; and, tho' it was in the midst of winter, set forward from *Bokhâra*. He crossed the *Jihûn* with his army, over a bridge of boats; and, having passed by *Makhân*, encamped in the neighbourhood of *Kelât*, where *Ali Bey* shut himself up; nor could be prevailed on to submit, either by threats or promises; relying on the mountain whereon that fortress was built, which he imagined to be inaccessible^k.

TIMUR, to deceive the bey, went down to *Kerân*, dependent on *Abşwerd* (R); where he gave out, that he intended to invade *Mazânderân*. On this report, *Ali Bey* took heart; and sent the horses, sheep, and other animals, which had been shut up in the fortress, to graze again in the meadows: when on a sudden the emperor changed his route, and returned to *Kelât*, which he invested on all sides. *Ali*, seeing himself thus unexpectedly beset, had recourse once more to *Timûr's* clemency; and promised, in case his majesty would come to the gate of the town with only a few persons, that he would repair to the gate, and ask pardon for his faults. To which the emperor agreed. The walls of *Kelât* were built on the brink of a high mountain; and along them was a narrow passage among the rocks, which way was shut in by a gate, and joined to that of the town. Here the treacherous *Ali Bey* placed men in ambush, with orders to kill *Timûr*, who went to the place appointed, with only five horsemen: but the assassins, by some mistake, staid in their concealment beyond the time, and even forgot to leave open the door by which the emperor was to have entered; so that, after waiting a long time for *Ali Bey*, he returned to his camp.

As soon as he arrived there, in *Rabiyo'lawel* 784, he ordered the troops of *Mekrit* and *Badâgshân*, the fittest in the world to clamber mountains, to scale the walls. They were followed by *Timûr* with a troop of brave officers; and made such a slaughter, that *Ali Bey* promised by oath to make his submission next day to *Timûr*, at the gate of the town; which he did. But as he was indulged in his request, not to repair to court till next day, he in the night barricaded the passages by which the imperial troops had ascended the mountain, and again violated his engagement. Fourteen days after, the emperor went to the fortress of *Kahkaha*, in the road to *Bawerd*, which he rebuilt: but sent *Siorgotmîsh Khân*, with the *Mirza Ali*,

^k Hist. Tim. Bek, p. 208—219. c. 32—37.

(R) A town to the north of *Tûs*, in the desert of *Kirvâk*, formerly called *Bayerd*. La Croix.— Also *Bawerd* and *Iburd*, as in *Abû'lghâzi Khân's* history.

A. D. 1382. and the brave Sheykh *Ali Bahâdr*, to block up the passages to *Kelât*; while he went to reduce *Terstâz*. This is a famous fortress, almost inaccessible, as being situated in the mountains; and reckoned impregnable, for its high walls, and ditches wide and deep: it was garrisoned with *Gowri's*, as well as provided with arms and provisions. The enemy were so obstinate, that they would not evacuate the place at the command of *Mâlek Kayâzo'ddîn* himself: but, the walls and breastworks being battered down, they begged for quarter; and were inrolled, for their bravery, in *Timûr's* troops¹.

The amir
Veli and

ABOUT this time *Jahîr'ddîn Shâh Shuja*, king of *Pârs* (or *Proper Persia*), sent one of his principal officers, with a letter, to assure the emperor of his services and sincere friendship, accompanied by rich presents. In return for which, *Timûr* sent others, with an envoy; to demand the daughter of that prince for the *Mirza Pîr Mohemed*, son of the late *Mirza Jêhân Ghîr*. After this, he marched towards *Mazânderân*: at which news the Amîr *Veli* had recourse to submission; and, promising soon to repair to court, *Timûr* withdrew again with his army. Mean time *Sheykh Ali Bahâdr* mounted the walls of *Kelât* in the night, with only a few domestics: but, mistaking his way in the dark, was perceived by the enemy, who began a bloody fight: yet, when their quivers were emptied on both sides, some persons, thro' a religious motive, brought about an accommodation. *Ali Bey* met and embraced the *Sheykh Ali Bahâdr*; and, after entertaining him for several days, went with him to the imperial camp at *Radekhân*; where he was received into favour, at the intercession of the sheykh, with whose behaviour on this occasion *Timûr* was highly pleased.

Ali-Bey
submit.

Put to
death.

THE emperor, having now intirely reduced the kingdom of *Khorrâssân* under the obedience of the *Mirza Mirân Shâh*, dismissed his troops, and hasted to his capital. *Ali Bey*, with the Amîr *Gowri*, and his brother *Mâlek Mehemed*, sons of *Mâlek Kayâzo'ddîn*, were sent bound to the *Mirza Omar Sheykh* at *Andekhân*: but *Mâlek* himself, and his eldest son *Pîr Mehemed*, were kept at *Samarkant*. These were all put to death, except *Pîr Mehemed*, on the following occasion. During the winter, *Mâlek Mehemed*, son of *Mâlek Fakr'ddîn* (S), to whom *Timûr*, in pity of his poverty, had given the government of *Gowr*; being joined by *Abûsâid Espâbed*, whom that monarch had also released out of prison, marched to *Herât* with a troop

¹ Hist. Tim. Bek, p. 219—227. c. 37—39.

(S) This *Mâlek Mehemed* and his brother were cousin-germans to *Mâlek Haffayn*, father of *Mâlek Kayâzo'ddîn*.

of *Gowri's*, and, assisted by other rebels, committed all sorts of disorders. The governor, and other officers, having retired to the fortrefs of *Ektiâro'ddîn*, the rebels burnt the gate, and put all the *Turkish* garrison to the sword, who had jumped off the walls to save their lives. On this advice, the *Mirza Mirân Shâh* marched from the river *Morgâb*, where he was then encamped, to *Herât*; and slew so many of the rebels, that his soldiers built a high tower of their heads^m.

IN 785 died the princess *Dilshadaga*, wife of *Timûr*; and, a few days after, *Kotluk Tûrkhân Aga*, his eldest sister: famous for building hospitals, mosques, colleges, and other public works. These losses deeply affected him for a long time: but at length, reflecting that *an hour only, employed by a prince in executing justice, is of more importance than the worship given to God, and all the prayers made during one's whole life*, he applied himself by degrees to public affairs. Having learned that there were some commotions in the country of the *Getes*, the greater part of whom were not *Mohammedans*, he ordered the *Mirza Ali* to march thither with an army, and destroy those seditious people; then to pursue *Kâmro'ddîn*, the author of those troubles. He sent after them *Sheykh Ali Bahâdr*, and other amîrs, with 10,000 horse; who, at *Atakom*, met the first party on their return, they being defeated and plundered by the people of *Babrîn*; but afterwards took revenge on them with great slaughter. They all went back together, in pursuit of *Kâmro'ddîn*, to *Iffigheul*, and thence as far as *Gheuk-topa* (or the *Blue Hills*); but, not finding him, returned in autumn.

MEAN time *Sheykh Dawd*, whom *Timûr* had made chief commander in *Sebzwar*, having slain the governor *Taban Bahâdr*; the *Mirza Mirân Shâh* laid siege to the place, and slew abundance of the rebels: but the *Sheykh Dawd* escaped to the fortrefs of *Bâdrabâd*, which the prince sent troops to invest. On this advice, the emperor detached the *Sheykh Ali Bahâdr*, and *Uchkara Bahâdr*, at the head of a great army, against the Amîr *Veli*, prince of *Mazânderân*; and marched himself towards the country of *Sîstân* (or *Sejestân*), which was in rebellion also. At the beginning of *Ramadân* 785, his army sat down before *Herât*, whose inhabitants, as was mentioned, were joined with the *Gowri* rebels: from thence he marched to *Sebzwar*, which was attacked and forced. Near 2000 slaves, taken, were piled alive, one upon another, with mortar and bricks; as a monument to deter others from revolting, and punish the inhabitants of that city. After this, he sent his vanguard to *Sîstân*; and followed with the rest of his army, which

A. D.
1382.Hej. 785.
A. D.
1383.A. D.
1383.

^m Hist. Tim. Bek, p. 227—233. c. 39—41.

A. D. 1383. consisted of 100,000 warriors. In his way, prince *Shâh Jalâ'oddîn*, of *Fârah* (or *Pârrah*), came and submitted to him. The army likewise took the fortress of *Zâreh* (T), with the slaughter of near 5000 soldiers, of whose bodies they made a mountain, and with their heads erected a tower.

Siftân besieged; WHEN the emperor arrived at *Siftân* (U), he ranged his army round it in form of a crown. Presently there appeared some lords deputed from *Shâh Kothbo'ddîn*, to offer tribute to *Timûr*, and the usual customs: but, during this conference, the besieged sallied out in multitudes with good troops. *Timûr*, who knew of their design, placed 2000 men in ambush; while an amir advanced with a few horse to begin the fight, and then turned to the right, pretending to fly. The enemy, who were only foot, encouraged by this feint, pursued them vigorously to the place of ambuscade; where the horse, rushing out, after a bloody fight, drove them to the gates of the town. Next night 2000 of the enemy sallied out to surprise the besiegers, and advanced as far as the tents, and even to the middle of the camp: but they met with so warm a reception, that those, who escaped being killed, with great difficulty got back to the townⁿ.

taken, and destroyed. NEXT day the army assaulted the place on all sides, and at the same time the besieged made a sally; but were repulsed by the *Mirza Ali*, with 500 horse, who entered the town with the enemy. However, they were opposed by a strong party, who shut them in, and began a furious engagement: but *Akit-mur Bahâdr*, being informed of what had happened, halted with 1000 horse, and, cutting the gate to pieces, delivered *Mirza Ali* and his men out of the hands of the enemy. The king, *Shâh Kothbo'ddîn*, despairing to defend himself, came out of the town to ask pardon of the emperor; who granted it, and distinguished him from the other princes by his favours. Mean time between 20 and 30,000 of the populace, sliding down by the walls, advanced to attack the besiegers, who repulsed them with great slaughter. Then, pursuing their victory, they gave a second assault; and, having made several breaches in the walls, entered the city, which they left deso-

ⁿ Hist. Tim. Bek, p. 233—241. c. 41—44.

(T) In *Siftân* or *Nimrûz* province, near a lake of the same name.

(U) It is also called *Sejestân*, or *Sajestân*, and *Zarânj*. It stands on the river *Senarûd*, a branch of the *Hendmend*, which falls into the lake of *Zereh* (or *Zareh*).

The province, which has the same name, is otherwise called *Nimrûz* (that is, the southern country). *La Croix*. This author says, it is a part of *Khorassân*; but it is indeed a distinct province, of considerable extent.

late =

late: they not only demolished the walls and houses, but slew all the inhabitants, men, women, and children. Thus was this fine city destroyed, and all the treasures of the *Siftân* kings carried away, in the month of *Shawal*. The king *Kotbbo'ddîn*, generals of the army, and governors of provinces, were sent to *Samarkant*. A. D. 1383.

FROM *Siftân* the army marched to *Bêst* (W). In their *Other cities* passage they took the fortrefs of *Tak*: and, when they came *reduced*. to the river *Hirmen* (or *Hendmend*), destroyed an antient monument there called *The bank of Râstem*. Being informed at *Kuke Kala*, that *Tâmen Nikûdari*, revolting, had besieged *Kij* in *Mekrân*, the emperor sent the *Mîrza Mirân Shâh* with troops to reduce him; and altho' the *Amîr Sayfo'ddîn*, his old friend, strove to reclaim him, he continued obstinate, and was killed in the first onset. As the army marched by the upper part of the *Hirmen*, the prince of *Mam Katû* waited on *Timûr* with presents: but, as *Timûr* knew him to be the person, who, when he returned from *Siftân* with the *Amîr Hussayn*, had wounded him in the hand, he ordered him to be seized, as soon as he was gone out from his presence, and shot to death. After this, the troops, on their march, took the city of *Mam Katû* and *Kala Surk*, that is, *Red Castle*. Then arriving at *Hezarpeh*, where 3000 of *Tâmen*'s subjects had fortified themselves in the mountain, they took it by assault, tho' deemed impregnable; and put them to the sword, to punish them for the disorders they committed. The like was done at *Dehne*, another citadel, which the tribe of *Tagâchi* had seized, and towers built of their heads, as usual.

THE army proceeded next to attack the *Owgani* (X) of *Kandahâr* *taken*. *Kûh Soleyman*, a fortrefs on a mountain of that name, who had lately submitted, and were now revolted. A bloody battle was fought, in which several brave men were killed: but, the place being at length taken, the *Ougani* were all put to death, according to the laws of *Jenghtz Khân*. From thence *Jehân Shâh Takû Bahâdr* was sent to *Kandahâr*, which he carried by assault; and, seizing the governor of the province, sent him to court, where he was hanged. *Timûr*, on his arrival there, rewarded *Jehân Shâh*; and then dispatched him with forces to *Kelât* (Y); which, after several assaults, he took and demolished. *Siftân*, *Zablestân*, and their dependencies, being thus

(W) A town of *Siftân*, on the borders of *Zabulestân*, or *Zablestân*. *La Croix*. Others, with *De l'Isle*, place it in *Zabulestân*, on the borders of the province of *Kondahâr*.

(X) These are the *Awgâns*, *Awgwans*, or *Afgâns*, who lately caused such troubles in *Persia*.

(Y) A town in the kingdom of *Koran*, near *Kandahâr*; different from *Kelât* in *Kherassân*.

A. D. 1383. brought into subjection, the emperor disbanded the amirs, officers, and troops; then setting out for *Samarkant*, he arrived there in fourteen days. Soon after, a son was born to him, named *Ibrahim Soltân*; but this prince did not live long, dying very young.

Invades I-rân afresh. AFTER *Timûr* had staid three months in his capital, to pass the delightful season, he resolved to march to *Mazânderân*. He staid some days at *Bâlk*, for the arrival of several bodies of troops; which, amounting to 100,000 men, considerably increased his army. Being come to the river *Morgâb*, he took the road of *Burkey Tâsh*; and, coming down from *Sarak*, went to *Bâverd* (or *Abiverd*), and thence to *Nesâ* (Z), where he learned that the Amir *Veli* had shut himself up in the citadel of *Dûrân* (A). On the way thither, his van-guard met that of the amir, and came to a battle. *Mobasber*, who began the attack, was shot in the face with an arrow, which, entering near his teeth, went out at his neck: but, notwithstanding his wound, he rushed on his adversary, and cut off his head. The enemy, scared at this action, fled; and *Timûr* rewarded *Mobasber*'s courage. The army, on their arrival at *Dûrân*, besieged it; and, after several assaults, took it, putting the governor and garrison to the sword.

Astarabâd destroyed. FROM *Dûrân* they marched by *Chilawn*, a country full of villages; and, passing the river at *Jorjân*, encamped at *Shafimân*: there, the two armies meeting, a bloody fight ensued. These skirmishes continued twenty days; at the end whereof, the Amir *Veli* advanced, and fought with heroic valour; but was at length obliged to fly, and many of his best officers fell in the pursuit. Toward evening, *Timûr* ordered thirty companies to lie in ambuscade; and, in the night, the Amir *Veli* sallied out of the fortress upon the right wing commanded by prince *Mirân Shâh*, who marched against him; and, at the same time, those in ambuscade fell on: so that, being put to flight, many of his troops fell into the pits which they had dug to entrap the enemy. After this, the army, marching forward, arrived in the morning at *Astâr Âbâd* (B), capital of *Mazânderân*, where they burnt and destroyed every-

• Hist. Tim. Bek, p. 241—253. c. 44—48.

(Z) *Nisâ*, or *Nesâ*, as in *Alûlghâzi Khân*'s history: it is called also *Little Damaskus*. *La Croix* says, it is a city in the desert of *Kiwak*, between *Khorassân* and *Karazm*.

(A) A city of *Khorassân*, now belonging to *Karazm*, to the north of *Nesâ*, towards the river *Amû*.

(B) Situated at the south-east corner of the *Caspian* sea.

tlung,

thing, without sparing even sucking infants. This war happened in the month of *Shawal* 786. A. D. 1384.

THE Amir *Veli* fled the same night, with his wives and children, by the way of *Langaru*, to *Damgân*; and, leaving them in the fortrefs of *Shirdekûh*, marched to *Ray*, or *Rey* (C). The troops sent in pursuit almost overtook him at that city; which made him fly into the woods of the country of *Rusteyndâr*, and thus escaped. This amir was son of Sheykh *Alî Bisud*, one of *Taghitmâr Khân's* commanders, who was slain, at the same time with his master, by the *Sarbedâls*. *Veli*, who was present, escaped to *Nesâ*; where at length becoming powerful, he marched to *Astâr abad*, which he reduced: while *Lokmân Pâdi Shâh*, son of *Toghitmâr*, fled, and wandered from place to place; till, listng into the service of *Timûr*, this monarch, after taking that city, restored him to the government of it.

THE emperor, leaving above two-thirds of his army to winter at *Astâr abad*, marched with the rest towards the kingdom of *Ray*. Soltân *Ahmed Shейkh Avîs Jalayr*, who was then at *Soltânîya* in *Irâk*, alarmed at this unexpected approach, left a strong garrison there, under the command of his son *Akbûga*, and retired to *Tauris*. Mean time *Omar Abbâs*, at the head of threecore horse, set out towards *Soltânîya*, in the terrible snows, to gain intelligence. The enemy, on the news of his march, departed in great haste, with their young prince, for *Tauris*; but, as they were not all gone out when *Omar Abbâs* arrived, that commander entered the place sword in hand, and made himself master of it. *Timûr*, who, in spring, came to *Soltânîya*, having sent to *Shîràz* for *Sarek Adel* (one of the greatest lords belonging to Sheykh *Avîs*, then in the service of Soltân *Zeyn al Abo'ddîn*, son of Shâh *Shuja*, lately dead), conferred on him the government of that province, and the territories dependent on it; leaving with him also an army, to subdue the neighbouring countries.

AFTER this expedition, *Timûr*, returning from *Soltânîya*, entered the mountains of *Rusteyndâr*; and, as the princes of the country fled, he easily became master of it. The Amir *Veli*, on this news, fled also from *Falûs*; while the army turned towards the cities of *Amol* and *Sarye* (or *Sari*); but the princes, who possessed those places, prevented the danger, by offering to pay tribute, and obey *Lokmân Pâdisbâh*, prince of *Astâr abad*. *Timûr*, having thus reduced *Irân*, as far westward as *Soltânîya*, returned to the seat of his empire.

DURING the winter, *Tekatmîsh* (or *Toktamîsh*), khân of *Tauk*, sent an army of near 90,000 men, by way of *Dârbend*,

(C) In all probability the antient *Ragau*, or *Rages*.

A. D. 1385. to attack *Tauris*. In this army, who were for the most part infidels, of a merciless nature, there were twelve *Aglens* (D), princes of the royal blood of *Tusbi*, with several amirs. The inhabitants of *Tauris* having, by advice of the Amir *Veli*, who had retired thither, fortified their city, repulsed the enemy for eight days; but at length the army of *Toktamish Khán*, being more numerous than that of the besieged, became masters of the place, where they exercised all manner of cruelties and abominations. Then having, in six days, pillaged all the treasures, which had taken up many years to amass, they carried them off, with numerous slaves, to their own country ^P.

Lorestân reduced.

A. D. 1386.

TIMUR, when he heard of this devastation, was greatly incensed at it, and confirmed in his resolution to conquer *Irân*: which, being in confusion for want of a sovereign, was subject to such invasions, and liable otherwise to fall into the hands of some other power; which might prove detrimental to himself. In the year 788, therefore, he crossed the *Jihân* with a formidable army; and, after a long march, arrived at *Firâzkâh* (E). Here being informed of the outrages committed by the people of *Lurestân*, or country of *Lûr* (*Lor*, or *Lawr*), who had lately attacked and plundered a karawân of pilgrims, passing thro' their country to *Mekka*; he thought himself obliged to chastise such villains. Therefore, taking with him every fifth man, he marched thither with all expedition; ordered *Urujerd*, with the neighbouring places, to be plundered; and at length reduced *Korram abad*, an almost impregnable fortress, whither the robbers of *Lurestân* were retired; the greater part of whom, being taken, were thrown headlong from the tops of the mountains. Having thus subdued this little principality (F), he rejoined his army at *Nabawend* (a city not far off, to the south-west).

Takur Tauris.

THIS monarch, having received advice that Soltân *Ahmed Jalayr* had raised troops at *Bâghdâd*, and returned to *Tauris*, hastened towards this last city, at the head of his army: but the sultan, not willing to wait his coming, fled. Troops, being sent to pursue him, overtook and plundered his baggage. Hereupon he abandoned his army, accompanied with

» Hist. Tim. Bek, p. 253—260. c. 48—51.

(D) All the princes of the blood of *Tusbi* (or *Tuji*) are sur-named *Aglens*. *La Croix*.

(E) A fortress in *Kühistan*, or

Parfian Irak, a few leagues to the N. E. of *Ray*.

(F) Its prince was *Mâlek Az-zeddîn*; but it is not said what became of him.

some troops : but, at the salt-pits of *Nemekzar*, beyond *Nakchivân*, was overtaken again by *Elias Koja*, son of Sheykh *Ali Bahâdr*, with a small number of horse. The sultân made a brave resistance ; and *Elias*, having been disabled by a wound, gave him an opportunity of escaping. On this occasion there happened many disorders at *Nakchivân* ; where, among other damages, the great dome of the palace of *Ziao'l Mulk* was burnt. Mean time several great lords and sharifs of *Azerbejân* came to submit to the emperor : and a sum of money was imposed on the inhabitants of *Tauris*, by way of ransom for their lives.

A. D.

1385.

THE whole kingdom of *Azerbejân* being now reduced, the court remained at that capital during the summer. Here *Sa- rek Adel* (G) was put to death by a sling from the walls ; and the most skilful masters in every art and science were sent to *Samarkant*. At the same time the Amir *Veli* was seized wandering in the province of *Kalkal* (*), and put to death. In autumn the army marched to *Merend* (or *Marand*) ; and then to the river *Urûs* (H), which it passed, over the bridge of *Ziao'l Mulk*, one of the most magnificent in the world, built all of stone, of a vast length, and flat at top. It is in the territory of *Nakchivân*, near the town of *Tulaba* (I) : one of its arches, which joins to a mountain, at whose foot the river runs, is sixty cubits wide : there is another of fifty-five cubits. There is also a great gate at each end, made out of the rock : the whole not to be equalled for beauty.

Azerbe-
jân re-
duced.

THE army, after reducing the citadel of *Korni*, and town of *Surmalu*, on the river, which they found in their road, came to *Kârs* : a town with a citadel so strongly built of stone, and difficult of access, that those of the country deemed it impregnable : for all this, the governor *Pirûz Bâkht*, a *Turkmân*, after a very brave defence, was obliged to surrender the place ; which was plundered, and then razed to the ground. As *Timûr*'s aim, from the first, was to make war on the infidels ; because it is recommended by God to *Mohammed*, as the most excellent of all actions ; so, being at this time so near *Georgia*, he resolved to make war on that country, which he had long before meditated. With this view he decamped from *Kârs*, tho' in very frosty weather ; and, by way of *Kitâ*, arrived at

Invades
Georgia,

(G) He had fled from the court of the *Ilkhân* kings (or of *Soltân Ahmed*) to that of *Timûr*.

(*) Part of *Kbilân*, or *Ghilân*.

(H) Or *Aras*, of old *Araxes*.

(I) Possibly, a mistake for *Ju-*

lafa, or rather *Julfa*. The bridge is mentioned by *Tavernier*, c. 4. p. 19. ; who tells us, it was destroyed, with the city, by *Shâh Abbâs*, to prevent the *Turks* from settling there.

A. D.
1387.

Teflis, capital of that country, which was well fortified with strong walls, besides a citadel: but, by the valour of *Timûr*'s troops, the city was taken, and prince *Mâlek Ipokrates* brought in chains to the camp. After this, the emperor took the diversion of hunting: the soldiers first made the circle called the *Nerk*; and then performed the *Jerk*, by approaching towards the centre, so to inclose the game.

and sub-
dues it.

THE army being encamped at *Sheki*, near the mountains, several bodies were sent into different parts of the country, which reduced many cities and provinces. The *Lekhezians* were pillaged, and most of them slain: the provinces of *Tenk-gût* and *Akheb* were subdued. The camp removing to *Kabala*, or *Kambala*, the amirs razed *Kala Surk*, or the *Red Castle*; and from thence, by *Karabâgh-furkâh*, came to the *Kûr* (or *Cyrus*), which they crossed, over a bridge of rafts. Then, marching to *Berdaa* (in the province of *Arân*), that city submitted without any opposition. When they came to *Karabâgh* (or the *Black Garden*), *Timûr* sent for *Ipokrates*; and used such convincing arguments, that he turned *Mohammedan*. He presented the emperor with a coat of mail, reported to have been that which the prophet *Dawd*, or *David*, forged in a smith's shop; and made proof, by soaking and dying it several times. *Timûr*, in return, made him several presents, and permitted him to return home: which good treatment of their princes induced most of his subjects to embrace the *Muslimân* faith.

Shîrwân
submits.

AT this time the Amîr *Sheykh Ibrâhîm*, prince of *Shîrwân*, distinguished for his power, honesty, and noble descent, came and submitted to *Timûr*. Among other parcels of presents, there was one of eight captives, whom he had bought; and, as some person said that the ninth piece was wanting (K), he presented himself, to make up the number: which action so highly pleased the emperor, that, besides other bounties, he bestowed on him the kingdom of *Shîrwân*, and its dependencies, with the title of king; under which he became famous. Other sovereigns followed this prince's example; particularly those of *Ghilân*, or *Kilân*, who, confiding in their mountains and woods, marshes and sloughs, which rendered access difficult, as well as in the strength of their walled places, had not obeyed any king for many ages.

Defeats
the Kip-
jaks.

Hej. 789.

A. D.

1387.

TIMUR, having passed the winter at *Karabâgh*, on the banks of the *Urûs* (or *Aras*), in the beginning of the year 789

1 Hist. Tim. Bek, p. 260—269. cap. 51—54.

(K) It is the custom also to present nine pieces of a fort.

marched

marched to *Bardaa*. Here he received advice that *Toktamish*, khân of *Kipjak*, had revolted; and sent an army to make an irruption into *Azerbejan*, by the way of *Darbend*, contrary to the counsel of his principal lords: but *Ali Bey*, and *Kazanbî*, who had killed his own father, having found access to him, persuaded him to break off friendship with the emperor, and become his enemy. As soon as they were arrived near the *Kûr*, troops were sent over to observe their motions; who were defeated: but, a strong body being detached to support them, under the command of the *Mîrza Mirân Shâh*, *Haji Sayfo'da din*, and other princes, the enemy were soon put to a shameful flight. They were pursued as far as *Darbend*, and a great number taken prisoners, whom *Timûr* generously released; after mildly reflecting on their khân's breach of treaty without any provocation.

A. D.
1387.

FROM the *Kûr* he marched to *Gheukche Tengtîz*, that is, *Destroys the Blue Sea*, where the empress *Saray Mulk Khanûm* arrived, with her two sons, from *Samarkant*. At length he proceeded to *Alenjîk*, where there was a fortress belonging to *Soltân Ahmed*. Three days after, his soldiers, in the night, ascended the mountain adjoining to this place; and, at day-break, attacking it, made themselves masters of the lower citadel, which they destroyed. Those, who guarded it, fled to the upper fortress; where, for want of water, they at length capitulated, promising on oath to depart. But, just as the besieged were going to perform their agreement, so great a rain fell, that, in twenty-four hours, all their cisterns were filled with water; and the people, having quenched their thirst, put the enemy to defiance: who, suspecting no such contravention, had descended the mountain, and returned to the camp. Hereupon, the siege being renewed, the walls were at length battered down, and the water turned off; so that in a short time the fortress was taken, and razed to the ground.

AT this time advice arriving, that the *Turkmâns* were continually molesting the *Mohammedans*; that they robbed the *karawans*, not sparing even those of *Mekka*; and that nobody could pass in safety by the places where they dwelt, *Timûr* left the province of *Nakchivân*, and marched towards them. In the way, he ordered the baggage to repair to *Alatak*; and, when he arrived at the castle of *Bayezîd*, formerly called *Ay-din*, his troops pillaged it, and carried off all which the inhabitants had left in the adjacent country. Passing farther to

A. D.
1387.

furnish a certain number of heads : but many foldiers, who were unwilling to kill the *Musulmâns*, bought heads of the executioners, to make up their respective quotas. At first a head was sold for twenty dinârs *Kupeghi* : but, when every one had the number he was taxed at, it yielded only half a dinâr ; and at last no person bought any. On the other hand, the foldiers, who were less scrupulous or humane, killed all they met ; and, by the tracks of feet in the snow which fell, traced those who fled to their hiding-places, where they put them to death. According to the registers of the divân, the number of heads amounted to 70,000 ; which were laid in heaps on the walls, and afterwards piled up in towers, as usual. This terrible slaughter happened on *Monday* the sixth of *Zu'l Kaa-deh*, in the year before-mentioned.

Pârs and
Kermân
yields

AFTER the reduction of *Isfâbân*, *Timâr* marched towards *Shîrâz* : on which advice, *Zayno'labeddîn*, prince of *Pârs*, or *Proper Persia*, fled with his troops to join *Shâh Mansûr*, governor of *Tostar* (T), his cousin-german : but his foldiers, being bribed, went over to *Mansûr* ; who, seizing the imprudent prince, first imprisoned him, and afterwards his treacherous troops, confiscating all their effects. Mean time the emperor arriving at *Shîrâz*, on the first of *Zulhajeh*, that metropolis, with the whole kingdom, submitted to him. The governors, assembling, agreed to pay 1000 tomans (U) *Kapeghi* ; and the kotbah was read in *Timâr's* name. Here *Shâh Yahya*, prince of *Yazd*, a city of *Pârs*, nephew of the late *Shâh Shuja* ; *Soltân Ahmed*, prince of *Kermân*, brother of the same *Shuja* ; and *Abu Isbâk*, his grandson, from *Sirjân* ; all the neighbouring sovereigns ; also the atabeks of *Lar* (W) and *Gurghian Lar* (X), came and made their submission ; while the troops went to pillage the countries which refused to obey the summons^t.

^t Hist. Tim. Bek, p. 290—299. c. 60—62.

(T) Formerly called *Kushter* (or *Shushter*), in the province of *Abwâx*, which is part of *Khuzestân*. *Abû Heda* says, this town is the most antient in the world. *La Croix*.

(U) A toman is worth twenty French crowns. *La Croix*.

(W) A nation in *Khuzestân*. *La Croix*. Some place them in *Persian Irâk*.

(X) A city and province of *Pârs*.

CHAP. III.

Wars with the Kipjâks and Getes. Conquest of the Countries to the Euphrates.

IN the interim advice came, that *Toktamîsh*, khân of *Kipjâk*, *Toktamîsh* defeated by *Timûr* in the west, had gone round, and attacked his dominions in the east. His army, having passed by *Saganâk*, sat down before *Sabrân*; but were obliged to raise the siege. However, as they continued to ravage the country, the *Mirza Omar Sheykh* marched from *Andekhân*; and, being joined by the troops left at *Samarkant*, crossed the *Sihân* (or *Sîr*) in autumn. They met the enemy's army in the field of *Juklik*, five leagues to the east of *Otrâr*; and fought till night: when *Omar Sheykh*, carried by his intrepid valour, breaking thro' the enemy's army, was missed by his own; who thereupon fled. However, the *mirza* escaped to *Andekhân*; and, having rallied his troops, set out a second time: but, when he got to *Kojend*, news came that *Anketûra*, nephew of the *Amîr Haji Bey*, of the tribe of *Irkanût*, forgetting the emperor's favours, with an army from *Mogulestân*, was already arrived at *Sayrâm* and *Tâshkunt*. *Omar Sheykh* immediately returned to cut off their retreat; and came up with them before *Akfiket*. The armies, for some days, marched along the banks of the *Sihân*, in view of each other, waiting for an opportunity of engaging to advantage^a.

At length, one night, *Anketûra*, leaving 1000 men in his camp, with orders to light fires, that the *mirza* might think all the army was still there, marched with the rest of his troops, and crossed the *Sihân* in a convenient place. At the same time *Omar Sheykh* advanced against and fought him: but, as the enemy far surpassed him in number of forces, he desisted, and entered *Andekhân*. *Anketûra* pursued him, and aimed to seize all the avenues: but the *mirza*, to prevent him, sallied out, and fell upon the *Getes*, rushing into the midst of his enemies; till *Tukel Bahâdr* made after him, and led his horse back by the bridle: after which, *Anketûra*, weary of the expedition, returned homewards. Mean time the troops of *Kipjâk* pillaged the towns of *Great Bukhâria*; and, being met, at *Bokhâra*, by another body of their army, besieged that city. But, as they were always worsted in their attacks, they raised the siege, and made incursions through the country; in one of which, they

^a Hist. Tim. Bek, p. 290—299. c. 60—62.

A. D. 1387. burnt *Zenjir Saray* (A), (one of the emperor's palaces) whether they were conducted by Soltân *Mahmûd*, son of *Kay Kôsrâ Katlânî*.

New conquests settled.

WHEN *Timûr* received advice of this invasion, he gave the government of *Shîrâz* to Shâh *Yahia*, nephew of Shâh *Shuja*; that of *Isfâhân* to Soltân *Mehemed*, son of Shâh *Yahia*; that of *Kirmân* to Soltân *Ahmed*, brother of Shâh *Shuja*; and invested the Soltân *Abu Is-hâk*, Shâh *Shuja*'s grandson, in the government of the province, as well as city and castle, of *Sirjiân*, which he bestowed on him and his heirs for ever; signing all their patents with the imperial signet called *Altomga*, that is, the mark of the *Red Hand*. Then the emperor sent all the great amirs belonging to the court of the late Shâh *Shuja*, with all the handicraftsmen of *Shîrâz*, to *Samarkant*: after which, he set out for that city, at the end of *Moharram* 790. As soon as the enemy heard that he had crossed the *Jihûn* with his army, they thought fit to fly back to *Kipjâk*, and were pursued as far as *Bilen*.

Cowardice punished.

As it appeared strange to this monarch, that, in the battle of *Juklik*, the army of *Tokatmîsh Khân* should get the better of his troops; he ordered the amirs, who were in that battle, to be examined in council, and the transgressors prosecuted. Among the rest, *Berat Kôja* had his beard shaved (B); and, after being severely reproached for his cowardice, they painted his face with ceruse and vermilion; put a coiffe on his head, as if he had been a woman; and made him run barefoot thro' the city. On the other hand, *Kuche Mâlek*, who, with thirteen men only, had attacked, in the night, 300 infidels of *Ankatâra*'s troop, and delivered several prisoners out of their hands; received as a reward, among other favours, a principality, for him and his descendants, with the privilege of *Ter-kân*^b.

Affairs of Karazm. Hej. 790. IN the beginning of the year before-mentioned, *Timûr* departed for *Karazm*; and, when he came to the river *Shedris* (C), learned by a deserter, that *Ilitmîsh Aglen* (king of that country), and *Soleymân Sofi*, had quitted that kingdom, and re-

^b Hist. Tim. Bek, p. 299—305. c. 62—63.

(A) Two leagues from *Kârshi*. Which insult was revenged afterwards by the burning of *Saray*, capital of *Kipjâk*. See *La Croix*, hist. Tim. Bek, l. iii. cap. 60. p. 514.

(B) There is no greater reproach among the eastern na-

tions, than to have the beard shaved, after it is once grown; especially if done by the common executioner. *La Croix*.

(C) Which runs into the *Jihûn*; and divides the kingdoms of *Jagatay* and *Karazm*. *La Croix*.

treated

treated to *Kijjak*. Hereupon he sent some troops in pursuit of them, by way of *Komkint* and *Kîz*; who, overtaking them, made a great slaughter, and plundered their baggage. When he came to the capital of *Karazm*, he ordered the inhabitants to remove, with their goods, to *Samarkant*; and razed that great city to the very foundations, sowing the ground with barley, to punish his enemies making war upon him. However, three years after, in 793, *Mûfik* being sent by *Timûr* to *Karazm*, he repeopled the country, and brought it up to its ancient splendor. He surrounded with walls not only the cities of *Kât* and *Kivâk*, but likewise all the demesnes of the *khân*; that is, the part of *Karazm* which *Jenghîz Khân* gave to *Jagatay Khân*.

DURING *Timûr*'s expedition into *Karazm*, *Mehemed Mireke*, son of *Shîr Bahram*, whom he had made governor of *Katlân*, and honoured in marriage with his daughter *Soltân Bâkt Begum*, revolted; and marched to *Termed*, but could not take that city. On the first news of this rebellion, the *Mirza Omar Sheykh* pursued the rebels, who thereupon dispersed; which broke all *Mireke*'s measures, who fled to the kingdom of *Katlân*. Being followed by the *mirza*, he hastened to the narrow pass called *Darey Darvâz*, to seek protection of *Shâh Jalâloddîn* (D), who refused him entrance into the castle: to add to his affliction, most of his domestics abandoned him. Mean time *Omar Sheykh* could get no tidings of him: but, while he staid in *Katlân*, waiting the event, one of his officers, in his way to *Samarkant* with some domestics, arrived at a fountain in *Katlân*: where observing the tracks of horses which had gone out of the common road, he had the curiosity to follow them; and had no sooner passed some hills, than he perceived *Mehemed* sitting with four servants, while their horses fed on the grass. He immediately surrounded, seized, and bound them: then sent notice to the *mirza*, who ordered him to put *Mireke* to death.

AT the same time that *Mireke* rebelled, the *Amîr Jêhân and Bû-Shâh* departed from *Kondoz* with the romans of *Bûrûlday*, *Tay-rûlday khân*, and *Aperdi*. In their march, that of *Bûrûlday* revolted, and returned back: the *amîr*, with some troops, pursued them to *Bakalân*, and pillaged their houses. After which, hearing of *Mereke*'s rebellion, he prepared to march against him; and hastened to the *Jihân* with part of the forces: where

(D) Prince of the frontiers of Tibet, inhabiting the mountains between that county and *Katlân*. stood of the country of Little Tibet, to the north of *Kashmîr*, in *Hindustân*.
La Croix.—This must be under-

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he was to be joined by two other commanders with the rest. But, as soon as night came, *Junayd Bûrûlday*, and his brother *Bayezid*, revolting with the squadrons they commanded, consisting of 3000 horse, fell on *Jehân Shâh*, who had no more than sixty men: yet this valiant general, having the river on his back, advanced with his soldiers against the rebels; and, when they had emptied their quivers, had recourse to their lances and swords. Mean time *Koja Yusef*, son of *Olajia Itâ*, sent *Jehân Shâh* word, that he was hastening to his assistance. This news giving the men new heart, they held firm till night; when *Yusef* arrived with 100 men, and fell so vigorously on the enemy, that they fled, while many were slain in the pursuit.

Mahmûd
elected
khân.

WHEN *Timûr* was on the way to *Karazm*, *Siorgatmîsh Khân* fell sick at *Bokhâra*, and died there; and, at his return, *Soltân Mahmûd* (E), son of the deceased, was established in his place. After this, he married the *Mîrzas Mehemed Soltân*, his brother *Pîr Mehemed*, and the *Mirza Shâh Rukh*.

The Kip-
jâks de-
feated,
Hej. 791.

AT the end of the same year, *Toktamîsh Khân*, of *Kipjâk*, brought a numerous army into the field; composed of the troops of *Russia*, *Chirkassia*, *Bulgaria*, *Kipjâk*, *Krîm*, *Kassa*, *Allan*, and *Azâk*. *Timûr*, on this news, departed, with the troops of *Samarkant* and *Kasb*, to the place of rendezvous, six leagues from his capital; from whence he sent orders thro' the empire for his troops to repair thither: but, before any could arrive, advice came that *Ilitmîsh Khân*, with a vast number of horse, had crossed the *Jihûn* at *Kojend*, and encamped not far distant. The emperor, without waiting for any other troops, contrary to the intreaties of his lords, set forward, through the snow, which was already so deep that it touched the bellies of the horses. For all this, he marched night and day; and, shortly after, was joined by the *Mirza Omar Sheykh*, with the troops of *Andekhân*.

with great
slaughter.

TIMUR then sent a body of horse to fall on the enemy's rear; and block up the passages, to hinder their retreat. Next morning they came in sight of the enemy; and immediately made the great cry *Sûrûn*, to begin the fight. After a bloody battle, the enemy were obliged to fly; and, being pursued, many flung themselves into the *Jihûn*, to avoid the sword: while the rest, meeting with the troops sent to cut off their retreat, were hemmed in, and the greater part cut to pieces. *Timûr* then returned to his capital; and, in the month of

* Hist. Tim. Bek, p. 305—315. l. iii. c. 1, & seq.

(E) By mistake, called in the history *Mehemed*.

Safar 791, encamped near that city; waiting for the troops from all parts of the empire, which arrived in the beginning of spring. In the month of *Rabîyo'lauel* he departed for *Kipjâk*; and passed the *Sihân* at *Kojend*, over a bridge of boats, at the head of a formidable army. The van-guard surprised the enemy's scouts, and cut most of them to pieces: the rest fled to *Toktamîsh Khân*, who had laid siege to *Sabrân*, but was obliged to raise it; and, as soon as he heard that *Timûr* had passed the river, fled with precipitation thro' the desert. He was pursued for some time as far as *Sarek Uzân*, on the river *Arch*, by a body of troops; who killed several of the enemy's rear, and then returned to *Aksuma* (F), where the emperor was encamped.

TIMUR then advanced forward; and, having passed the *Sarbedâl* town of *Bilân* and *Sarek Uzân*, at length came to *Alkûsân*, a kingdom village of *Kipjâk*. Here being informed that the *Sarbedâl* princes (G), and *Haji Bey Yun Garbâni*, were revolted, with the garrisons of *Kelât* and *Tûs*, he sent the *Mirza Mirân Shâh* to *Khorassân*, with the main body of the army. In his way, he caused *Mâlek Pîr Mehemed*, son of *Mâlek Kayazo'ddîn*, prince of *Herât*, and his son *Mahmûd*, to be put to death at *Samarkant*; so to remove the cause of the disorders in *Khorassân*. He did the same by *Zayn al Abeddîn*, prince of *Shîrâz*; so that there remained not one of those *Kûrd* (H) princes. At *Bahrabâd* (near *Tûs*) he met the *Sarbedâl* kings, who fought with great resolution: but, being surrounded by the *mirza's* troops, were all cut to pieces, excepting prince *Malûk*, and two or three of his guards. Mean time the *Amîr Akbûga*, from *Herât*, who had besieged *Tûs*, took it; and, tho' *Haji Bey* fled, he was seized at *Semnân* in *Kûmes*; and, being sent to the *mirza*, was put to death.

MEAN time *Timûr* was prevailed on by his lords to quit the *Timûr* farther pursuit of *Toktamîsh Khân* for the present, and turn his arms against *Kezra Kaja Aglen* (king of *Jetah*) and *Antatâra*. He parted from *Alkûsbûn* in 791, and took the road of mount *Urnak* (I); beyond which, being in great want of water, they found in the desert a vast meadow covered with

(F) A spy-tower in *Kipjâk*, mentioned before.

(G) *Sarbedâl*, or *Serbedâl*, signifies *Head on the branch*; because the factious among them hang their turbâns on branches of trees, in token of resolution. Twelve of them reigned forty-two years, from 737 to 788, in

Sebzavâr: the last of these kings was *Keja Ali Muayd*, who died in the camp of *Timûr*. *La Croix*.

(H) Perhaps, rather *Gowri* princes.

(I) The residence of *Ogûz Khân*, founder of the *Mungl* empire; called also *Urnak Lornak*. *La Croix*.

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ice and snow, tho' in the midst of summer, which relieved both men and cattle. Having hunted at *Aygher Tali* (on the river *Tik*), they at length came to the town of *Shipar Aygher*: where they defeated 1000 horse belonging to *Ankatúra*, who, they learned, was at *Uronk*, or *Uronkyar*, another town of *Jetab*. The army hastened thither: but, the guide having lost his way in the night, *Timúr* next day divided it into two bodies; one he kept himself; and gave the other to the *Mirza Dinar Sheykh*, to seek the enemy. After passing thro' many towns and villages, he encamped at *Karaguchúr*, a temple of the *Mungls*; while the *mirza*, taking another road, at length came up with *Ankatúra*, at the town of *Kábak*: where he defeated and made him fly to *Kakamaburj* (K); leaving to the victor his cattle and daughters, who were exceeding beautiful^d.

into *Jetab*:

On his return, he was ordered to go in quest of part of the army sent out before on another occasion. He was accompanied only with fifty persons; but they were all princes, amirs, and generals. When he arrived at the plain of *Ichmas Alagheut* (L), they met with 800 of the enemy's horse; whom, tho' six to one more numerous, they defeated, after a bloody fight, and returned with their cattle to the camp at *Karaguchúr*. As *Timúr* staid here to fatten his horses, he detached 30,000 men toward *Artish* (M), in quest of the enemy. When they arrived at the *Irtish* (N), they marched along that river; and many passed into the isles, and other places, where they slew and took a great number of prisoners, with their effects. At their return, the enemy decamped; and, passing the great desert, after many days journey, arrived at *Aymal Gájú* (ca-

^d Hist. Tim. Bek, p. 315—328. c. 2—5.

(K) An ancient castle on the frontiers of *Jetab*, and north of *Turkestan*. *La Croix*.—By *Turkestan* the author must mean here the country of *Kásghar* in *Little Bukhária*; which is so called at one time by the oriental writers, because *Kásghar* was the residence of the khâns of the *Turks*.

(L) A plain in *Jetab*, near the river *Irtish*, where there is a salt lake. *La Croix*.

(M) *Artish*, or *Irtish*, a town of *Mogulestan*. *La Croix*.—The

same, perhaps, with *Ardisb*, often mentioned in the reign of *Jenghiz Khân*.

(N) Formerly called *Artish*; a river which runs thro' all the country of *Jetab* and *Mogulestan*, and falls into the *Obi*. *La Croix*.—By *Mogulestan*, is not to be understood the ancient country of the *Mungls*, to the east of mount *Altay*; but that part of *Tartary*, on the west side, possessed by the *Elúts* or *Kalmúks*.

pital

pital of *Jetah* (O); where he lodged in the palace of *Saray Urdam*, with great magnificence.

A. D.
1389.

AFTER this, *Timūr*, in order effectually to root out the *Getes*, divided his army into several bodies, under so many generals, who were to take different routes; being provided both with guides, and memoirs of the roads. The *Mirza Omar Shейkh*, crossing the mountain *Dūbesbin Andūr* (near the lake *Artak gheul*), went as far as *Karakoja* (P); three months journey of the karawān from *Samarkant*: another party went to the town of *Kara Arf*, and valley of *Shārājlu*, in *Mogulestān*: *Kodādad Hussayni*, with a body of 20,000 men, arriving at *Bikāt*, by way of *Urichā*, towns in the same country, met with the tribes of *Bulgāji* and *Ilker*; whom they defeated, after a bloody battle, which continued for twenty-four hours. Those, who escaped, fell into the hands of *Timūr*; who, with his guards and household troops, having taken the road of *Oluk Kūl* (Q), met them at the hill of *Sichkhān Daban* (R), and cut them to pieces. A fifth body went as far as *Ligh* and *Gheveyar*, towns in *Mogulestān*.

SEVERAL amirs, who had been ordered to follow *Timūr* in *Kesra Ka*—this expedition, after many days journey, came to *Urdaban ja Khān*, (a mountain of *Jetah*, near *Great Bukhāria*): then crossed the river *Abeile* (S), and arrived at *Sutgheul* (T). At length they advanced to *Chicheklik* and *Balaykhān*, towns of *Mogulestān*, which they plundered. When they came to that of *Molzūdā*, they met with *Kezra Kōja Aglen*, king of *Mogulestān*, at the head of a great army: as they were much inferior to the enemy in number, they dismounted; and, tying the bridles of their horses to their girdles, let fly their arrows: they fought back to back, turning on all sides, without stirring out of the place for forty-eight hours; at the end of which, they made a treaty with the enemy, and retired to *Tulduz*, the place of rendezvous.

(O) Capital of *Jetah*, and frontier of *Mogulestān*. *La Croix*.—It is difficult to fix the situation or bounds of these countries, according to this author, who seems often to vary in his description of places.

(P) A town in *Mogulestān*, called also *Aramuth*. *La Croix*.—*Aramuth* is in *Little Bukhāria*, near *Turfān*.

(Q) The great stream of the river *Irtish*. *La Croix*.

(R) *Daban* signifies a mountain. *La Croix*.

(S) It runs into the *Sikūn*. *La Croix*.—We rather conjecture it to be the river *Ili*, on which the khān of the *Elūths* used to encamp, as we have observed before, p. 231, note (I).

(T) A town on the bank of the great lake of sweet water. *La Croix*.

A. D.

1389.

Yulduz
quits
Jetch.

WHEN *Timûr*, who was then at *Keytû* (U), heard this news, he joined the toman of *Mahmûd Khân*; and, passing by *Konghez* (W), arrived at *Yulduz*; where, chusing out the bravest men of his army, he crossed the river at *Ulakianurwr* (X), and followed the track of *Kezar Kôja Aglen*. After passing the great desert, he arrived at *Karabûlak* (Y); from thence he went to *Tabertâsh* (Z); and, coming to *Kâsbon Kay* (A), discovered the enemy's army, who fled under cover of the night; and, as they took different routes, many fell into the hands of *Timûr*'s troops, and were slain. The emperor, having passed the mountain *Nayrin Keutel*, pursued the enemy as far as *Karatâsh*, another mountain: and thus constrained the king of *Jetch* to abandon his kingdom, after suffering infinite fatigues, and seeing all his warriors either slain or taken prisoners, as well as his wives and children, together with the inhabitants of this country: which besides was intirely ruined, as far as *Kûlan Keutel* (B), and the cattle all carried away.

Timûr at
Yulduz.

AFTER this, *Timûr* began his march homewards; and, when he came to *Jalish* (a town near *Bikût*), he divided the immense booty among his soldiers. From thence, passing by the town of *Kajirtâ*, and mountain *Bilajir*, he arrived at *Yulduz* (C), that is, *The morning star*; so called from the beauty of its fountains and pastures: a most delightful place. The grass there is so nourishing, that it fattens the leanest horses in a week's time. From thence the *Mirza Omar Sheykh* was sent home, by the way of the *Iron Gate*, named *Koluga*; beyond which he met the prince *Kublik*, one of the great amirs of the *Geses*, whom he defeated with great slaughter; and, being taken, his head was cut off, according to the laws of *Jenghiz Khân*. The mirza, having seized his effects, and ex-

(U) A town of *Mogulestân*, near the *Irtish*. *La Croix*.

(W) A town of *Mogulestân*, on the north of the great lake *Atrak Gheuk*. *La Croix*.—It signifies the lake of the Turks. Perhaps the same called above, *Atrak Gheuk*.

(X) A passage over the river *Ankora* in *Mogulestân*. *La Croix*.

(Y) A famous fountain at the foot of the mountain *Benghiar*. *La Croix*.

(Z) A village dependent on *Karakorum*. *La Croix*.

(A) A village in *Mogulestân*,

frontier of *Kalmâk*. *La Croix*.—This author places *Kalmâk* to the north of the river *Amûr* or *Saghalian*.

(B) A mountain at the extremity of *Mogulestân*, towards *China*. *La Croix*.

(C) Distant from *Samarkant* two months journey of the *kara-wân*, or 480 leagues, at the rate of eight leagues per day. It is called *Cyalis*, in the travels of *Benedict Goes* the Jesuit to *Katay*, and is in the road from *Russia* to *China*. *La Croix*. This is called the *Greater Yulduz*.

terminated

terminated his subjects, continued his route by *Kûzan* (D), *A. D.*
Ucheferman (E), and the great city of *Kâshgar* (F); from *1389.*
 whence at length he arrived at *Andekbân*°.

TIMUR, having finished his expedition against the *Getes*, *Returns to*
 left *Kechik Yulduz*, or the *Lesser Yulduz*, in order to return, *Samar-*
 after a march of above 1000 leagues. When he came to *Oluk* *kant.*
Yulduz, or the *Greater Yulduz* (G), he made a magnificent en-
 tertainment for the generals and officers of his army; on whom
 he bestowed robes of honour, and belts adorned with pre-
 cious stones. Then setting forward the sixteenth of *Shaabân*,
 he arrived at *Samarkant* the seventh of *Ramazân*, that is, in
 twenty-two days, though reckoned two months journey by
karawân. In winter he went to *Bokhâra*; and passed the sea-
 son at *Gheul-férketi*, near that city, where he took the diver-
 sion of fowling; the ponds being stocked with an incredible
 number of swans, and other kinds of birds. Here he gave
 the princess *Soltân Rakt Begûm*, widow of *Mereke*, to the Amir
Soleymân Shâh; and married the young Mirza *Abûbekr* to the
 daughter of the Amir *Haji Sayfo'ddîn*: but the joy on these
 occasions was allayed by the death of *Kudak Khâtân*, his fa-
 ther's widow.

WHEN winter was over, *Timûr* went to encamp at *Akiar*, *Political*
 in the meadow of *Kash*, on the bank of the river *Kashka* (H). *regulation.*
 As the officers were become very rich by the spoil they had *Hej. 792.*
 gotten in the wars, he thought it advisable to augment the *A. D.*
 regiments; that, by increasing the expences of the command- *1390.*
 ers, he might diminish their wealth, which might seduce them
 from their obedience. For this purpose, he assembled the kû-
 rûltay in 792: which being over, he gave the grandees ano-
 ther magnificent feast; and, on this occasion, married his
 grandson, the Mirza *Omar Sheykh*, to the princess *Sevinj Kot-*
luk Aga, daughter of *Sheyrin Bey Aga*, who was very hand-
 some. After this, he dismissed the assembly, and returned to

* Hist. Tim. Bek, p. 328—338. c. 5, & seq.

(D) A town of *Tebet*, or *Tibet*.
LaCroix.—His route could not, in
 our opinion, lie near that coun-
 try.

(E) A town of *Turkestan*: *La*
Croix.—That is, of *Kâshgar*.

(F) Capital of *Turkestan*. *La*
Croix.—Properly capital of the
 country of the same name: but
 the khâns of the *Turks* having re-

sided there for some time before
 the reign of *Jenghîz Khân*, it
 has been called the capital of
Turkestan, of which it made a
 part.

(G) That mentioned before.

(H) It runs into the *Tûm*,
 which falls into the *Jibûn*. *La*
Croix.

A. D. 1390. *Samarkant*: but, in a few days, came down to the meadow of *Ilgazigaj*, without that city.

Kamro'd-dîn pur-fued. AT the beginning of the same year, the emperor sent an army into the country of the *Getes*, under command of the amirs *Soleyman Shih*, *Kodadad Hussayn*, *Shams'o'ddîn Abbâs*, and his brother *Ozmân*. Having crossed the *Sihûn* (or *Sir*) at *Tâshkunt*, they marched to *Iffigheul* (I), and from thence to *Gheuktôpa* (a hill mentioned before); from thence they took the road of the mountain *Arjakû* (K), destroying the country, slaying or enslaving the people, and carrying away their effects. Thus they went thro' all the provinces of the *Getes*, and advanced as far as *Al Mâlegh*; where, having swam over the river *Abeile* (L), they arrived at *Karatâl*, a hord belonging to *Ankatûra*. There being informed that 400 men, detached before to get intelligence, had met with *Kamro'ddîn*; that most of the soldiers on each side were slain, and that the said prince had marched towards *Ichna Buchna* (M), they departed in search of him; and, having passed thro' that town, arrived at *Uker Kaptaji*, another; where they left their baggage, and rode post towards the *Irtish*. When they came to that river, they learned that *Kamro'ddîn* had crossed it, and was gone towards *Tawlas* (N), into the woods where fables and ermins are found. The amirs passed the *Irtish* in the rafts and boats which the enemy had left behind; and marked their arms with fire on the pine-trees, as an evidence to succeeding ages of their conquests beyond that river. After they had been absent six months, they returned by *Altûn Kawrke*, a town on the great lake of *Atrak Gheul* (O), where there is a great road made along its banks.

Timûr in-vades Kipjak. IN autumn *Timûr* got ready his troops to make war in *Kipjak*. Having visited the tomb of *Sheykh Maslahet*, where many miracles are said to be wrought, he crossed the *Sihûn* at *Kajend*; and went to *Tâshkunt*, between *Barsin* and *Chinas*, with

† Hist. Tim. Bek, p. 338—347. c. 7—9.

(I) A lake near *Berket*, in *Jetab*.

(K) In *Jetab*, near *Al Maleg*.
La Croix.

(L) Which discharges itself into the *Sihûn*. *La Croix*.—But *Al Maleg* is at a great distance from that river: which circumstance seems to confirm what we have said in a former note, concerning the river *Abeile*.

(M) A town of *Turkefiân*. *La Croix*. This is *Turkefiân* in the large sense before-mentioned.

(N) A town of *Tartary*. *La Croix*.—Frier *William de Ruhrquish* mentions a town, in his journey thro' *Tartary*, called *Tawlas*; but whether the same with this, we cannot determine.

(O) In *Turkefiân*, on the borders of *Mogulefiân*. *La Croix* design

design to pass the winter in that city, where he lay dangerously sick for forty days. On his recovery, the Mirza *Mirān Shāh* arrived with the troops of *Khorassān*; and, on the twelfth of *Safar* 793, *Timūr* began his march, conducted by *Timūr Kotluk Aglen*, son of *Timūr Mālek*, khān of *Kipjāk*; *Konje Aglen*, another prince of that country; and *Aydekhū Uzbek*. He left the Mirzas *Pīr Mehmed* and *Shāh Rukh* to govern the empire of *Jagatay* in his absence; and sent away all the ladies, excepting his favourite Sultāna *Chulpan Mulk Aga*, daughter of *Haji Bey*, of *Jetāh*.

WHEN they arrived at *Kara Suman* (a town of *Kipjāk*), *Refuses to* ambassadors arrived from *Toktamish Khān*, with a letter; and *with-* presented him with a shonkar (P), and nine very fleet horses. *draw.* Altho' *Timūr* took the bird in his hand, he shewed the ambassadors no marks of a good reception. In answer to their master's letter, which begged pardon for what was passed, and promised submission for the future; after reproaching his ingratitude, and breach of oath, he said, *Toktamish* was not to be trusted: however, that, if he sincerely desired peace, he should send *Ali Bey*, his first minister, to treat with his great amirs. He then regaled them, and gave them vests of gold brocade. They were ordered to follow the army; which, *March* the fifth, set forward to conquer the empire of *Tusbi*. They passed by *Tassi*, *Karachob* (Q), and *Sabrān*: but, in three weeks, for want of water, the horses were reduced to extremity. At length, on the twenty-sixth, they arrived at *Sarek Uzan*, where, the river being high, their want was supplied. Having swam over the stream, they continued their march in the great desert; and encamped in places where there were wells, to avoid the like inconvenience. Here two servants fled to the enemy.

ON the ninth of *April* they came to a mountain called *Kuchek Tāk*; and, in two nights and one day, to *Ulūk Tāk* (R); *His army* from whence he viewed the vast desert of *Kipjāk*, which, for its extent and verdure, looked like the sea. There he ordered a stone obelisk to be erected, with the date of his expedition cut thereon. From thence they hunted to the river *Ilanjūk* (*), which they crossed; and, in eight days, arrived at *Anakargū* (a tribe in *Kipjāk*). In all this six or seven months march

(P) A bird of prey, described Vol. IV. p. 289.

(Q) A town of *Kipjāk*, between *Tenghikunt* and *Sabrān*. *La Croix*.

(R) (That is, the little and

the great mountain). They are in *Kipjāk*, between the rivers *Arch* and *Ilān-juk*. *La Croix*.

(*) Which runs into the river *Tik*. *La Croix*.—This seems to be the *Yem*.

A. D. 1391. from *Tâshkunt*, they had not met with a single man, or any cultivated land. Victuals were now extremely scarce: and a pound of bread sold for sixty-seven dinars *Kopeghi*; so that they were forced to hunt for their food. Among other game, they found a sort of stags, larger than buffalos, called *Kandagay* by the *Mungls*, and *Buken* by the *Kipjaks*. After this hunting, *Timûr* reviewed his army: on which occasion the custom is, for every commander to pray for the emperor on his knees, and speak an elogium in his presence. Among the rest, we are told, that, having advanced towards the regiment of *Mahmûd Khân*, this general (S) spoke as usual, and gave presents to the emperor; who, in his turn, caressed and praised him for the good order of his troop.

Seek the
enemy.

WHEN the review was over, *Timûr*, resolving to send a general to command the mangalay, or van-guard, the young *Mirza Mehemed Soltân* fell on his knees, and besought his father to honour him with that post. The emperor, much pleased with his resolution at so tender an age, granted his request; letting him, at the same time, know: "That he had need of great presence of mind, a strong constitution, and perfect activity, to acquit himself of an employ which was the principal part of war, and on which the security of the army intirely depended." On the twenty-fourth of *April*, the hour being fixed by the astrologers, the *mirza* put himself at the head of the scouts, to go in quest of the enemy. They found a beaten road, and fires in many places: then passed the river *Tûpal* (T); but no signs of an enemy. At length they met with ten troopers in a wood, who gave them tidings of *Tokatmîsh Khân*. After passing several lakes and rivers, *May* the eleventh they arrived at the river *Tik* (U); which the army were two days in swimming over, because *Timûr* suspected ambuscades at the three passages. Six days after, coming to the river *Semmûr* (W), the scouts heard the cries of the enemy; and one of them, being taken, declared, that many of the ordas had encamped there, but had returned as soon as sensible of *Timûr's* approach.

Get intell-
ligence,

THE emperor, on this advice, advanced in order; and, *May* the seventeenth, arrived at the river *Ayik* (X), (or *Jaik*),

(S) So that the *khân* was one of *Timûr's* generals, and behaved as a subject. *Kipjak*, which falls into the *Caspian* sea. *La Croix*.

(T) Which falls into the *Tik*. *La Croix*. (W) It falls into the *Tik*. *La Croix*.

(U) A river of *Kapshâk*, or (X) Or *Jaik*, a river which falls into the *Caspian* sea. *La Croix*.

which

which the army crossed partly over a bridge, and partly by swimming. Three of the enemy, who were taken, related, that the two fugitive servants above-mentioned first informed *Tokatmîsh Khân* of *Timûr's* invasion: that the khân, enraged at this news, said, he would raise two armies; and sent to assemble troops from his camp, then at *Kerk Gheul* (Y): that, expecting *Timûr* would cross the *Tik* at the ordinary passages, he lay there in ambuscade to surprise him. After receiving this account, the emperor marched with great precaution, and had lines drawn round the camp every night. The army was greatly fatigued with passing the sloughs and marshes they met with in this country. At length three regiments of the enemy came in view, but soon disappeared: however, the scouts found a troop of horse in a wood; who making resistance, many were killed, and forty taken. They had repaired to *Kerk Gheul*, according to proclamation; but, to their surprise, finding no troops assembled at the place of rendezvous, they wandered in the woods: after making this discovery, they were all put to death. At length they brought the son of the prince of *Memak* (Z), who had been wounded. He said, he was on the road to *Saray* (capital of *Kipjâk*), to meet the khân; but did not find him at the rendezvous, nor could give any account of him^s.

A. D.
1391.of Tokta-
mîsh.

MEAN time the scouts, ascending a hill, discovered thirty companies of horse in armour, watching to surprise the invaders; and then retired without noise: while *Aykâtmar* staid behind with some horse, farther to view the enemy; who, observing what passed, fell upon him full-speed. The valiant amîr made a brave resistance: but, having two horses shot under him, he was surrounded on foot, and cut in pieces by the *Kipjâks*, who did not know him. His death was followed by that of *Heri Mulk*, son of *Yadghiar Berlâs*; the famous *Ramazân Kojâ*; and the celebrated *Mehemed Erlât*; who were the greatest captains *Timûr* had: but their death was soon revenged; for the army, advancing, attacked, and put them to flight, with great slaughter. After this, the scouts of the enemy appeared, and skirmished every day with *Timûr's* soldiers. At length the two armies coming in sight, on the fifth of *July*, that monarch ranged his army with great care, dividing it into seven bodies: and, as this was never practised before among his troops, 'twas believed to be done by special inspiration.

^s Hist. Tim. Bek, p. 347—366. c. 9—12.

(Y) A lake in the country of *Nagaya* in *Kipjâk*, between the *Woïga* and the *Jaik*. *La Croix*.

(Z) A province bordering on that of *Saray* in *Kipjâk*. *La Croix*.

THE

A. D. 1391. THE emperor gave the command of the first body, which served for the van-guard, to Soltân *Mahmâd Khân*; and the Amîr *Soleyman Shâh* was his lieutenant-general. He placed the Mirza *Mehomed Soltân* at the head of the second division, which passed for the main body. The third, which served as the rear, or body of reserve, consisting of the regiment of guards, and twenty companies of select veterans, was conducted by *Timâr* himself; and posted behind the second body, to reinforce the other divisions, in case of need. At the head of the fourth, which served for a right wing, was the Mirza *Mirân Shâh*; whose lieutenant-general was the Prince *Mehomed Soltân Shâh*. The fifth body, designed as a van-guard to the said right wing, was led by the Amîr *Haji Sayfo'ddin*, who usually engaged in the most dangerous enterprises. The sixth, consisting of the troops of *Andekhân*, composed the left wing, and had for its leader the Mirza *Omar Sheykh*. Lastly, the seventh body served for a van-guard to the left wing, and was commanded by *Birdi Bey*, son of *Sâr Buga*, and by *Kodadad Hussayn*, amirs of undaunted bravery, and approved conduct. The army of *Tokatmish Khân*, which exceeded that of *Timâr's* by some companies, was divided into three bodies, as usual. His officers were all princes of the blood of *Tufsi*, and his soldiers completely armed. The battle began at the sound of the great trumpet *Kerrenay* (*). *Timâr* prayed to God devoutly for success, and *Seyd Bereke* promised him victory.

The fight begins.

THE Amîr *Haji Sayfo'ddin* was the first who rushed on the enemy's left wing, and overthrew it. A party of *Kipjaks* advanced, to attack his rear; but were forced to return, by *Jehân Shâh Bahâdr*, who marched against them with his regiment, out of the body of reserve. Mean time, the Mirza *Mirân Shâh*, with the right wing, put their cavalry into confusion, and overthrew their left wing; while *Mehomed Soltân*, with the main body, broke through that of the enemy. *Omar Sheykh*, with the left wing, did great execution; and *Birdi Bey*, with *Kodadad Hussayn*, put their right wing to flight. The other generals had no less success. *Tokatmish Khân* observing how his troops diminished; and finding he could not withstand the squadrons which *Timâr* commanded in person, attacked the Mirza *Omar Sheykh*: but though to no purpose, yet he after fell on the order of *Soldân*, with such fury, that, for all *Sheykh Timâr Bahâdr's* brave resistance, the *Kipjaks* had nearly defeated him, rushing into the middle of the squadrons; and were about to post themselves behind the imperial army, with a resolution to keep their ground, and gain the victory,

(*) Of a monstrous size, very deep sound, and heard several miles off.

TIMUR

TIMUR, who was in pursuit of the enemy's main body, being informed of this, turned his troops on that side: but as soon as *Tokatmish Khân*, whom *Omar Sheykh* had already engaged, perceived the imperial standard moving towards him, he lost courage, and fled. The other generals following his example, the *Mungl* army was intirely routed; while the victors pursuing, made a dreadful slaughter of them, for forty leagues together. The emperor, having returned the Deity thanks for this great victory, and received the compliments of his generals, detached two thirds of his cavalry, to destroy the remainder of the enemy; whose flight being obstructed by the river *Wolga*, very few of them escaped the swords of their pursuers; who carried away their women, children, baggage, and other effects. After this, *Konje Aglen*, *Timûr Kotluk Aglen*, and *Aydekû*, three princes of the blood of *Tûshi*, who bore an antient hatred to *Toktamish*, from whom they had fled, obtained leave of *Timûr* to go in quest of the tribes which they formerly commanded, promising to bring them over to his service: but *Konje* only, who was very familiar with the emperor, returned, with part of his subjects whom he found: the other two, aspiring to the crown of *Kipjak*, fled, with their clans, into the desert^b.

A. D.
1391.Tokat-
mish
Khân de-
feated.

MEAN while, *Timûr*, following the troops which he had sent in pursuit of the enemy, arrived at the *Wolga*, and encamped in the plain of *Urtûpa*, which, for its verdure, and pure air, surpasses all others. Here he gave a magnificent feast to his amîrs, at which was sung and played a piece of music, called *the triumph of Kipjak*. This plain was the seat of *Tûshi Khân*, and his successors. All the army had a share in the diversions; and the twenty-six days spent in pleasure, made the soldiers forget all their past fatigues. As, after this victory, there remained no more enemies in the deserts, or the isles of *Wolga*, *Timûr* set forward on his return, followed by a great train of captives. All the poor men in service of the army, who before could scarce find sustinence, were now in possession of so many horses and sheep, that, not able to carry all away with them, they were obliged to leave part behind. However, they carried off the tents of *Kipjak*; which are fixed with very little trouble, and need not be taken to pieces at decamping, being made portable, so as to be carried by dromedaries from place to place.

WHEN the army arrived at the *Tik*, *Konje Aglen*, who but a little while before had returned, with his subjects, to the camp, now fled with them into the desert. Some days after

^b Hist. Tim. Bek, p. 366—379, c. 12—14.

A. D. 1391. the army had crossed that river, *Timûr*, leaving the Amîr *Haji Sayfo'ddîn*, with other commanders, to conduct the body of the army, and baggage, went before, through the rest of the desert, to *Sabrân* and *Otrâr*; then, crossing the *Sihûn*, arrived at *Samarkant*; where he was received with the usual solemnity. After this, he began his journey for *Tâshkunt*, and repassing the river, encamped in the great plain of *Barfin*, near that city; where, in the beginning of the year 794, the Amîr *Haji Sayfo'ddîn* arrived, with the troops: so that this important campaign continued eleven months. Towards spring, the emperor returned to *Samarkant*, by way of *Kojend*; where he entertained the court with a general hunting; and appointed the Mirza *Pîr Mehemed*, son of *Jehân Ghîr*, governor of the kingdom which formerly belonged to the Great Soltân *Mahmûd*; that is, all the country from *Gâzna* and *Kâbul*, as far as *Hindûstân*; and from *Kandahar* to the river *Indus* (A), called in *Persian*, *Ab Send*.

Marriages celebrated. As many princes and great lords begged leave of him to marry their children, he not only consented, but, to let them see he shared in their joy, would also be present himself at their feasts. A royal banquet was prepared for this purpose, in the meadow of *Kanigheul*; where the tables were ranged like an army in order of battle, *Timûr* being placed at the head of them, on a throne of gold. The bridegrooms were on one side, and the brides on the other. To honour the occasion, the Mirzas *Pîr Mehemed*, and his brother *Rustem*, married the daughters of *Kayâzo'ddîn Terkhân*; and the Mirza *Abû Bekr*, son of *Mirân Shâh*, espoused the daughter of the Amîr *Haji Sayfo'ddîn*¹.

Expedition into Irân. WHILE *Timûr* was on his return from *Kipjâk*, he resolved to make an expedition into *Irân* (or *Persia* at large), to suppress the disorders which, during his absence, had gotten footing there. With this view, he sent into all the provinces, to assemble the troops, for a campaign of five years. When he was near *Bokhâra*, May 25th, he was seized with a distemper, which held him till June 10th. The 6th of *Ramazân* (July 2) he departed, at the head of his troops, having sent the Mirza *Mehemed Soltân* before, with the van-guard. He crossed the *Jihûn* (or *Amû*) at *Amûya*, and, by way of *Makhân* and *Abi-verd*, arrived at *Taffi Daban*; where, on the appearance of the new moon, he read the prayers of *Bayrâm*, which is the grand

¹ Hist. Tim. Bek, p. 379—386, c. 14—16.

(A) Otherwise called *Ab-send* of *Behre*, near *Lakor* (in *Hindûstân*), and *Meh-rân*. It springs from the lake

feast of the *Musulmans*. At *Ilgazigaj Kabâsbân* (B), he joined the *Mirza Mehemed Soltân*; who commanded the body of scouts; and, at length, arriving in the territory of *Astarabâd*, encamped on the river of *Jorjân* (C); where *Piri Pasbâ*, son of *Lokmân Pasbâ*, paid his devoirs to his majesty.

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THE army, after three days march from *Astarabâd*, came to a very thick wood, through which they opened three passages, and insensibly arrived at *Sâri* (D); whence *Seyd Kamâl-o'ddîn*, lord thereof, had fled to *Seyd Râzio'ddîn*; at *Mahanasar*. These are three towns, situated four leagues from *Amol*, on the shore of the *Caspian* sea: where they had built a fort on an adjacent hill, which joined the sea on one side; and, instead of ditches, was surrounded with precipices, washed for the space of a mile by the sea, which, in turbulent weather, flowed within the rocks. Round the wall, they had fixed great trees, so close together, that they served instead of a second wall. Hither the princes of *Amol* and *Sâri*, the rich inhabitants, and foreign merchants, retired, with their families and effects, confiding in the strength and inaccessibleness of the place. *Timûr*, informed of these particulars, passing the lakes and marshes, arrived, in three days, at *Amol*; where he ordered the *Seyd Kayâzo'ddîn* to go and advise his father to come to him.

TIMUR, after ordering all the water in the cisterns of *Mahanasar* to be spilt, followed with his army; which could march far be- no more than three miles a day, because obliged to cut down trees, to render the marshes and sloughs passable. *September 21*, the scouts on both sides met, and fought. Three days after, the *Seyd Kamâl-o'ddîn Derâz*, and *Mûlâna Amâdo'ddîn*, came, and implored pardon; which *Timûr* granted, on condition, that the sharifs, who commanded in all those quarters, should send him part of the goods of the inhabitants, and one of their children in hostage. The sharifs not liking these conditions, *Timûr* sent some officers, with the masters of the barks of the *Jibân*, to seize the enemy's vessels; which they did; and carrying the soldiers, by squadrons, to the foot of the walls, they besieged *Mahanasar* in form. Those who defended the out-works being soon obliged to fly into the place for safety, the soldiers at the same time scaled the walls.

ON the 25th of *November*, the enemy observing *Timûr* to approach the place on horseback, through fear, came out in

(B) A village between *Abiverd* and *Astarabâd*. *La Croix*.

Caspian sea (at *Astarabâd*). *La Croix*.

(C) It passes by a city of the same name, and falls into the

(D) A city of *Ghilân*. *La Croix*—Rather of *Mazânderân*.

companies,

A. D. 1392. companies, and implored his protection; which appeased his wrath. After this, he made them presents, and exhorted them to embrace the orthodox sect of the *Sunni*, in whose maxims he instructed them, and to renounce the errors of the *Shiay*, which they followed. *Timûr* staid some days at *Mahanasar*, to dispose of the great riches, which were lodged there, among his soldiers; and then ordered the place to be reduced to a heap of rubbish. After this, he commanded all the *Fidais* (E), who were very numerous in this country, to be put to the sword; which was accordingly done. Thus the province was freed from the disorders which those assassins caused there: for, if they found a man who had a paper or book in his possession, no matter whether a lawyer, philosopher, or man of letters, they held it lawful to put him to death. *Eshkânder Sheykhi*, to revenge the death of his father, and other relations, slain by the *Darvîshes*, disciples of *Seyd Karwâmô'd-dîn*, invested *Amol*; that no man might escape his wrath; and made the most terrible massacre in that city ever mentioned in history. *Seyd Kamâlô'ddîn*, and his son, were sent in a vessel to *Karâzm*; the *Seyds Mûrtâza* and *Abdallah*, with their sons, and several others, were carried to *Tâshkunt* *.

Cruel massacre.

Irâk invaded.

Hef. 795.

A. D.

1393.

THE province of *Mazânderân* being intirely brought under subjection; *Timûr*, in the beginning of the year 795, caused a fine palace to be built at *Shafman*, in the neighbourhood of *Jorjan*, and lodged there. At the end of winter, he prepared to continue his conquests; and fixed the campaign of that year for the kingdoms of *Pars* and *Irâk*. He departed from *Mazânderân* the 20th of *January*: having sent the *Mirza Mehemed Soltân*, at the head of the van-guard, accompanied by his brother *Pîr Mehemed*, the *Sheykh Ali Bahâdr*, and other amîrs. He gave the command of another van-guard to the *Mirza Shâh Rukh*; and went himself to *Yilak Veli* (F). The *Mirza Mehemed Soltân*, and his brother, on their arrival at *Kazvin*, defeated, and took prisoner, the governor *Shâh Souar*. On their approach, the governor of *Soltâniya* fled. They garriſoned the place, and marched towards *Bâghdâd*. In the way, a courier brought an order for them to reduce all the inhabitants of *Kurdestân*, and free the country from those robbers.

* Hist. Tim. Bek, p. 386—396, c. 16—19.

(E) The same whom Europeans call assassins. *La Croix*:—They are called *Ismaelians*, *Batani*, and by other names, in the oriental historians. They seem to have been the reliques of those whom *Hûlâkû* had extirpated about 100 years before.

(F) A town on a mountain, where the *Amir Veli* used to pass the summer. *La Croix*.

Hereafter

Hereupon the Sheykh *Ali Bahâdr* was sent with a body of troops upon that expedition, accompanied by one of the chief men of the country, who offered to be his guide. A. D. 1393.

IBRAHIM Shâh, prince of those places, received Sheykh *Kârdestân Ali* very friendly, and sent his son *Soltân Shâh* with presents to the princes; who, content with this submission, ordered Sheykh *Ali* to return. He accordingly began his march: but, on the road, his guide, frustrated of his hopes, by his peace with *İbrahim Shâh*, treacherously slew him with a knife, as he was eating. The assassin was immediately seized by Sheykh *Ali*'s men, who put him to death, with the most cruel torments, and afterwards burnt his body to ashes.

MEAN time, *Timûr* having proceeded from *Tilâk Veli*, by *Dam-Khûze-gân* and *Somnân*, cities of *Kûmes*, to *Rây Shâhriar*, in *Persian stân re-İrâk*, there took a select body of men, and marched to *Urâd-jerd* (G). He arrived there the 26th of February, and was joined by the *Mirza Omar Shейkh*, who had taken the road of *Avâ*, the fortress of *Kiow*, *Marvân*, and *Kerherâdh*; all towns of *Kûhestân*, which submitted, excepting *Kiow*, but it was easily reduced. *Timûr* left a governor for *Nahawend* (H); and, three days after, arrived at *Korramabâd* (I), whose governor had fled. Then leaving troops to besiege the place, he sent parties of horse into all quarters of *Lorestân*, to root out the robbers; and departed for *Toftar* (K). In eleven days, he came to the bridge of the river *Abzâl* (L); and, when *Mirân Shâh* returned from *Kashân* (M), which submitted, sent *Omar Shейkh* to *Havîza* (N), which made no resistance, its governor, for *Munsûr* king of *Fârs*, being fled. The bridge over the *Abzâl*, which is built of stone and brick, with great beauty and strength, has twenty-eight lofty magnificent arches, each of

(G) A city of *Kûhestân*, in *Irâk*, eighteen leagues from *Hamadân*. *La Croix*.

(H) Otherwise called *Nûbâ-wend*, a town of *Kûhestân*: built by *Nûb*, or *Noah*, on a mountain, fourteen leagues south from *Hamadân*, near *Urîgerd*. Here *Taxedjerd*, last king of *Persia*, was vanquished, in A. D. 638. *La Croix*.

(I) A fortress of *Lorestân*, near the town of *Lor*, and residence of the prince of *Lorestân*. *La Croix*.

(K) Capital of *Kûrestân* (a mistake for *Khûzeftân*), between *Fârs* and *Irâk Arabi*. *La Croix*.

(L) A river which runs through *Khûzeftân*, by *Toftar*; and falls into the *Persian gulf* at *Hesû Mâbdi*. 'Tis famous for an aqueduct a mile long, built by *Shâbûr* (or *Sapore*) king of *Persia*. *La Croix*.

(M) A town of *Kûhestân*, three days journey from *İspâhân*; where porcelain is dug, with which the walls and houses of the *Persians* are covered. *La Croix*.

(N) Corruptly so called, from *Abwâz* (which is the true name), a city of *Khûzeftân*, on the river *Abzâl*. *La Croix*.

which

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which has a lesser. At the foot of it is a town, called *Dexfâl*, whose governor presented *Timâr* with twenty loads of silver. When *Timâr* arrived at *Toftar*, he sent troops to pillage the country; and, crossing the *Chehâr Donke*, March 18th, encamped in a forest of palms, near that city.

Shâh
Mansûr
seizes
Pârs.

WE have already mentioned, that, on *Timâr's* march to *Fârs*, in 1390, Soltân *Zayn Alabo'ddîn*, king of that country, retired to Shâh *Mansûr*, governor of *Toftar*, who seized, and imprisoned him in the castle of *Kerikerd*, four leagues from that city: but, at length, escaping, by the assistance of friends, to *Malek Azzo'ddîn Kerit*, at *Urûdjerd*, this latter conducted him to *Ispâhân*; of which he possessed himself, by means of the officers, who were in his interest, while Soltân *Mehemed* retired to the fortrefs, and, a month after, withdrew by consent. Then Shâh *Mansûr* marched with an army to *Shîrâz*; and, being let in by the sharîfs, Shâh *Yahîa* retired to *Yazd*. Soltân *Zayn Alabo'ddîn*, imagining that the amîrs of Shâh *Mansûr* would come over to him, because most of them had raised themselves in his father's court, marched with a small army towards *Shîrâz*: but, being met near the fortrefs of *Astakâr* (O) by Shâh *Mansûr*, was obliged to fly back to *Ispâhân*.

Attempts
Ispâhân.

MEAN time, the Pehlavan *Muhaddeb*, governor of *Abrkûh*, fearing lest Shâh *Mansûr*, who threatened his town, should become master of the whole kingdom, made an alliance with Shâh *Yahîa*, and then invited him to his city: but *Yahîa*, at the instigation of his courtiers, breaking his oath, seized the pehlavan, and sent him in chains to *Yazd*; where he was put to death, by that perfidious prince's order. On advice of this, Shâh *Mansûr* went with a formidable army to besiege *Abrkûh*; and, leaving troops to block-up the castle, marched to attack *Yazd*: but, understanding by the way, that Shâh *Yahîa*, to prevent the visit, had ordered the governor to deliver the fortrefs, he returned, and received it without opposition. In his way back, he harrassed the country about *Ispâhân*; and, as he repeated the same devastations next year, *Zayn Alabo'ddîn* asked assistance of the Soltâns *Ahmed* prince of *Kermân*, and *Ahû Is-hâk*, of *Sirjân*. They joined their forces, and marched towards *Shîrâz*: but, being met by *Mansûr*, were defeated, and returned home!

The city
betrayed.

IN the following spring, this prince marched again to *Ispâhân*; and, as soon as he arrived, sent for one whom, 'twas

¹ Hist. Tim. Bek, p. 396—409, c. 19—23.

(O) Supposed to be *Persepolis*, ple, now called *Chil Menâr*, or by the ruins of a palace, or temple the forty pillars

presumed, he kept there to carry on his intrigues; for, the moment he was gone, the inhabitants delivered up the city. The sultan fled; but, being taken between *Veramin* and *Shahrīār*, Shah *Mansūr* ordered his eyes to be put out with a hot iron. After this, he marched twice to *Tazd*: but, by the persuasions of his mother, left it in possession of *Tahia* his eldest brother. When *Timūr* encamped without *Tostar*, this was the condition of the kingdom of *Fars* (or *Persia*), to which there were no fewer than ten pretenders, all of the house of *Muzaffer*; who naturally delighting to make war on one another, put the empire of *Irān* into great disorder: for which reason, *Timūr* resolved to subdue those turbulent princes, and restore peace.

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WITH this view, April 17, he left *Tostar*, which he made himself master of, and marched with expedition towards *Shiraz*. The 22d, he encamped at *Ram Hermez*. The 25th, crossed the river *Abargūn* (P). Next day, he got to *Lashtet* (a great town of *Fārs*); and the 27th, encamped at the head of the river *Kanbidak* (Q). The 30th, he crossed the *Kavēdūn* (R); and went to lie at *Nubenjian* (S). May 1, he encamped at the foot of *Kalaa Sefid* (or the white castle), one of the strongest citadels in all *Asia*. It stood at the top of a very rugged mountain, where there was but one slippery way to ascend; and so made, that, in any narrow strait, three men might hinder 100,000 from passing. On the top was a fine plain, twelve miles in compass, stocked with water, animals, trees, and cultivated lands: so that they were secure against famine; and, as it was deemed inaccessible, as well as impregnable, no prince had ever yet besieged it.

HOWEVER, *Timūr* ascended the mountain, with his officers, *Kalaa Sefid* to the gate of the fortress, followed by several troops. The two wings encamped on another mountain, which joined the place. Orders being given for a general assault, the army attacked the citadel on all sides. Next day, the attack was renewed; and the soldiers broke the rock with pickaxes, to clear the way. At length, *Akbūga*, an officer, mounting a steep rock, the enemy were so surprised to see themselves attacked in a place which they thought none dared to ascend, that they gave over fighting: so that the soldiers advancing on all sides,

(P) A river which divides *Khūzestān* from *Fārs*, runs by *Semirem*, and falls into the *Abzal*. *La Croix*.

gulf, near *Bander Rūk*. *La Croix*.

(R) A river which passes by *Kaxron*, and falls into the *Persian* gulf. *La Croix*.

(S) A city of *Fārs*.

A. D. 1393. the fortress was taken, and the garrison precipitated from the top of the mountain. The governor *Sadet* was put to death; but he honoured the blind Soltân *Zayn Alabeddîn*, who was kept here, and promised to revenge him on the cruel *Manfûr*. As for *Akbûga*, who first mounted the rock, and had but one horse before, he gave him so much silver, women, slaves, goods, horses, and other cattle, that, to his great surprise, he became a rich man at once.

*Manfûr
attacked.*

THE 3d of May, *Timûr* set forward, in quest of Shâh *Manfûr*; and coming to *Shîrâz*, perceived, in the fields without the city, 3 or 4000 horse, armed with coats of mail, helmets, and breast-plates of leather, lined with iron; their horses covered with a kind of cuirasses made of thick silk, and their ensigns displayed. At the head of these men, inured to war, and expert archers, *Manfûr* advanced like a furious lion; and attacked *Timûr*'s main body, composed of 30,000 *Turks* (T), the most dexterous men of their time: yet he overthrew their squadrons, broke their ranks, made way into the midst, and gained posts behind the army, posts of the utmost consequence. Then returning, furious as a dragon, to the fight, he ran directly up to *Timûr*, who had stopp'd, with fourteen or fifteen persons, to consider the extreme vigour of this prince; and, though he had not his lance at hand to oppose him, yet the emperor stood till *Manfûr* came up, and struck him twice with his simitar on the helmet, which warded off the blows. Then *Adel Aktafbi* held a buckler over *Timûr*'s head, and *Komari Yesaûl* advanced before him: he did several great actions, and was wounded in his hand with a sword.

*Killed by
Shâh
Rûkk.*

SHAH *Manfûr*, having been repulsed from before the emperor, fell upon the infantry of the main body; while the *Mirza Mehemed Soltân* so briskly attacked the right wing of the *Persians*, that it gave way, and being pursued, a terrible slaughter was made. The *Mirza Pîr Mehemed* bravely defeated their left wing. Several regiments which were in the main body, having been routed by Shâh *Manfûr*, rallied, of their own accord; and the *Mirza Shâh Rûkk*, who fought near *Timûr* like a lion, re-assembled a whole battalion of foldiers who fled. In short, this young prince, although but seventeen years old, behaved with so much valour and conduct, that he hemmed in the shâh, cut off his head, and cast it at the feet of the emperor his father. This lucky accident so discouraged the *Persian* troops, who, till then had fought well; that they fled. But while *Timûr*, after returning God thanks for the victory, and em-

(T) *Turks, Moguls, and Tatars*, are, by the author *Sbari-fo'ddîn Ali*, used synonymously, as hath been already observed.

bracing

bracing his sons, was presented, by the amirs, with the gold cup, according to the custom of the *Mungls*, they, on a sudden, saw a body of the enemy advancing behind to attack them: however, they were quickly repulsed, and cut to pieces in their flight^m.

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AFTER this victory, *Timūr* made his triumphal entry into *Muzaffer Shîrâz*, and lodged in the gate of *Sâlm*, which alone of nine rian was left open. The treasures of *Shâh Mansûr* were then distributed among his amirs, and a ransom levied on the inhabitants. The like was done at *Ispâhân*. The princes of the family of *Muzaffer*, having no place to retire to, resolved, in good earnest, to submit, and made rich presents to the emperor: but the sheykhs, doctors, and imâms, with the chief inhabitants, of *Fârs* and *Irâk*, having presented him petitions, (in which they set forth the disorders brought in by the *Muzafferian* princes, and requested that his majesty would no longer trust the command of two kingdoms in the hands of those tyrants) he, in the middle of *June*, ordered those princes to be seized, loaded with chains, and their houses pillaged. He appointed governors in their room; placing over the kingdom of *Fârs*, which is the most full of cities, towns, and villages, of any country in *Asia*, his son the *Mirza Omar Sheykh*; and restored *Pîr Ahmed* to the government of the little kingdom of *Lorestân*, or *Malamîr*, of which *Shâh Mansûr* had deprived him. In fine, towards the end of *June*, being arrived at the village *Kâmîsba*, near *Ispâhân*, he issued out that famous order, so remarkable in history, and much desired by the people, that the princes of the house of *Muzaffer* should be put to death (U); which was rigorously executed, according to the laws of *Jenghîz Khân*.

TIMUR, after five days stay, left *Ispâhân*, and came, in two days, to *Jerbâdekhân*. Next night he arrived at *Ankhân*, whose inhabitants, being atheists, had fortified themselves in caverns and rocks: but the army drowned them, by forming rivulets along the mountains, and then breaking down the

^m Hist. Tim. Bek, p. 409—419, c. 23—25.

(U) These were *Shâh Yabia*, who reigned at *Yazd*; *Soltân Ahmed*, at *Kermân*; *Soltân Mehdi*, son of *Shâh Shuja*, and *Soltân Gadanfer*, who were at *Shîrâz*; *Soltân Abu Is-bâk*, who reigned at *Kermân*. In short, all the princes of that house were put to death, who could be found, excepting Prince *Shebeli*, whose eyes had been put out by his father *Shâh Shuja*; and *Zayn Alabo'ddîn*, blinded by *Shâh Mansûr*: these two were sent to *Samarkant*, and had some of the best ground of that city assigned them for their maintenance.

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banks, let the water descend in torrents into their lurking places. In July 10, he hunted in the plain of *Parakan*. The 13th, he decamped, and came to the meadow of *Bil Karhara*. The 16th, took horse. And the 18th, encamped in the plain of *Hamadân*; where, to divert the court, he gave a magnificent feast. After this, to recompence the services of the *Mirza Mirân Shâh*, he invested him in the kingdom of *Hâkkâh*, giving him the sovereignty of *Azerbijân*, *Kûhestân* (X), *Shirwân*, and *Ghilân*; with their dependencies, and the adjacent countries, as far as *Râm*, or *Anatolia*, subject to the *Oghmân*: on which occasion, the *mîrza* gave his father a magnificent entertainment at *Hamadân*.

Ghebrs
massacred.

TIMUR departed from *Hamadân* the 3d of August; and being arrived at *Kûlâghî*, a town of *Kârdestân*, he led his troops against the robber *Sarek Mehemed*, the *Turkmân*; who had fortified himself in the mountains, where he had a citadel, called *Hapâfbi*. The soldiers got up to the top of the mountain *Aurmân*, and fought so resolutely, that, in the night, the *Turkmâns* retired to other mountains: but were pursued, and numbers of them killed; their baggage likewise, and cattle, were seized. As there was another place in those parts, in which a great number of ghebrs (Y) were gotten together, *Timûr* ordered it to be subdued. The siege lasted for some time: but, being at length taken, it was reduced to rubbish, and the people put to the sword. After this, the *Mirza Mirân Shâh* took, and ruined, the castles of *Kûrgan* and *Kardîz*, in *Kârdestân*. The court being arrived at *At Bâlak* (Z), spent the *Ramazân* there. When it was over, the Great mufti *Nûro'ddîn Abdarrahmân*, famous for his learning, came as ambassador from Soltân *Ahmed Jalayr*, of *Bâghdâd*, with offers of submission, and presents: which the emperor did not receive after his usual kind manner; because he suspected *Ahmed's* sincerity, in regard the prayers were not read, nor money coined, at *Bâghdâd*, in his name.

Timûr
marches

HOWEVER, *Timûr* honoured the mufti for his merits: but dismissed him, without any positive answer; because he resolved to besiege *Bâghdâd*: towards which city, he began his

(X) Instead of *Ray*, *Derbend*, and *Bakû*, as in the original, we have inserted *Kûhestân*; which signifies the mountain country, and answers to *Jebâl* of the *Arabs*; being the same with *Persian Irâk*: or, in a more limited sense,

the north-eastern part, of which *Ray* was the capital.

(Y) Adorers of fire, professing the ancient religion of the *Persians*.

(Z) (Or the white fountain), a town near *Erbel*, or *Arbela*, in *Kûrdestân*. *La Croix*.

march

March *October* 3d. He marched day and night, to encamp at *Tan Bulak* (A). Thence he went to *Kāra Kārghān* (B); and, next morning, met *Mehemed*, prince of the *Turkīmans*, whom he routed, at the head of 100 horse. At *Shāhrzūr* (C), he marched in a litter, conducted by choice men, through narrow passages, between steep mountains. When he got to *Abrahīm Lāk* (D), he inquired of the inhabitants, whether they had sent pigeons to *Bāghdād*, to give notice of the approach of his army? and, on their answering in the affirmative, made them write another billet, importing, that the dust, which they had perceived at a distance, was caused by the *Turkīmans*, who fled to avoid *Timūr*. This letter was tied under the wing of a pigeon, which immediately fled to its house at *Bāghdād*. But although this advice gave Soltān *Alit* fresh courage, yet he did not intirely confide in it; having, on the receipt of the first, ordered his furniture to be carried over the *Tigris*.

THE 10th of *October*, when *Timūr* arrived at *Bāghdād*, the sultan had already crossed the river, broken the bridge, and sunk the boats, flying by the way of *Hilla* (E). The *Tatar* troops, who covered near two leagues of ground, cast themselves into the water, with a great cry, and passed the *Tigris*, notwithstanding its rapidity. *Timūr* went ten leagues in pursuit of the sultan, and then returned to *Bāghdād*, at the instigation of his amirs, who continued their route. Observing, when they arrived at the *Euphrates*, that the sultan had broken the bridge, and sunk the boats, they marched along the shore, till they found four boats, and then crossed it, with the army: but the horses of the soldiers being fatigued, the amirs were obliged to pursue the sultan themselves. They first came up with his baggage, and at length overtook him, in the plain of *Kerbela*, with near 2000 horse, 200 of whom turned on the amirs; who, getting off their horses, shot their arrows, and thus repulsed them twice. The third time they returned to the charge, with great vigour: many were killed on both sides; and the amirs pursued them no longer.

• Hist. Tim. Bek, p. 419—432, c. 25—30.

(A) A village near the same place. *La Croix*.

(B) A town of *Kārdēsān*, near *Shāhrzūr*. *La Croix*.

(C) A city of *Kārdēsān*, frontier of *Kārdēsān*. *La Croix*.—It at present belongs to *Kārdēsān*.

(D) A place of devotion (on the *Tigris*), twenty-seven leagues north of *Bāghdād*. *La Croix*.

(E) Or *Hellab*, and *Hellab Bani Mazid*: a city of *Irāk Arabi* (on the east side of *Euphrates*), between *Bāghdād* and *Kufa*. *La Croix*.

A. D.
1393.
Soltân
Ahmed
flies.

THAT day being extremely hot, and the plain of *Kerbela* (F) affording no water, the soldiers expected to perish for want of drink. On this occasion, *Aybaje Aglen* and *Jalâl Hamid* sent men to seek for water, who could get no more than two pots full; and as *Aybaje* drank one, without quenching his thirst, he told *Jalâl*, that, unless he gave him his pot also, he should certainly die with drought: hereupon the amir generously yielded him the water, yet escaped death himself; which action, when told to *Timûr* by *Aybaje*, at their return, greatly pleased him. They then departed, and came to *Masbûd*, where *Hussayn*, son of *Ali*, was slain: every one kissed the gate of the holy place, and paid his devotion. After this, they returned, having taken prisoner *Alao'ddawlet*, son of *Soltân Ahmed*, who fled towards *Syria*, and some other of his children; besides his wives and domestics, slaves and spoil.

The Kûrds
suppressed.

ABOUT the same time the *Mirza Mehemed Soltân* returned from his expedition against the *Kûrd* robbers; whom he so effectually reduced to obedience, or exterminated, that one or two men might travel safely thro' their country: whereas, before, large karawâns, guarded by 100 archers, were obliged to take by-roads. Soon after, he was sent governor to *Wâset* (G); and the *Mirza Mirân Shâh* to *Basrah*. The soltân's wives and children, with all the learned men of *Bâghdâd*, and masters of arts, were conveyed to *Samarkant*. After *Timûr* had sent ambassadors to invite *Mâlek Azzaher* (H) *Barkok*, soltân of *Egypt* and *Syria*, to a treaty of amity; he set out, November 11th; for *Takrit*, a place on the *Tigris*, esteemed impregnable, to destroy the robbers who were harboured there: for, the delivering of the countries from such pests, was one chief end of his expedition. He got thither, by the way of *Annab* (I), on the 20th. The town was built on a high rock near the river: the passages were closed up with stones laid in mortar; and it was so well fortified, that it could never be taken by force.

Hej. 796.
A. D.
1393.

• Hist. Tim. Bek, p. 432—443, c. 30—33.

(F) A plain on the (west side of) *Euphrates*, where *Imâm Hussayn*, son of *Ali*, was slain by *Moawiyâ*, first khalifah of the house of *Ommiyah*. *La Croix*. *Hussayn's* tomb is in the plain, a place of pilgrimage with the *Persians*.

(G) A city of *Irâk Arabi*, on the *Tigris*, half way between *Bâghdâd* and *Basrah*; commonly called *Bassora* and *Balsora*,

near the mouth of that river, and the *Persian* gulf.

(H) This is the *Persian* pronunciation; *Al Dbaber*, or *Ad-dhaber*, the *Arabian*; the *Dâ* being sounded like the *English* *Tb* in *this*, &c.

(I) The capital of *Desart Arabia*, situate on both sides of the *Euphrates*. *Timûr* arrived there on the sixteenth.

THE

THE Amîr *Hassan*, who commanded there, sent several times to offer submission ; but still feared to come out. Mean while the foldiers, having advanced to the foot of the wall, fell to sapping ; the whole army, consisting of 72,000 men, being employed in the work. At length part of the walls fell down ; but the besieged repaired this great breach, and fought desperately. December the sixth, fire being set to the wooden props, most part of the walls fell on a sudden, with a great tower. Yet still the robbers, armed with planks, and great bucklers, continued to defend themselves against the soldiers ; who advanced to the very middle of the place, where there was a most bloody battle. Hereupon *Timûr* ordered the rest of the walls to be undermined, which bringing down a considerable bastion, *Hassan* was terrified, and retired with his soldiers to the edge of the mountain. Some of the besieged, seeing this, came out, beseeching the amîrs to intercede for their lives ; but *Timûr* answered, Let him come, or not, no quarter shall now be given. The soldiers, animated by these words of the emperor, at length got to the top of the rock ; and, seizing the Amîr *Hassan*, and those about him, brought them bound neck and heels to *Timûr* : who ordered the soldiers to be separated from the inhabitants, and put to death. He likewise ordered part of the walls to be left standing, for posterity to wonder at his performance ; while towers were built with the heads of those robbers, for a terror to others.

AFTER this, *Timûr* returned, December 17, to *Harbi*, a Marchestown between *Annah* and *Takrit*, which was the rendezvous of all the troops ; and, when all those had joined him who were out on other expeditions, he departed for *Diyârbekr*. At crossing the *Tigris*, he caused a report to be spread, as if he was on his return home, that the enemy might be less on their guard. He marched to *Tûk*, and then to *Karkûk* (K), where the princes in all those parts came and submitted to him, especially he of *Altûn Kûpruk*. The 20th, he arrived at *Erbel* (or *Arbela*), and from thence marched to *Mûssel* (or *Muzol*). There he visited the tombs of the prophets *Jonas* and *Georges*, giving 20,000 dinârs *Kapeji* for raising domes over them, with much alms to the poor. Then taking *Yar-ali*, prince of that place, for his guide, departed. He passed by *Mardin* ; and, at *Râs al Ayn* (L), sent to pillage the lands, subject to *Hussayn*, called the *Black Sheep*, and other princes.

(K) Towns of *Mesopotamia*. fountain. Here are several
La Croix.—Rather of *Kûrdes* springs, from whence the river
tân. *Al Khabûr* has its rise.

(L) That is, the head of the

A. D. 1394. On his approach to *Reh* (M), its prince, named *Ghazel*, fled with some inhabitants to a high mountain; but they were pursued and taken. *Timur* entered the city said to be built by *Nimrod*; and, with his court, bathed in the fountain, which (as the *Mohammedans* believe) sprang up in the place of a furnace wherein *Abraham* had been cast, and quenched the fire.

**Omar
Sheykh
slain.**

THE emperor spent nineteen days at *Roha* in plays and entertainments, while several princes came and submitted; among the rest, the prince of *Hefn Keyfa* (N). But Soltan *Ayfa*, prince of *Mardin*, refusing to come as he had promised, *Timur* marched back to reduce him; as he did, ~~in~~ in his way, the prince of *Arzina*, *Batmân*, and *Al Jazîreh* (O). On his approach, *Ayfa* came out, and begged pardon; which was granted him. While the army lay before *Mardin*, news arrived of the death of the Mirzâ *Omar Shейkh*. This prince, who was the head general under his father when in *Pârs*, had reduced all that province, and then went to besiege *Sirjiân* in *Kirmân*: but, being sent for to court, left his troops before that city, and hastened to *Shirâz*. In his way through the country of the *Kürds*, he stopped at *Karmatû*, a little fort inhabited by a few people; and, getting on an eminence to view the place, was shot with an arrow in the *vena cava*, which killed him on the spot, in February 1394, when he was forty years old. The soldiers, to revenge his death, destroyed all who were in the place, and razed it to the ground. The corpse was carried to *Shirâz*, and afterwards to *Kasb*, where it was interred. The kingdom of *Pârs* (or *Proper Persia*) was given by *Timur* to the Mirzâ *Pâr Mehemed*, son of the deceased, although but sixteen years old.

Al Jazireh ~~ALTHOUGH~~ Soltàn *Aysâ* came out of *Mardin*, yet his
ravaged. brother and the inhabitants refused to deliver up the place;
which being found to be the effect of *Aysâ's* orders, he was
put in fetters: and, there not being grass enough for the ca-
valry, *Timûr* deferred the siege for this time. In his way to
Affenj, such a terrible tempest of lightning and rain fell, that
the horses were in water up to their ears; and the army were
forced to remove their quarters, leaving all their baggage be-

• Hist. Tim. Bek, p. 443—457. c. 33—37.

(M) Otherwise called *Orfa*,
the antient *Edessa*.

(N) A city on the *Tigris*, in *Mesopotamia*. *La Croix*.—It was, very strong place; the castle on a rock.

(C). The two first of these cities are in *Kürdistan*; the last in an island of the *Tigris*, and ascribed to *Diyârbekr*: it is called *Jazirat abu Omar*.

hind.

hind, for fear of being drowned themselves. This time *Mâlek Azzo'ddîn*, prince of *Jazîreh*, who had before submitted, refusing to deliver up an amir, who had stolen certain curiosities which *Timûr* was sending to his sons at *Solîmîya*; the emperor set out hastily with his troops, and, next day, coming on the enemy by surprise, took two or three fortresses, with a great booty. In the confusion, *Mâlek* fell into the hands of a soldier; who took from him many valuable things, and, not knowing who he was, let him escape. Being thus driven out of *Jazîreh*, and that city, with his country, ravaged, the emperor returned to *Mardîn*; and, investing it next day, *Mardîn* assaulted and took the city, while the besieged fled into the fortress named *Kâh*, situated on the ridge of a mountain. The soldiers followed to the foot of the wall; and, next day, getting on the mountain, which was level with the top of the wall, the besieged, finding themselves distressed thereby, came out with rich presents, and offered to pay a yearly tribute; which was the more readily accepted, as news arrived just then of the birth of a son, on *April 9*, to the heir of the crown, *Mîrza Shâh Rukh*, who was called *Oluk Bey* (P).

TIMUR gave *Mardîn* to *Soltân Saleh*, brother of *Aysa*; and then set forwards, the army marching in several bodies, by different roads. The emperor took that of *Sawr*, accompanied by *Mîrza Shâh Rukh*; and, on his arrival at the *Tigris*, near that place, staid three days, with design to return to *Alatâk* (in *Armenia*): but receiving advice, from the *Mîrzas Amid*, or *Mehemed Soltân* and *Mirân Shâh*, that the inhabitants of *Karâche Diyar-Koja* (Q), commonly called *Hamed*, refused to submit, he marched thither in two days and one night; the *Tigris* being so shallow, that the troops passed it on foot. The strength of this city consists in the height of its walls, which are built of free-stone; and in their thickness, which is such, that two horses may pass abreast on them. On the top of this wall, there is built another, the height of a man; and on both there is a terrace, on the outside of which there is another stone wall, with battlements. Thus, as there are two stories in this great wall; so, when it rains, or is either exceeding hot or cold, the soldiers may fight in the lower story. Besides, there are high towers fifteen cubits asunder; and, in the middle of the town, two fountains of rock water, with many fine gar-

(P) Some write *Oluk* and *Ulugh* for *Oluk*; and *Beg*, *Bek*, or *Bygh*, for *Bey*. He reigned after his father, and was a great encourager of learning.

(Q) *Hamed*, or *Amed*, is called also *Kara Amid*, or *Karâmid*, and *Diyârbekr*. *La Croix*. Hence *Santon*, in his maps, makes three cities of it.

A. D. 1394. dens. These walls are said to have been built 4300 years; and that the place was never taken by force of arms: indeed the Khalifah Kaled, son of *Walid*, after besieging it a long time, entered it, with some troops, by a common sewer, and made himself master of it.

besieged and taken. As soon as *Timûr* was encamped without the city, he ordered the assault to be given next day. The soldiers advanced, covered with their bucklers, and discharged a shower of arrows into the place; while the besieged cast down abundance of stones on them. Mean time the miners carried on the sap; and, breaches being made in several places, the walls were scaled in different parts: so that the city was carried in less than three days, in the beginning of *May*. The soldiers, entering the place, pillaged it, and set fire to the houses; while most part of the garrison were killed in the breaches. The officers began to pull down the walls with axes, and other instruments: but, as they found it would be a tedious work to demolish any considerable part, they only beat down the tops. *Timûr*, the ninth of *May*, took the road to *Alatâk*: and, three days after, *Taïk Sâfi*, the greatest amir in the left wing of the army, next the princes of the blood, being accused by an *Uzbek* soldier with fomenting a rebellion, and designing to fly in the night, confessed his crime, and discovered his accomplices. As he had been often pardoned before for the like offences, and yet promoted by the emperor, his judges ordered him and his son to be laid in irons, and all his accomplices to be put to death.

Alenjîk besieged.

AFTER he had passed by *Miyafarkîn*, *Batmân*, *Astima*, and *Sivâsser*, he arrived, the nineteenth, at *Sahra Mâsbi* (R); and, passing some high mountains deep with snow, came to *Beths* (S): whose prince, *Haji Sharîf*, the most courteous of all those in *Kürdestân*, came to salute him, and make a present of fine horses. *Timûr* confirmed him in his possessions, honoured him with a vest, belt, and sword; and left *Taïk Sâfi* to be kept prisoner in his castle. Then, ordering the roads to be set down in writing, he sent a detachment to besiege *Alenjîk*; at whose approach *Kara Yûsef*, with his *Turkmâns*, fled. Being come to *Aklât* (T), he gave *Kakhân*, prince of *Adeliaws* (U), the lordship of *Aklât*, with its dependencies, for ever. Then part-

(R) A little town, with a fine meadow, two days journey in length; the same distance from *Miyafarkîn*, and three from *Aklât* (or *K. lât*). *La Croix*.

(S) A city near the lake of *Vân*. *La Croix*.

(T) Capital of *Lower Armenia*, or *Kürdestân*, near the lake of *Vân*. *La Croix*.

(U) A town on the lake of *Vân*, between *Arjîsh* and *Aklât*. *La Croix*.

ing

ing from the army, to meet the young princes and empresses coming from *Soltâniya*, he passed by *Alisbgherd* (W); and encamped the same evening at *Uch Kilissa*, that is, the three churches of *Alatâk* (X), where he found them. On the twenty-fourth of June, he set out for *Aydn* (or *Bayezid*), whose inhabitants, presenting him with all their effects, begged quarter; which he granted, after blaming them for their remissness, and restored them all their goods. After this, he returned in one night to *Uch Kilissa*; where *Tahârtén*, governor of *Arzenjân*, came to pay his respects to him, and was honourably received¹.

A. D.

1394.

THE second of July, *Timûr*, resolving to make himself master of *Avenik* (or *Van*), whose prince, *Messer*, son of *Kara* or *Vân*, *Meheimed* (Y), refused to come to court, departed from *Uch Kilissa*, and came to *Alisbgherd* (or *Malazjerd*; from whence, passing by *Kisfatak*, in two days he arrived at *Avenik*. The soldiers immediately took the town, and razed the walls: hereupon *Messer* retired, with his *Turkmâns*, into the fortress, situated on a steep and craggy mountain, all the passages of which were blocked up and fortified; a wall being also built on one side, on the very edge of the mountain. The amirs, and bravest soldiers, alighted to attack the gate; while the horsemen, mounted as high as the walls, shot arrows on those who appeared on the breastwork. On the fifth, *Messer* sent his son and lieutenant, with considerable presents, to demand pardon; which *Timûr* granted: but, on their return, he renewed hostilities. After *Tahârtén* had argued the case with him, he sent his son, and a near relation, with more presents, to ask pardon: but *Timûr*, perceiving he had no design to quit the place, caused the messengers to be arrested.

HOWEVER, next morning, the emperor ordering *Messer's* *Timûr's* son, who was but six years old, to be brought before him; clemency. he was so moved with the supplications of this young prince, that he said, "Go, my child; I will give your father his life, on condition that he appears before me." Then he gave the child a vest, and fixed a collar of gold about his

¹ Hist. Tim. Bek, p. 457—470. c. 37—43.

(W) Or *Malazjard*, a town of *Kürdestân* (or *Lower Armenia*). near *Eriwân*, from which it is distant three leagues to the south-west.
La Croix.

(X) A town of *Kürdestân* (or *Armenia*), where are the three churches of *Achmiadxin*, the seat of the patriarch of *Armenia*, near *Nakshivân*. *La Croix*.—Rather

(Y) The *Turkmân*, founder of the dynasty of the *Kara Kuyonlu*, or *Black Sheep*, whose history is given in the sixth volume.

neck;

A. D. 1394. neck; sending him back to *Messer* with a very obliging letter: When the besieged saw the young prince in this condition, they applauded the emperor; and murmured against *Messer*, who still would not resolve upon going out. However, the battering engines having beaten down several houses, *Messer's* mother came to beg quarter for her son; alledging his fears as the only cause of his opposition. Altho' *Timur* promised to spare him, in case he left the place immediately, yet the *Turkman* continued obstinate. At length a meljûf, or hill made of earth and trees, being raised higher than the walls of the fortrefs, the place lay quite exposed to the engines. These poured in heaps of huge stones, which ruined the houses apart, and beat down the arches upon the soldiers heads. They were also reduced to such extremity for want of water, that, July the thirtieth, they turned out all the inhabitants who did not fight. *Messer*, therefore, in despair, sent his lieutenant once more to beg quarter; which was granted, provided he would repair to the camp: yet still that prince continued stubborn, and irresolute.

Messer submits.

MEAN time *Koja Shahin*, and seven other brave soldiers, mounting one of the arches in the night, got to the foot of the walls of the place; and there lighting fires, to give notice, two amirs ascended the mountain in the same place, and came to a very narrow arch; where the besieged attacked them, tho' in the dark. *Amânshâh Kazâneji*, being dangerously wounded, returned to the camp: but *Argânshâh*, and the rest, getting on another arch, above 300 cubits wide, arrived at the foot of the walls, which they began to sap. The officers and garrison seeing themselves thus hard pressed, some flung themselves off the mountain; while others exclaimed against *Messer*, flung down their arms, and begged leave to depart. *Messer*, to appease them, sent his mother once more to beg his life. *Timur*, touched with her affliction, said, that, for her sake, he would spare him, provided he came himself to ask pardon: yet *Messer* did not go out that day; and would have continued to defend himself, if his domestics had not quitted him, and leaped off the walls. Then, tying a handkerchief about his neck, and with a sword in his hand, he came out of the fortrefs; and, applying himself to the *Mirza Mehemed Soltân*, by his means obtained mercy. He was sent to *Samarkant*; and his treasures distributed among those who had behaved well in the siege. *Timur* also conferred the principality of *Arzenjân* on *Tahartch*; presenting him, on that occasion, with a crown, and belt of gold enriched with precious stones.

Ötörö

DURING these transactions, the army, which besieged *Aydn*, gave such considerable assaults, that the Amîr *Bayezid* (Z), prince thereof, demanded a truce; promising to depart as soon as the forces should decamp from before the walls. The general *Zirek Yabk* consenting to the proposal, *Bayezid* went out in the night, without his knowledge; and, arriving at *Timûr*'s camp, fell at the emperor's feet: who, pleased with his conduct, confirmed him in the principality, with a power to establish a governor in the town of *Aydn*'. A. D. 1394. Bayezid surrenders.

TIMÛR, in pursuance of *Mohammed*'s advice to his followers, to make war on those who profess a different religion from their own, set out to make war in *Gurjestân*, or *Georgia*, against *Akshka*, prince of that country; and, having passed by the forests of *Alatik* with a very numerous army, arrived at *Kârs*; where news was brought of the birth of prince *Ibrâhîm Soltân*, son of the *Mirza Shâh Rukh*, on September the ninth. Next day *Timûr* decamped from the fine meadow of *Kârs*, for the plain of *Minek Gbeul* (A). Shortly after, the amirs, whom he had sent into *Georgia*, having gained several battles, conquered great part of the country; and taken many strong places, returned with the spoils, and congratulated the emperor on the birth of his grandson. Georgia invaded.

On this occasion, a splendid banquet was prepared. The tents took up two leagues of ground. *Timûr*'s was under a *splendid* canopy sustained by forty pillars, and as spacious as a palace. When every thing was ready, his majesty came, with the crown on his head, and sceptre in his hand; and sat on the throne, which was erected in the middle of the tent, adorned with precious stones; and a great number of the most beautiful ladies of *Asia* placed on each side, with veils of rich brocade, bedecked with jewels. The music was ranged in two rows; the voices on the right, and instruments on the left. Nine chaush, as stewards, with golden wands in their hands, marched before the dishes which were served up: they were followed by cup-bearers, having in their hands crystal bottles and golden cups, with red wine of *Shîràz*, white of *Mazânderân*, grey-coloured of *Mosruân*, and water exceeding clear. Nor did the conversation of charming women, whose hair hung in tresses to the very ground, add a small lustre to this grand assembly; at which were present many foreign lords and princes from *India* and

* Hist. Tim. Bek, p. 470—478. c. 43—45.

(Z) Perhaps, from him the city took the name of *Bayezid*; which it at present bears. (A) A village near the mountain *Judi*, in *Georgia*.

A. D. 1394. *Greece.* After this, the *Mirza Shâh Rukh* set out for *Samar-kant*, of which his father conferred on him the government.

Tokat-
mish
Khân

TIMUR's zeal for religion prompting him to make the war himself in *Georgia*, he entered the mountains, destroying all before him. The *Kara Kalkânik* (that is, *The Black Bucklers*) having fortified themselves in castles situate on very steep mountains, he marched into their lands, vanquished and put them all to the sword, seizing their effects. After reposing his army for some time, he marched to *Teflis*, capital of *Georgia*; and from thence to *Sheki* (B), from whence troops were detached to pillage the lands of prince *Bertâz*. A second body entered other mountains, called the *Kûhestân* of *Georgia*, governed by *Sedi Ali*, of *Sheki*, prince of the house of *Erlât*; who fled, and left his houses and effects to be destroyed by the enemy. But, while *Timûr* was harassing the Christians in this manner, news was brought, that the troops of *Tokatmîsh*, khân of *Kipjâk*, had passed by *Dârbend*, and ravaged some parts of *Shîrwân*. Hereupon he immediately departed from *Sheki*, and arrived at the *Ab Kûr* (or river *Kûr*): but, on advice of his march, the enemy shamefully fled. When *Timûr* came to the plain of *Mahmûd abâd*, he encamped in that of *Kalin Gonbed*, near the town of *Fakr abâd* (in *Georgia*). There he sent for the empresses and princes from *Soltâniya*; and the *Mirza Mirân Shâh* quitted the siege of *Alenjâk* to come to court; being informed, on the road, of the birth of a son, whom the emperor named *Ayyel*^a.

invades
Shîrwân.

WHEN winter drew towards an end, *Timûr* departed, *March* 10th, for *Kipjâk*, at the head of a powerful army, to make war on *Tokatmîsh* (or *Toktamîsh*) *Khân*; who, having re-established himself in his kingdom, was daily making irruptions into the emperor's dominions, to repair the loss of his last defeat. *Timûr*, before this, had sent that prince a letter, to know his resolution, and reason for invading his territories; which, with the arguments of the ambassador *Shâmso'ddîn Al mâleghi*, so wrought upon him, that he would have concluded a treaty, if his courtiers and generals, whose interest it was to make war, had not persuaded him against it. *Shâmso'ddîn*, at his return, found *Timûr* on the river *Samnâr*, which runs at the foot of mount *Albârz* (C), reviewing his army: which extended from thence

^a Hist. Tim. Bek, p. 478—487. c. 45—50.

(B) A city between *Teflis* and the river *Cyrus* (now *Kûr*). *La Croix*.

(C) Or *Albârz Kûb*; by which is to be understood the ridge of mountains called by *Europeans* *Caucasus*; some call it *Albrûz*, and *Brûz*.

to the sea, five leagues distant, and was the greatest that had been since the time of *Jenghiz Khân*. *Timûr*, who was enraged at the rudeness of the answer, and impertinent reasons alledged by the khân, marched in order of battle; and, when the army had passed *Dârbend*, they surprised and cut to pieces the orda of *Kaytâg*, which encamped at the foot of mount *Albûrz*.

A. D.

1394.

HERE an ambassador from *Tokatmîsh* was coming to the *Timûr* camp; but, on sight of the army, he returned through fear. *meets him* At *Terki* (D) word being brought, that the scouts of the enemy were encamped on the *Koy* (E), *Timûr*, with choice men, hastened in the night; and, surprising them in the morning, cut most of them off. Thence he continued his road to the *Savenj* (F), where he encamped; at the same time that the khân, with a formidable army, encamped on the banks of the *Terk* (G), surrounded with waggons: but, on *Timûr's* approach, he returned back, either through fear, or to gain a more advantageous ground. While *Tokatmîsh* arrived at the *Kâra* (H), the emperor crossed the *Terk*, and marched towards the country of *Kâlat* (I), in quest of provisions. The scouts having brought advice, that the khân had rallied his troops, and was marching by the lower part of the river, *Timûr* ranged his army in order; and, always preserving the rising ground, wheeled about to face the enemy.

NEXT morning the two armies began to move. *Timûr* divided his into seven bodies, placing at the head of them those who had the title of *Bahâdr* (or courageous); and the infantry before the cavalry, covered with their bucklers. The *Mirza Mehemed Soltân* commanded the main body, strengthened with the bravest men of the army; while *Timûr* placed himself at the head of twenty-seven chosen companies, who composed the body of reserve. The battle began with showers of arrows, accompanied with the cries *Give and slay, Hold and take*. After this, a great detachment from the enemy's right wing attacked the left wing of *Timûr's*; who, upon notice thereof,

(D) A town of *Dârbend*. *La Croix*.—It is the capital of *Daghestân*, or *Tâghestân*, that is, the mountain country, on the shore of the *Caspian* sea, above 100 miles north of *Dârbend*.

(E) A river of *Dârbend*, near *Terki* [rather *Daghestân*], which falls into the *Caspian* sea. *La Croix*.

(F) A river between the *Terk*

and the *Koy*, which falls into the *Caspian*. *La Croix*.

(G) The same as the *Timenki*, rising on mount *Albûrz*, and falling into the *Caspian*: *La Croix*.

(H) A river in *Kipjâk*, between the *Kaysû* and the *Terk*; it rises in mount *Albûrz*, and falls into the *Caspian*. *La Croix*.

(I) A fortress in *Georgia*, near *Tâus*, on the *Terk*. *La Croix*.

marched

A. D. 1394—
 marched with his reserve, and forced them to fly : but, one of the companies pursuing them to their main body, they rallied, and made them retreat, in their turn, upon the other companies, who, by this means, were broken, and began to fly. The *Kipjaks*, willing to make their advantage of this disorder, advanced upon the others as far as where *Timûr* was posted, whom they boldly attacked ; and, notwithstanding his vigorous resistance, in which he discharged all his arrows, and broke his half-pike to shivers, had hemmed him in, if the Amir *Sheykh Nûro'ddin* had not dismounted by him, with fifty others, and kept off the enemy with their arrows.

Timûr in
 danger.

THE emperor's danger brought more to his assistance : *Mahmud Azad*, his brother *Ab-shâh*, and *Tuzel Bawrsbi*, took three of the enemy's waggons, and joined them just before *Timûr*, to embarrass the enemy, and try to break the ranks. *Allah-dâd* came with his faithful company ; and, dismounting, placed himself near the *Sheykh Nûro'ddin*. *Hussayn Mâlek Kâchin* and *Zirch Fâtû* arrived with their clubmen. The regiments of guards came also, with the horsetail erected ; and *Ufoni*, with his company, posted himself behind the guards. All these soldiers, having dismounted, opposed the enemy ; who made continual attacks on them, and performed actions of the utmost vigour. *Kadâddâd Hussayn*, who conducted the van-guard of *Timûr's* left wing, advanced between *Konje Aglam*, who commanded the enemy's right, and planted himself behind *Ahtâd*, who boldly faced the emperor. Mean time the *Mirza Mahamed Soltân* marched to the left of his father, with his recruits ; who bravely rushed on the enemy, and, with their sunetars and lances, routed their right wing, and constrained *Ahtâd* to fly.

Bravely
 supported.

THE Amir *Haji Sayfo'ddin*, who commanded the van-guard of the right wing, found himself more pressed than the others : for he was inclosed by the enemy's left ; so that, despairing of his life, he dismounted with his toman. But, altho' the *Kipjaks* continually increased, and fell on with their lances and swords, yet *Sayfo'ddin's* soldiers, holding their bucklers before them, did not cease repulsing them with their arrows ; till *Jehân Shâh Bahâd*, coming to their assistance from another part of the field, fell impetuously with his toman on the enemy. Hereupon an obstinate fight began, and a horrible slaughter was made : but at length the van-guard of the *Kipjaks* left-wing gave way. Mean time the *Mirza Rustem*, son of *Omar Sheykh*, tho' so very young, rushed impetuously on the main body, and put them to flight.

* Hist. Tim. Bek, p. 487—495. c. 50—53.

THINGS being in this situation, *Yâghlîbî Bahrin*, a favourite and relation of *Tokatmîsh*, advanced with a tomân of brave men, and called out to *Ozmân Bahâdr* to meet him. *Ozmân* advanced at the head of his tomân, and attacked him: after they had broken their sabres, they seized on their war-clubs and poignards; then grappled like two enraged lions. The soldiers of their tomâns imitated their chiefs, and fought hand to hand with great fury. At length *Ozmân Bahâdr* overthrew his antagonist; and then fell on his troops with such vigour, that he intirely defeated them. All the other generals performed their duty so well, that, after a long and obstinate battle, they put the enemy into disorder: yet they were not certain of the defeat, till *Toktamîsh Khân* shamefully turned his back, followed by the princes, and generals of his troops. On this, *Timûr*'s soldiers rallied; and, joining together, fell upon the enemy, crying *Victory!* They slew a vast number, and afterwards hung up many of those whom they took alive.

TIMUR, finding himself sure of the victory, gave God thanks on his knees, received the congratulations of his officers; and, getting an exact information of all who had served well on this occasion, distributed his treasures liberally. Particularly, on the Amîr *Shaykh Nûro'ddîn*, who had so signally exposed his life to save his prince, he conferred a higher post; presented him with a horse of great price, a vest of gold brocade, a belt set with precious stones, and 100,000 dinârs *Kapghî*. Besides this, he made a general promotion of officers. Being come to the *Koray* (K), he left the baggage and booty; then marched, at the head of his best troops, in pursuit of *Tokatmîsh*: but, when he arrived at the *Volga*, the khân having crossed it, he staid at a passage called *Tûratû*. There he crowned *Koyrichak Aglen*, son of *Urûs Khân*, who was an officer of his court, emperor of *Kipjâk*; and sent him, with the squadron of *Uzbeks*, over the *Volga*, to gather the troops of his nation, and govern his new subjects. Mean time the *Jagatayans* pursued the fugitives as far as *Ukek* (L), slaying and taking captives a great number; while others crossed the *Volga* on floats: and *Tokatmîsh*, seeing himself closely pressed, fled into the impenetrable forests of *Bûlâr* (M). The army ad-

(K) A river in the *Kûhestân* of *Georgia*, which falls into the *Caspian*, to the north of *Terki*. *La Croix*.

(L) *Owkek*, or *Okak*. The last town dependent on *Saray*, on the *Volga*, between *Bulgâr* and *Je-*

bray, fifteen leagues from each. *La Croix*.—Elsewhere he says, near *Bulgâr* and *Samera*.

(M) *Bûlâr* is *Bulgâr* (or *Bulgâria*), reaching as far as *Siberia*, along the river *Kamâl* (or *Kama*), to the *Icy sea*. *La Croix*.

A. D. 1394. vanced on the west side of the river, till they came opposite to the place where they had been in the first campaign, which is near the dark ocean, or *Icy sea*; and, in their return, ravaged the country, bringing away an immense booty of gold, silver, precious stones, spotted, and furs, with boys and girls of great beauty.

Kara Yû-*sef* flies. WHILE *Timûr* was on this expedition, *Kara Yûsef* assembled a troop of *Turkmâns* about *Alatâk* (or *Uch Kûssâ*), with design to attack *Koy*: but the emperor, after the late battle, having sent troops into *Irân* and *Great Bukhâria*, to prevent disorders, the *Mirza Pîr Mehemed*, who commanded the former, marched to *Koy*; and from thence, by the defile of *Kara Derra* (N), to *Bend Mâhi* (O), where *Kara Yûsef* lay encamped; but, on his approach, that robber fled, and was pursued as far as *Avenik* (or *Viu*).

Timûr invades MEAN time *Timûr*, resolving to conquer the rest of *Asia*, on the side of *Kipjâk*, entered the great desert, which leads into *Europa*, at the great river *Uzi*, or *Borysthenes*. Here, at a town called *Mankirmen*, on that river, he found *Bik-yarak Aglen*, with other *Uzbek Tatars*; most of whom were cut to pieces, and their effects pillaged. *Bîsb Temûr Aglen* and *Aktaa* crossed the *Uzi*, and fled into the country of *Hermeday* (P); whose inhabitants, being their enemies, so harassed them, that the toman of *Aktaa* fled to *Isra Yaka* in *Râm*, or *Anatolia*, and there settled.

and ravages Russia. TIMUR then, changing his route, marched towards *Muscovy*, and *Great Russia*. At the *Tanais* (or *Don*) the army again overtook *Bik Yarak*, and pursued him as far as *Kara Sâ* (Q), a town of *Great Russia*, which they pillaged. His wives and children, who fell into their hands, were kindly treated by the emperor. This prince went in person to *Moskew*, which was pillaged; while parties were sent to ravage all the provinces of *Great Muscovy*, and *Urûsjik*, or *Little Russia*; who returned with prodigious droves of cattle, and beautiful captives, besides immense riches of all kinds. *Timûr*, after this, departed towards *Balchinkin* (or the *Palus*

(N) A defile of mountains, at present the bounds between *Persia* and *Turky*: the *French* translator has passed them. *La Croix*.

(O) A little river, where they shut up the fish of the lake of

Vân by a kind of sluice. *La Croix* had crossed it.

(P) A country between the *Borysthenes* and *Danube*, *La Croix*.

(Q) Otherwise called *Koresko*, on the frontiers of *Poland*. *La Croix*.

Maotis);

Meotis; and, being arrived at *Azāk* (R), ordered that the *Mohammedans* should be set at liberty, and the other inhabitants put to the sword. From hence he marched his troops to *Kubân* (S): but, as the *Chérkas* had destroyed all the pasture grounds between those two towns, a great number of horses died, and they suffered much for eight days. From *Kubân* the *Mirzas Mehemed Soltân* and *Mirân Shâh* were sent to conquer *Cherkassia*; which they effected, bringing away infinite spoil.

A. D.

1394.

AFTER this, *Timūr* returned towards mount *Albârz*. On the way, some sorry fellows, who are never wanting in the courts of princes, accused *Ozmân Abbâs* of crimes which had no foundation: but, as *Timūr* had before suspected *Ozmân's* fidelity, he ordered that illustrious amir, who, on so many occasions, had given proofs of his courage and conduct, to be put to death. The emperor, having a design to destroy the infidels, marched towards *Bûrdaberdi*, to attack *Burakén*, prince of the nation of *Ar*. He ascended mount *Albârz*, several times attacked the *Georgians*, put a great number of them to the sword; and ruined their fortresses, which they had deemed inaccessible. On his return, he made a splendid feast, for joy of his success; after which, he again left the body of the army, to attack the fortresses of *Kâla* and *Taws* in *Georgia*, situate on mountains inhabited by the same people as those of mount *Albârz*; and so steep, that one is dazzled to look at them. That, on whose ridge *Taws* stands, is so high, that no archer can hit it with his arrow.

Returns to
Georgia.

TIMUR ordered the toman of *Mékrits*, the most dexterous *Fortress of* in the world at climbing mountains, to ascend the rock: but, *Taws*, after going round it, they could not find one single passage to the castle. The emperor, concerned at this, at length caused a great number of ladders to be made, which might be joined together. Being gotten, by these helps, to the top of the first ridge of the mountain, a troop of the forlorn hope bound themselves with cords; and, having fastened the ends of the cords to the ridge of the mountain, came down even with the place, where the besieged overwhelmed them with stones, and slew them in heaps. But, as the whole army were continually mouniting the ladders, and descending before the places, the besieged lost courage; so that they could not hinder the castle from being taken by the *Jagatays*, who put to the sword

^u Hist. Tim. Bek, p. 495—505. c. 53—56.

(R) The same with *Asof* (as the *Europeans* call it) at the mouth of the *Don*.

(S) Capital of *Cherkassia*. La *Croix*.

A. D. 1394. all the men of the nation of *Irkawn* who had retired thither : the governors of the place, and he of *Kâla*, were also put to death.

and Pulâd taken ; FROM thence the army marched towards the fortrefs of *Pulâd*, by the way of *Balakhân* ; where they were all furnished with honey, the quantity was so great. The governor, named *Pulâd* also, refusing to deliver up *Utarkû*, one of the great amirs of *Kipjak*, who was retired thither, *Timûr* ordered a passage three leagues long to be cut through a thick wood, in order to come at the castle, which is situated on a very steep defile of mountains. The enemy began the attack first : but, being quickly defeated, the *Jagatays* entered the place, and put to the sword all who were capable of bearing arms. However, three companies of *Georgians*, and *Utarkû*, fled : the companies were pursued to the top of a mountain ; and, after their defeat, were all cast into the fire : while *Timûr* followed *Utarkû* to the middle of mount *Albârz*, in a place called *Abâsa* ; where he was at length seized, after an obstinate defence, and loaded with chains

with other places. THE army, having pillaged all the inhabitants of this great and famous mountain, marched against the country of *Semsem* : whose lord, *Mehemed*, son of *Gayâr Khân*, came to offer it, with his subjects ; and was enrolled among the officers of *Timûr*'s court. They then ascended the mountain, whither some of the inhabitants had fled ; who being taken, the emperor ordered them to be bound, and precipitated from the rocks. There were several places in *Georgia*, out of which neither horse nor foot could get, without gently sliding down the steep hills : yet no difficulties diverted *Timûr*'s zeal, who at length cleared this country of the infidels, destroying their images and churches, as well as their houses. Thence he marched, by mount *Awhâr*, to *Bisbkunt* (T) ; whose inhabitants he rewarded with largesses and lands, because they had long before offered him their service. He then proceeded, and ravaged the countries of the *Kossâks* of *Jutûr* (in *Georgia*), putting all those robbers to the sword. From thence he went to *Bogâz Kom*, a defile of mountains, where the inhabitants of *Mamkatû* and *Kazi Komûk* came to make their submissions. There now remained unconquered in *Georgia* only the isles ; whose inhabitants, called *Balekchian*, that is, *fishermen*, confided in their fluid rampier : but, as it was winter, and the waters were frozen two cubits in thickness, the soldiers passed over ; and, having pillaged their houses, brought them away prisoners to the camp.

(T) A town of *Georgia*.

AT

AT this time *Timûr* receiving advice from his lieutenant in *A. D.*
Haji Terkhân (or *Astrakhân*), of some treasonable practices in 1394.
Mahmûdi, the kelonter (or governor) began his march thither, altho' the winter was extremely severe. The walls of this city are close to the *Wolga*, which runs round them by means of the ditches, and so serves for a rampier: but, as the river is frozen in winter, they usually build a wall of ice, as strong as one of brick, on which they sling water in the night, that the whole may congeal, and become one piece; wherein they make a gate. *Timûr*, being come near *Haji Terkhân*, approached the city with only a few men: and, as *Mahmûdi* was obliged to go out to meet the emperor, he was arrested, and sent towards *Saray*, under the conduct of the *Mirza Pir Mehemed*; who, in his way, having passed the *Wolga*, which was frozen, pursuant to the orders given him, thrust his prisoner under the ice. When he came to *Saray*, capital of *Kipjâk* (U), he made the inhabitants go forth, and then reduced it to ashes; to revenge the burning of *Zenjir Saray*, the palace of Soltân *Khazân Khân* (in 1387), when it was without a governor, and there was no king in *Great Bukhâria*. After this, *Timûr* returned to the winter quarters at *Bugâz Kom*; and, as his army had been extremely weakened by the severe weather, which had killed most of the horses, and rendered provisions excessively scarce (W), he ordered the spoils of *Saray* and *Haji Terkhân* to be divided among the soldiers *.

ALL the countries of *Kipjâk* and *Kefer* (X), with the west Georgia and north parts of the *Caspian* sea, were now reduced under *Timûr's* dominion: the towns and provinces of those climates *farther*
 had likewise all been plundered, as *Ukek*, *Majâr* (or Hungary); *Hej.* 798.
Little Russia, *Cherkassia*, *Bâsbgorod* (Y), *Mekes* or *Moskow*, *A. D.*
Azâk, *Kûbân*, and *Alân* (Z). All the princes of those countries had, moreover, given assurances of their obedience; and the enemy scattered. At the beginning, therefore, of the year 1396.

* Hist. Tim. Bek, p. 505—514. c. 56—60.

(U) Where resided the *Tartar* kings of *Dasht Barka*, which is the *Arâb* name of *Kapshâk* [rather *Kapchâk*, *Kapjâk*, or *Kipjâk*], situated on the *Wolga*. *La Croix*.

(W) A pound of millet fold for seventy dinârs *Kopeghi*; the head of an ox for 100; and that of a sheep for 250.

(X) The province between *Khorassân* and the *Caspian* sea. *La Croix*.

(Y) A town of *Kipjâk*. *La Croix*.

(Z) A town and country between *Georgia* and the *Black Sea*. *La Croix*.

A. D.

1396.

798, *Timûr* began his march back to *Azerbejân*. When he came to *Terki*, he went to besiege *Ushenj* (A): on advice of which, *Shûkel*, tho' a *Mohammedan*, and before at war with the inhabitants, came, from *Kâzi Komûk* and *Awshër*, to their assistance with 3000 men: but, in their approach, *Timûr* surprised them, when their horses were feeding; and, with 500 chosen horse, defeated them. Most of them were slain; and *Shûkel*, flying on foot, was killed with an arrow by *Mobasber Bahâdr*, who cut off his head. As soon as *Timûr* returned to the camp, his soldiers took *Ushenj*, and put the garrison to the sword: but he not only pardoned governors, kâzis, and other great men of the country, but confirmed them in their sovereignties, and made them great presents; exhorting them, at the same time, to make war on the Christians, according to their antient custom.

Timûr
returns to
Irân.

FROM thence *Timûr* marched to *Norghes* (*); which he took at the first assault, and put all the inhabitants to the sword: he likewise took and razed the towns of *Mika*, *Balû*, and *Derkalû*, at the foot of mount *Albûrz*. He left *Georgia*, laden with spoils and beautiful captives. The inhabitants of *Zenegherân*, the most skilful workmen in coats of mail, came to meet the emperor, with presents of curious armour; and those of the mountain *Kaytâg* submitted also. Then he marched to *Dârbend Bakû*, that is, the *Caspian gates* (B), and caused the walls of the fortress to be built. Here *Sheykh Ibrâhim*, prince of *Shirwân*, who had followed the court in this expedition, setting out before, prepared a great banquet at *Shabrân* (C). At *Shamâki* he entertained the court a second time. Then *Timûr*, having confirmed the sheykh in his principality, crossed the *Kûr*, and encamped at *Aktam*. There he ordered the *Mirza Mirân Shâh* to govern the kingdom, which he had before given to him, by himself, and to besiege *Alenjîk*. He fixed the countries of *Karabâgh* and *Nakshivân*, as far as *Avenik* (or *Vân*), for lodging the ordas of the troops of his right wing; and the ordas of his left wing were quartered in the lands between *Soltântyâ* and *Hamadân*.

Peas's his
court.

(A) A country (and town) of *Georgia*. N. E. of *Tessâ*. *La Croix*.

(*) A town of *Georgia*, in *Mingrelia*. *La Croix*.

(B) This seems to be the explanation of *La Croix*, who sometimes inserts names and explanations of his own in the text. The

Arabs call *Dârbend*, *Bâp at Ab-wâb*, that is, the gate of gates. *Dârbend Bakû* seems to be made by confounding two different towns of *Shirwân* together.

(C) A town of *Shirwân*, between *Dârbend* and *Shamâki*, which last is the capital.

SIRJÂN, or *Seyrjân*, in *Kermân*, which had suffered a siege of three years, was so pressed by *Shâh Shâhân*, and the troops of *Siffân* employed therein, that all the inhabitants, as well as garrison, were slain in the assaults, excepting *Guderz* the governor, and six others; who, being at length obliged to surrender the place, was put to death for his obstinacy. After this, while *Temâk Kûchin*, governor of *Tazd*, was gone to the imperial camp, the Soltân *Mehemed*, son of *Abûsaïd Tebesi*, with some troops, formerly in the service of the princes of *Muzaffer*, slew *Temâk's* lieutenant, with several of the great officers of that city; and, seizing the public treasure, with several loads of stuff, designed for the empress, assembled an infinite number of profligate fellows, whom he clothed, and gave money to. On advice of this sedition, *Pîr Mehemed*, son of *Omar Sheykh*, marched from *Shîrâz* with the army of *Pârs*: and, being joined by those of the neighbouring provinces, went and besieged *Tazd*. *Timûr* also sent thither the *Mirza Pîr Mehemed*, son of *Jehân Ghîr*, with considerable troops; who gave two assaults each day, yet could not reduce the place by force: but, after a long siege, in which 30,000 died of famine, the enemy dug their way out under the ditch. However, being pursued, their leader *Mehemed* was killed near *Mehrijerd* (*); while some of his followers were slain, and the rest burnt alive. *Timûr*, pitying the poor inhabitants, forgave the arrears of taxes; and put their city, which had been ruined by the rebels, in a flourishing condition again.

A. D. 1396.
Sirjân taken.

Rebels suppressed.

C H A P. IV.

Timûr invades and conquers Hindustân.

TIMUR, being arrived at *Soltâniya*, released Soltân *Aysa*, Timûr prince of *Mardin*, and restored him to his territories. He then marched to *Hamadân*, and then sent troops to *Nabawend* (in *Persian Irâk*), against *Behlûl*, who had slain the generous Amîr *Mezîd Berlâs*, governor of that city, and revolted. Those forces, having, with abundance of fatigue, taken the place, cut in pieces all the rebels who defended it, and burnt their ringleader alive; the amîrs, who commanded at the siege, were afterwards ordered to exterminate the robbers of *Lorestân*; and then march to the *Persian gulf*, and bring under his obedience all the maritime places, as far as

* Hist. Tim. Bek, p. 514—524 c. 60—54.

(*) A city of *Khorassân*, otherwise called *Mehrejân* and *Esferayn*.
La Croix.

A. D. 1396. the borders of *Harmûz*, or *Ormûz*; which they at length effected. *Timûr*, after hunting in the plain of *Hamadân*, disbanded his army; and, *July* the 30th, set out for *Samarkant*, marching in one day as far as others would in three or four. Having passed through *Verami* (**) and *Bestam* (†), he entered *Khorassân*, of which he made the Amîr *Allahdâd* inspector-general. Then crossing the *Jihûn* in boats, at *Amûya*, he went to his palace of *Ak-faray*, in *Kash*; where, after receiving the compliments of all the great lords of divers provinces, who came to congratulate his return, he made a solemn feast; and then went to *Samarkant*, where he was joyfully received, and made another feast. After this, he gave the sharifs, and men of letters, part of the spoil he had brought home; punished bad governors, against whom complaints were made, putting some to death; and exempted all the subjects of his empire from taxes for three years.

Fine palace built. In spring 799, *Timûr* ordered the palace of *Bâghi-shemâl* to be built, in a garden to the north (A) of *Samarkant*, by the most skilful architects of *Pârs* and *Bâghdâd*. It had a pavilion at each of the four corners; and the walls were painted in fresco, with such art, as surpassed the works of *Artenk Mânî* (B), several of whose pieces *Timûr* was possessed of. The court was paved with marble; and the bottom of the walls, both within and without, were covered with porcelain. When the whole was finished, *Timûr* ordered a royal feast, with sumptuous banquets, plays, and diversions; at which he invested his fourth son, the Mirza *Shâh Rûkh Bahâdr*, sovereign and absolute prince of the kingdoms of *Khorassân*, *Sîstân*, and *Mazânderân*, as far as *Firûzkûh*, and the city of *Ray*: deeming *Khorassân*, by its situation, fittest for the seat of his kingdom, as lying between the two empires of *Irân* and *Tûrân* (of which he was master). Then, having appointed amîrs and generals to command under him, he tenderly embraced, and, having kissed his eyes and forehead, dismissed him. The new king crossed the *Jihûn* in *June*; and, arriving at *Herât*, chose for his residence the palace of *Bâgh-zaghân*, that is, *the Garden*.

Shâh Rûkh made king.

(**) A town of *Kûhestân* (in *Irâk*), in the territory of *Reja. La Croix*.--By *Reja* (or *Reya*) he seems to mean *Rey*, or *Ray*. It is mentioned in the journal of the *Persian* merchant taken from *Ramulio* by *Hakluyt*, Vol. I. p. 337. and placed six days journey from

Kashin, in the road to *Herât*, fifteen days distant.

(†) Or *Basaâm*, a town of *Komûs*, south of *Mazânderân*.

(A) *Bâghi-shemâl* signifies *the Garden of the North*.

(B) The most eminent painter of *China* and *Persia. La Croix*.

of Crows; where, the 25th of September, he had a son born, whom the emperor, his father, named *Baysankar* ². A. D. 1397.

MEAN time the Mirza *Mehemed Soltân*, marching by *Darabjerd* (C) and *Taram* (D), went to *Harmûz* (or *Ormûz*), where he was met by troops which had taken different routes. At the first onset, they reduced the seven fortresses, which are the bulwarks of that kingdom; whose sovereign, *Mehemed Shâh* (E), was obliged to retire to *Jerom*, where he was constrained to make peace, swearing to pay an annual tribute of 600,000 dinârs. When the Mirza was on his return to *Shîrâz*, a person named *Jumâlo'ddîn*, a native of the mountain of *Fîrûzkûh*, who rode at the side of his horse, struck him with a knife, but only wounded him slightly. The villain, thinking to escape, got up to the ridge of the mountain; but, stumbling as he ran, fell into a precipice, and was killed. This prince, having finished the campaign, returned to the court at *Samarkant*: where *Timûr*, at this time, made several rich presents to *Shâma Jêhân*, son of *Kezer Kôja Aglen* (king of *Jetah*); and sent him to his father, accompanied by *Kayâzo'ddîn Terkhân*, to demand his sister, *Tukel Khânûm*, in marriage. Harmûz conquered,

At the same time he built a magnificent palace in the midst of the garden, called *Bâghi Dilensha* (F), just then finished, in the plain of *Khâni Gheul*, without *Samarkant*, and gave it the name of his new mistress (G). This palace was square; each side 1500 cubits long; and, in the middle of each, a very high gate. The edifice was three stories high, and the roofs exceeding lofty. The ceilings were adorned with flowers in *Mosaique* work, and the walls covered with porcelain of *Kashân*. It was adorned with all the beauties that could be devised; built exceeding strong; and surrounded with a colonnade of marble, which gave it a majestic aspect. The garden was most elegantly laid out in parterres, wildernesses, and allées, bordered with fycamores, and delicious fruit-trees. At each of the four corners stood a very lofty pavilion, covered

¹ Hist. Tim. Bek, p. 524—534. c. 64—68.

(C) A city of *Fârs*, or *Pârs*, where they find salt of all colours: in the midst of the town is a hill of free-stone. *La Croix*.

(D) A city of *Fârs*, near *Seyrjân* (or *Sîrjân*). *La Croix*.

(E) This prince is not mentioned among the kings of *Harmûz*, or *Ormûz*, whose history,

from *Texeira*, is given, Vol. VI. p. 65. *Jerom*, or *Jerûn*, is the island of *Ormûz*; but the fortresses were on the continent of *Persia*.

(F) That is, the garden which rejoices the heart.

(G) It was the custom to dedicate palaces to ladies.

A. D. with porcelain tinged with very delicate shadowings, and
1397. ranged with admirable skill.

Timûr marries. AFTER this, the emperor departed for *Tashkent*, visiting, in his way, the tomb of *Shaykh Ahmad*; and, when winter was over, hearing that the princess was on the road, all the ladies and amirs of the court were sent on horseback, sixteen days journey, to meet her. Having met her, they sprinkled gold and precious stones on her head; did her all the honour due to a great queen; and, making magnificent feasts at every *orda* they arrived at, brought her at length to *Timûr*. Then he gave orders for a grand feast; and, commanding the chief *mufti*, the *kâzi*'s, and doctors of the law, to come before him, they married him according to the *Mohammedan* rites.

Embassy
from
China.

ABOUT this time ambassadors arrived from *Tamgûz Khân*, emperor of *Katay* (H), with very curious presents, and were soon dismissed. *Timûr* then appointed the *Mirza Mehemmed Soltân*, governor of the frontiers of *Magulestân*, with orders to build a fortress there, at the town of *Ashira*, and 40,000 horse under his command. After this, in the beginning of spring, he left *Chinas*, and came to *Samarcant*: from thence he went to *Kash*. On the road, five leagues from the first city, there is a mountain, out of which springs a river; and, this being an agreeable place, the emperor ordered a great garden to be made there; and, on the top of a rock, in the middle of it, a pleasure-house to be built, to which he gave the name of *Tâkt Karâche*, that is, the *Black Throat* ^b.

Heinwades.
Hindûs-
tân.

AFTER the death of *Firûz Shâh* (I), emperor of *India*, *Mellû Khân* and *Sarenk*, two brothers, who had been his generals, placed his grandson *Soltân Mahmûd* on the throne; but, at the same time, usurping the sovereign power themselves, *Mellû* resided at *Deli* (K), near *Mahmûd*, and *Sarenk* at *Mûltân* (L). On this occasion, *Timûr*, being persuaded by

^b Hist. Tim. Bek, p. 534—42. r. 64—70.

(H) Or *Kitay*; by which is to be understood *China* in general: altho' *Kitay* properly included only the provinces to the north of the *Whang-bo*. The emperor designed by *Tamgûz* was *Hong-vû*, founder of the family of the *Ming*, *Ta-ming*, or *Tay-ming*, who died the year after.

(I) He was probably a descendant of the family of *Gauri*, or *Gour*, who reigned in *Gâzna*

of *Khorassân*, and in *Hindûstân*, and succeeded that of the *Gâzni* in the year 1155.

(K) Called also *Delli*, or, more properly, *Dehli*. It was then, as it is now, the capital of *Hindûstân*, or the *Mogols* empire; and consists of three towns, *Sari*, *Jebân-pena*, and *Old Deli*.

(L) A city situated on the river *Ravi*.

Timûr

Timûr Kaja, son of *Akbûga*, to invade *India*, ordered the *Mirza Pîr Mehemed*, son of *Jehân Ghîr*, who had been established in the provinces of *Îrân* bordering thereon, to march into that country with his forces, and make conquests there. They began with plundering the *Ugâns* (or *Augwâns*) who inhabited the mountain of *Soleymân Kâh*. Then, passing the *Indus*, invested *Uchâh* (*), and also laid siege to *Mûltân*; which last place they attacked without intermission, with two assaults every day. *Timûr* received this news with joy; and, as he resolved to carry his arms as far as *China*, in order to root out infidels, he determined, to merit the glory of the *gazi* (M), to march into *India* in person: for, altho' *Mohammedism* was professed in *Dehli*, and many other cities of that empire, yet the greater part of the provinces was inhabited by idolaters. With this view, therefore, in *March* he set forward with his army, composed of many nations, but mostly *Tatars*; and, having passed the *Jihûn* at *Termed*, took the road of *Aznik* and *Semenkân*; then crossed the mountains of *Bakalân*, and encamped at *Anderâb*.

THE inhabitants of this place having complained that the idolaters of mount *Ketûer*, and the *Siapûshes* (N), exacted excessive sums of the *Mohammedans*, under the denomination of tribute; and that, on failure of payment, they slew the men, and made slaves of the women and children, *Timûr* marched against them. Being arrived at *Perjân* (O), he sent the *Mirza Râstem* to the left, with 10,000 men, against the *Siapûshes*; and, following his road, came to *Kauk* (P), where he found a demolished citadel, which he caused to be rebuilt. The amirs began to ascend the mountain *Ketûer*, with great fatigue; and, as the infidels dwelt in narrow passages and precipices, and the roads to them, were covered with snow, when they got to the top, some of them, as well as the soldiers, descended by ropes, while others slid down the snow. They made a sort of raft for *Timûr*, and let it down by ropes 150 cubits long, fastened to rings; and, when he got so far, they dug a place in the snow for him to stand on. They let him down five times in this manner, before he reached the foot of the

Attacks
Ketûer,

with great
difficulty.

(*) A city to the north of *Mûltân*. *La Croix*.

(M) That is, a religious war, like the crusade of *Romanists*; or, it signifies one who conquers in such wars.

(N) *Ketûer*, or *Ketower*, is a mountain in the kingdom of *Badâghân*, in the east part of *Great*

Bukhâria. The *Siapûshes* are an idolatrous nation, clothed in black, inhabiting the mountains south of *Badâghân*. *La Croix*.

(O) A town of *Badâghân*, two days journey from *Anderâb*, near the *Siapûshes*. *La Croix*.

(P) Or *Kauk*; a town at the foot of mountain *Ketûer*. *La Croix*.
mountain.

A. D. 1397. mountain. Some of his horses were let down by swathes; but only two got safe; the rest, for want of care, fell headlong, and perished. Then he took a staff in his hand, and walked a good way; after which, mounting his horse, the army followed on foot^c.

and the Siapûshes. THE infidels of this country, who go all naked, are strong men, and large as giants. Their kings are named *Oda* and *Odashûh*: they have a peculiar language, which is neither *Persian*, *Turkish*, nor *Indian*; so that, but for their neighbours, who serve for interpreters, they could neither understand, nor be understood. They had a citadel, at whose foot a great river passes, with a bridge over it; and beyond the river was a high mountain: but, on *Timûr's* approach, they fled, with their effects, to the top of this mountain, imagining it to be inaccessible: but the *Jagatays* soon got up, with the loss of fourteen, who fell from the top headlong; and attacked the enemy on all sides. The fight lasted three nights with unheard of obstinacy: but at length the infidels, after the loss of great numbers of men, begged quarter. It was granted, on condition that they submitted, and turned *Mohammedans*; which they did on the fourth day: but, at night, having put to the sword an intire regiment, except a very few, the whole army got upon the mountain; and, following *Mohammed's* precept to spare the women, cut to pieces all the old and young men; then raised towers of their heads, and left a marble engraved with the history of this action.

Destroys them. MEAN time the *Siapûshes*, on the approach of the *Mirza Rustem* and *Burhân Aglen*, left their fortresses, and retired to the mountains; where they lay in ambuscade, in a very narrow passage. These, when the *Jagatays* passed by, issued forth; and, falling suddenly on them, *Burhân Aglen*, thro' great cowardice, threw off his coat of mail, and fled without fighting; which caused the defeat of his troops, and slaughter of many men. It happened that, at this instant, *Mehemed Azâd*, sent as a reinforcement by *Timûr*, met the *Siapûshes* on their return; and, after a sharp fight, intirely defeated them. He then went to join *Burhân Aglen* with the horse which had fled; but could not prevail on him to remain there all night: for he got to the top of the mountain, whither he was followed by his troops. *Burhân* was the only prince of the family of *Kayât* (Q), who, since *Jengbiz Khân*, had committed the like infamous action. This general had indeed done the same in the war

^c Hist. Tim. Bek, l. iv. c. 1—3. p. 1—10.

(Q) *Jengbiz Khân* was himself of this stock.

of

of the *Uzbeks*: but *Timûr* had not only pardoned, but continued to honour him; and had sent him on this expedition to retrieve his credit.

A. D.

1397.

WHEN these two generals had rejoined the imperial army at *Kaïk*, *Timûr* would not admit *Burhân Aglen* into his presence. He treated him with scorn, as he met him by chance; and, to shew his infamy, said: "The korân assures us, that twenty "zealous *Mussulmâns* are able to conquer 200 infidels; and "yet *Burhân*, at the head of 10,000 men, fled from a handful of unbelievers." He then declared him criminal; and, as a mark of disgrace, banished him the court. On the other hand, he gave rich presents, and the command of a regiment, to *Mehemed Azâd*; who, with only 400 men, had, on foot, stood his ground against the vanquishers of *Burhân*, flushed with victory, and slain a great number of them. After this, the *Mirza Shâh Rukh* departed from *Kaïk* for *Herât*; and *Timûr* marched to *Tulle* (R): then crossed the mountain *Hendû Kesb*; passed by *Penjebîr* (S), and encamped in the country of *Barân*, five leagues from *Kâbul*: where he caused a great canal, called *Mabighîr*, to be made, five leagues in length, on which afterwards were built many large villages^d.

MEAN time there arrived in the camp ambassadors from several princes, particularly *Kezer Kôja Aglen*, king of *Jetah*, to assure *Timûr* of their obedience. *Tayzi Aglen* (*), who, some difference between him and the khân, at *Olug-yârt* (T), fled from the kingdom of *Kalmâk* (U), came also hither for protection, and was received with great honour. Nor was the *Amîr Sheykh Nâro'ddîn* less welcome; who brought with him an immense treasure, the revenues of *Persia*, and presents of an inestimable value. At this time *Mâlek Mehemed*, brother

^d Hist. Tim. Bek, p. 10—19. c. 3—5.

(R) A little town of *Badâg-shân*. *La Croix*.

(S) Commonly called *Penjîr* (or *Benghîr*), at the foot of the mountains of *Kashmîr*, to the west. *Abûlfeda* says, there are two silver mines here. *La Croix*.

(*) Called *Elchi Timûr Khân*, p. 82. This happened twenty years after the *Mungl Khân*, being driven out of *China*, resettled at *Karakorum*.

(T) That is, the *Great Orda*; it stands near *Karakorum*, capital of *Kalmâk*, and is the residence

of the kings of *Kalmâk*, or rather of the *Mogul khâns*. *La Croix*.

(U) A kingdom, formerly called *Karakitay*, in *Mogulesiân*, north of the kingdom of *Gurge*, or *Lyau-tong*. *La Croix*.—This is a very confused account: yet seems to intimate that the *Moguls*, or *Mungls*, in the east of *Tartary*, went then by the nickname of *Kalmâks*, or *Kalmûks*; given them, doubtless, by the *Mohammedan Tatars* or *Mungls*.

A. D. 1597. to *Lashin Shah*, an *Ugân* (or *Aügüdh*), complained to *Timâr* that *Mûssa*, prince of the *Kerkes*, had killed his brother, who was an officer of the emperor, had ruined *Irjâb* (W), pillaged his tenants, and robbed on the great roads. *Timâr* ordered *Mâlek* to conceal himself, while he sent for *Mûssa* to court; who was received with marks of honour by his majesty, and ordered to rebuild *Irjâb*. *Mûssa* went back to obey the order; and, when the work was finished, the emperor marched thither.

An oppression for punishment. At this designed to put to death *Mûssa* and his accomplices, he commanded the guards not to suffer any of them to re-enter the town, after once they were out. Nor was this order given without good reason: for, September 16th, *Timâr* having taken horse, to view the places, accompanied by many princes and generals on foot, he was perceived by seven of *Mûssa*'s labourers, from an upper window of a house behind one of the gates, who let fly at him, with design to kill him: but the whist of the arrow only startled his horse. *Timâr*, upon this, went into the city at another gate; and immediately caused *Mûssa* and his partisans to be seized: 200 of whom, with their chief, he delivered to *Mâlek Mehemmed*, who, assisted by three of his servants, cut off their heads, to revenge his brother's death, and made a tower of them. His subjects were plundered; and the women, children, and goods, of those tyrants, given to indemnify the people of *Irjâb*; which principally was bestowed on *Mâlek*.

Crosses the Indus. SEPTEMBER 17th, *Timâr* marched toward *Shêruzân*, where he encamped, after passing several forests and mountains. The 20th, he arrived at the fortress of *Nagaz*, which had been newly rebuilt by his order. Here being informed, that the nation of *Pervians*, a kind of *Ugâns* (or *Aügüân*), infested the roads, he entered the mountains; and, in three days, came up with and cut them to pieces, burnt their dwellings, and carried off their children and effects. Mean time the Amîr *Soleymân Shâh* treated the *Kelâtians*, another nation of the *Ugâns*, very strong and numerous, in the same manner: but the *Ubet*, a third branch of the same people, came; and, submitting, were loaded with favours. The first day of the year Hej. 801. A. D. 801 (September 30), *Timâr* departed for *Banû*; then marching 1398. from thence, October 7th arrived at the *Indus*, in the very place where Soltân *Jalâlo'ddîn*, king of *Karazm*, swam over that river, in sight of *Jenghîz Khân*. The emperor crossed it on a bridge of boats. At this place he dismissed the ambassadors of foreign princes: among the rest, was one from the sharifs of *Mekka* and *Medina*, who courted a visit from (W) A city four days journey distant, towards India. *La Croix* them,

them, and desired his protection (X). Likewise the ambassador of *Eshkânâr Shâh*, prince of *Kashmîr* (Y), who offered obedience; and was ordered to meet the emperor at *Dipalpur*, a town of *India*;² A. D. 1398.

TIMUR, having passed the *Indus* with his army, encamped at the entrance of the great desert of *Jêrû*, which is called *Shahâ-Chol Jakûli*, from *Jakûlô'ddîn's* taking shelter in it. Here the *Râjas* of the mountain *Kûh Jûd* (south-east of *Kashmîr*) came to submit themselves; and, as they had been kind to his troops some months before, they were very well received. When he arrived at the river *Jamâd* (Z), October. 13th, he ordered *Sheykh Nûrô'ddîn* to attack an island therein, fortified with a ditch and walls; belonging to prince *Shahâbo'ddîn Mobârek*; who, after submitting to the *Mirza Pîr Mehemed Jêbân Ghîr*, in his way to *Mûltân*, had revolted. The amîr, with his toman, entering the river, a most furious battle was fought. Then *Shahâbo'ddîn* came with 10,000 men to attack the *Jagatays* in the rear, during the night; but, after several vigorous onsets, were defeated by *Sheykh Nûrô'ddîn*. On this, prince *Mobârek* fled, with his domestics, in 200 flat-bottomed boats, down the *Jamâd*, to *Ucha*. Passing on from thence towards *Mûltân*, the passage was obstructed by *Soleymân Shâh*, at the head of the scouts of *Pîr Mehemed* and the *Mirza Shâh Râkh*; who, seizing the boats, cut them to pieces, while the unfortunate prince, casting his wife and children into the river half-dead, gained the bank; and fled, with many of his subjects, into the woods; where, being pursued, great numbers were slain, and their goods pillaged.

AFTER this success, the army marched five or six days along the *Jamâd*, and encamped at a fortress where that river and the *Jênâve* (A) join, with waves resembling the troubled ocean: however, *Timûr* ordered a bridge to be built over it; which is the first to be met with in history, made across this river: for *Turmesbîrîn Khân* (B), who formerly passed it, was

^c *Hist. Tim. Bek*; p. 19—28. c. 5—9.

(X) They offered to declare *Timûr* khalifah, altho' *Bayezîd* was invested with that high-dignity. *La Croix*.

(Y) A province of *India*, whose capital is *Nagar*. *La Croix*.

(Z) A river near the *Indus*; it is the continuation of the *Dendana*, which comes from *Kashmîr*. *La Croix*.

(A) *Jenaw*, or *Chenaw*, which falls into the *Ravi*, above *Mûltân*.

(B) Descended from *Jenghîz Khân*: he conquered *India* in 1240. *La Croix*.—This must be some mistake. *Turmesbîrîn Khân*, khân of *Jagatay*, who seems to be the prince here meant, died in 1336.

obliged

A. D. 1398. obliged to swim over. The emperor, having crossed the united stream, went to encamp over-against the town of *Tâlonba*, thirty-five *gûrûh* (C), or miles, from *Mûltân*: then passing the river of that town, taxed it at two millions of crowns, part of which was paid; but, the inhabitants making a difficulty of paying the rest, the soldiers, in the night, sacked the place, burnt the houses, and made slaves of the people, the sharifs and doctors only excepted. *November* the 5th he left *Tâlonba*; and, next day, encamped by a deep lake, situate on the side of the river *Biah* (D), within sight of *Shanavaz*, a great and populous city. He then marched against *Nusret*, brother of *Sheykh Kukeri*, who had surrounded the lake with a wall, and lay behind it with 2000 men: but they were soon defeated, and cut to pieces.

Mûltân taken.

At *Shanavaz* the soldiers supplied themselves with corn: then setting fire to the granaries, *November* 10 went down the *Biah*, and crossed it over-against the town of *Jenjân*. Next day, the *Mirza Pîr Mehemed* came from *Mûltân*, forty miles distant, to the imperial camp. That city having been reduced to eat dead bodies, after a six months siege, *Sarenk* the governor was obliged to fly; so that the prince quickly took it: but, having lost most of his horses by a mortality caused by an inundation, the *Râjas* of the country revolted, and advanced in the night to the very walls of *Mûltân*; till, on advice of *Timûr's* approach, they withdrew. The army left *Jenjân* the 15th, for *Shuâl*; the 18th came to *Afwân* (E), and at length to *Jeharwl* (F). The 21st he arrived at *Ajûdân*; and next day, crossing the *Dena*, encamped on the hill of *Kaleskuteli*, ten miles from *Ajûdân*, and fifty from *Batnîr*; at which place he arrived the 23d, after crossing the great desert. *Batnîr* is a city, with a fortress, the strongest and most noted in all *India*, situate in a desert out of the common road. The inhabitants have no water, excepting from a great lake near the gate of the town, which is never filled but in times of inundations. Hither the inhabitants of *Dipalpûr*, *Ajûdân*, and other places, fled for refuge in such numbers, that, the place not being large enough to contain all their cattle and effects, great part of both were left without the town^f.

Batnîr fortress.

^f Hist. Tim. Bek, p. 28—40. c. 9—14.

(C) *Gûrûh*, as the *Indians* call the measure of three miles, makes a *farseng*, *parfeng*, or *Persian league*. *Sharîf*'d. Hist. Tim. Bek. l. iv. c. 14. p. 40.

(D) Or *Biyah*, near *Lahor*; it falls into the *Ravi*. *La Croix*.

(E) Towns south of the *Biah*. *La Croix*.

(F) A town between *Lahor* and *Dipalpûr*, south of the *Biah*. *La Croix*.

THESE

THESE the soldiers, on their arrival, seized, and immediately marched up to *Batnîr*; where *Rawdûljîn* the governor reigned as sovereign, and resolved to resist, having had a great many soldiers and domestics about him. The out-parts and suburbs were taken, at the first attack, with great slaughter of the *Indians*: they took also the counterescarp, and then assaulted the town. *Rawdûljîn* posted himself at the gate, with the bravest of his soldiers: but, being vigorously attacked several times by the *Jagatays*, when they were on the point of gaining the place, he demanded quarter, promising to repair next day to the camp. However, not keeping his word, they began to sap the walls with such resolution, that the *Indian* prince submitted, and was honourably received. Five hundred of the inhabitants of *Dipalpur* were put to the sword, for having treacherously slain *Messâfer Kâbuli*, and 1000 horsemen: part likewise of the people of *Ajûdôn*, who had abandoned *Timûr*, were slain; and the rest made prisoners, after being plundered. These executions so frightened *Kemâlo'ddân*, brother of *Rawdûljîn*, that he shut the gate of the town: but soon opened it again, on the approach of the *Jagatays*.

A. D.
1398.Batnîr
surrenders.

HOWEVER, as among the rajas, and other chiefs, disputes arose, about the tax for saving the people's lives, which could not be terminated without commotions, *Timûr*, in a passion, ordered that this rabble should be put to the sword, and the houses of the infidels razed. The soldiers having scaled the walls, and entered the place sword in hand, the ghebrs and idolaters set fire to their own houses, casting their wives, children, and goods, into the flames; and the *Mohammedans* cut the throats of theirs. This done, the men, uniting, who were exceeding strong and courageous, fought in a most cruel and obstinate manner, slaying many of the *Jagatays*. The Amir *Sheykh Nûro'ddîn* also, rushing into the midst of the enemy, was with difficulty rescued out of their hands. At length, victory declaring for the besiegers, they slew 10,000 *Indians*, burnt their houses, and ruined the walls of the town^e.

AFTER the ruin of *Batnîr*, *Timûr* departed November 30 for *Dehli*, capital of *India*. Having passed by the castle of *Jehân Firîz*, with the towns of *Serefsi*, *Fâtâbâd*, *Rejebowr*, and *Nûmay*. *Ahrûni*; on the 5th of *December* he came to the village of *Tâbene*, in a country inhabited by *Getes*, who robbed and murdered on the highway. At his approach, they fled; but, being pursued, 2000 of them were cut off. Next day, having passed the castle of *Mûnek*, he entered the deserts and woods where the *Getes* had retired, and slew 2000 more.

^e Hist. Tim. Bek, Vol. II. p. 40—44.

A. D.
1398.

Then, passing by the town of *Semâne*, he came to the river *Kekher*, which he crossed, over the bridge of *Fâtkubl*; where he was joined by the soldiers of the left wing, commanded by Soltân *Mahmûd Khân*, who had taken another road. From thence he marched to *Kuteyl*, seventeen miles from *Semâne*; then to *Affendi*, seventeen farther; and, five more, to *Tokluk-pâr*: the inhabitants of which city, called *Sâlan*, held two principles; one the author of good, the other of evil. They fled on the approach of the army; who burnt their houses, and then marched twelve miles to *Panipar*. At length, December 24, they arrived at *Jehân Numay* (G), a palace built by Soltân *Firâz Shâh*, on the top of a mountain, two leagues from *Dehli*, at the foot of which runs the great river *Jawn* (H).

Most cruel
butchery.

TIMUR went then to the town of *Lâni*, situated between the two rivers of *Jawn* and *Hilen*; which latter *Firâz Shâh* cut from the river of *Kalini*, which unites with the *Jawn* near the city of *Firâzâbâd*. *Lâni* was taken in one day; and all the ghebr inhabitants put to the sword, but the *Mohammedans* were spared. Next morning the emperor went to *Jehân Numay*, to see that palace, and from thence pitch on a place for battle: after which, he encamped to the east of *Lâni*; where the *Shâh Zâde*, or emperor's children, and the amirs who had been making incursions, joined him. Here he harangued them upon the art of fighting battles; of breaking the enemy's ranks; and rallying one's own troops after a defeat. The army, since they passed the *Indus*, having made a vast number of *Indians*, captives, mostly ghebrs and idolaters, it was feared, that, in any obstinate battle, they would join with the people of *Dehli*; *Timûr*, therefore, ordered, that they, who had any *Indian* slaves, should put them to death: in consequence of which, in less than one hour, more than 100,000 were put to death^a.

His forces
approach

TIMUR set out for *Dehli*, December 30th: and, when the astrologers disputed about the aspects of the planets, he told them, that fortune did not depend on the stars, but on the Creator of them; and that, when he had once formed his designs with proper care, he would not delay the execution of them one moment, to wait for a lucky time. Yet he consulted the *korân*, and met with a favourable answer (I); which en-

^a Hist. Tim. Bek. Vol. II. p. 44—54. c. 15—19.

(G) That is, the mirror of the world, because of its fine prospect.

(H) Or *Juenga*.

(I) If *Timûr* was free from one superstition, like many others, he

was guilty of another; nay, could flatter himself with having the favour of God, just after destroying, in cold blood, 100,000 of his creatures at once.

fulled him of victory, and encouraged the whole army. *January* the first (1399) he crossed the *Jawn*, and encamped on the other side. The 3d he drew up his army in order of battle; giving the command of the right wing to the Mirza *Pir Mahomed Jehân Ghîr*: the left wing was led by the Mirzas *Soltân Hussayn* and *Kahl Soltân*: the rear was put under the conduct of the Mirza *Rûstem*: and the main body was commanded by *Timùr* himself.

THE enemy marched likewise in order of battle. Their *the Indian* right wing was brought up by *Taji Khân*, *Mîr Ali Kôja*, and *an army* other *Indian* princes: the left had for its leaders *Mâlek Moy-noddîn*, and others: and the main body was commanded by *Soltân Mahmûd Khân*, emperor of *India*; who had *Mellâ Khân* for his lieutenant-general. This army consisted of 10,000 horse, well equipped; and 40,000 foot, armed to advantage. Besides several elephants of war, armed with cuirasses, having between their long teeth great poisoned daggers; and on their backs wooden towers, in form of bastions, filled with cross-bowmen and archers; on the side of the elephants marched those who flung fire and melted pitch, with rockets armed at the end with iron, which give several blows one after another, where-ever they fall.

THE *Jagatays* were not much disturbed about the *Indian* *Fear the* army: but they had conceived strange notions of the elephants, *elephants* which they had never seen before. They imagined that the arrow and sword could not pierce their bodies: that they were so strong as to overthrow trees, by only shaking the earth, as they passed along: that they could shove down the firmest buildings: and that, in battle, they would toss both man and horse to a vast height in the air. This dispirited many in the camp; so that, when the posts were fixed for the officers and lords of the court, *Timùr*, who always shewed respect to men of learning, asked those near his person, what posts they would chuse. Several of these doctors, frightened at what they had read and heard of elephants, answered immediately, "If it please your majesty, we chuse to be near the ladies."

TIMUR, to guard against this panic, ordered a rampart *The battle* of bucklers to be made before the ranks, with a ditch before *begins*. That: he likewise caused buffaloes to be tied neck and heels, then placed close together; with bushes between and on their heads. There were, besides, stakes prepared, with three-pronged forks at the ends: so that, when the elephants advanced, they were to be planted in their way; and the brambles to be set on fire, to put those animals in disorder. When the two armies were in view, *Timùr* got upon an eminence, near the hill of *Ashtey Behâli*, from thence to observe their motions; and,

A. D. 1399. as soon as the fight began, he fell on the ground, often bowing, to beg for victory. While he was at prayers, there happened, says our author, a strange accident : for the amirs of the rear imagined, that, if the emperor should send recruits from the main body, either to the right wing or the rear, it would be a certain token of victory. Now this the emperor actually did ; which so encouraged the *Jagatays*, that the *Indians* were constrained to give ground, and the elephants suffered themselves to be driven like oxen.

*The Indians de-
feated.*

So hot a battle never was seen, nor so frightful a noise of warlike instruments heard, before. At length, *Timûr's* van-guard, perceiving that of the enemy to advance, retired behind the right wing, to lie in ambush till they had passed by, and then fell on them with fury, killing in an instant four or five hundred men. The *Mirza Pir Mehemed*, at the head of the van-guard of the right wing, assisted by the Amir *Soleymân Shâh*, attacked the left of the *Indians* with so much conduct, that he drove them beyond the basin of *Havîskas* (K) ; then, falling on the elephants, forced them to enter the ranks of the same wing, and cause a farther disorder. Mean time the left wing of the *Jagatays* repulsed the right of the enemy, with great slaughter, as far as the city-gate. Then the main body of the latter, sustained by the elephants, advanced in good order against the rear of the former, and began a most bloody battle ; in which *Sheykh Mûro'ddîn*, and the other amirs, behaved with great valour, overthrowing the castles on the backs of the elephants, and cutting off the trunks of those animals, with great slaughter of the *Indians*, so that at length they turned their backs ; and *Soltân Mahmûd*, with his head general *Mellû* (or *Mellow*) *Khân*, fled into the city.

*The city
invested ;*

THEN *Timûr*, spurring his horse towards the gate of *Dehli*, carefully examined the fortifications. On his return, the *Mirza Kalâl Soltân*, who commanded the left wing, though but fifteen years of age, brought him one of the elephants bound with ropes, whose guards he had overthrown, after mauling the animal with his sword. *Timûr*, on this sight burst into tears of joy. Was it not surprising, says our author, that this great prince should at this time have so tender a heart who, on some occasions, could exercise extraordinary severities. Mean time *Soltân Mahmûd* and his general, not thinking themselves safe in *Dehli*, left it at midnight, and retired into the de-

(K) It is round, and above an arrow-shot in diameter. As, in any inundation, it is filled with water, it furnishes *Dehli* with

water for a whole year : on its bank is the tomb of *Soltân Firûz Shâh*, who made it. *Shâh rifô ddîn*.

farts

parts. Several amirs being sent in pursuit of them, they brought back the prince *Sayf Khân*, surnamed *Mâlek Sharif-oddîn*, and the prince *Kodadâd*, son of *Mellâ Khân*. The amir *Alahdâd* seized the gates by which the princes fled, and guarded the others, that no one might escape.

JANUARY the fourth, *Timûr* erected his standard on the walls of *Dehli*; and, going to the city-gate, sat on the *avjah*, or throne, whereon the *Indian* emperors sit in their royal robes, on the great feast-day. This gate is in the quarter of *Jehân Penâh*, over-against the bafon of *Havizkas*, where the army was then encamped. There *Fadhallah Bâkshi*, *Mellâ Khân's* lieutenant, at the head of the whole *divân* of *Deli*, the sharifs, kadi's, and principal inhabitants, came to make their submission, and begged for mercy. The elephants and rhinoceros's themselves came and fell down before the emperor in an humble posture; and made a great cry, as if they demanded quarter. These war-elephants, 120 in number, were, at his return, sent to *Samarkant*, and to the provinces where his sons resided. Two were carried chained to *Tauris*, one to *Shîrâz*, five to *Herât*, one to *Sheykh Ibrâhîm*, prince of *Shîrwân*, and one to the lord *Tahârten* at *Arzenjân*. After this, at the request of the court-lords, *Timûr* made a great feast; at which he distributed presents to the princes, and great officers.

DEHLI at this time consisted of three cities (L), *Seyri*, *Old Dehli* ^{de}*Dehli*, and *Jehân Penâh*. *Seyri* was surrounded with a wall, ⁱⁿ*scribed* in form of a circle. *Old Dehli* was the same, but much larger, lying south-west of the other: these two parts were joined on each side by a wall; and the third, lying between them, was called *Jehân Penâh*, which was larger than *Old Dehli*: this last had ten gates: *Seyri* had seven; three of which looked towards *Jehân Penâh*, which had thirteen gates, six to the north-west, and seven to the south-east. Every thing seemed to be in a quiet posture, when, *January* 12, the soldiers of *Timûr*, being assembled at the gate of *Dehli*, insulted the inhabitants of the suburbs. The great amirs were ordered to put a stop to these disorders: but their endeavours were not effectual. The sultânas having a curiosity to see the rarities of *Dehli*, and particularly the famous palace, adorned with 1000 pillars, built by *Mâlek Juna*, that antient king of *India*, they went in

¹ Hist. Tim. Bek, Vol. II. p. 54—62. c. 19—20.

(L) This is as it was in the ent place by *Jalâlo'ddin Akbar*, author's time: the present *Dehli* father of *Humâyûn*, and called is a new city, built in a differ- from him, *Akbarabâd*. La Croix.

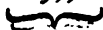
U 3

with

i.e. the great city, or city of Akbar.

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1399.



with all the court; and the gate being left open, on that occasion, for every body, above 15,000 soldiers got in unperceived. But there was a far greater number of troops in a large place between *Dehli*, *Seyri*, and *Jehân Penâh*, who committed great disorders in the two last places. This made the ghebrs, in despair, to fall on them; and several of them, setting fire to their houses, burnt their wives and children. The *Jagatays*, seeing this confusion among the ghebrs, did nothing but pillage and burn their houses; while the disorder was increased, by more troops let in, to seize the inhabitants of the neighbouring places, who had fled thither for shelter.

The city
destroyed.

THE amirs, to put a stop to this mischief, caused the gates to be shut, to prevent more troops from entering: but the soldiers within opened them again, and rose in arms against their officers. So that the whole army being entered by the 13th, in the morning, this great and proud city was destroyed. Some soldiers carried out 150 slaves, men, women, and children: nay some of their boys had twenty slaves a piece to their share. The other spoils, in precious stones, jewels, plate, and manufactures, were innumerable: for the *Indian* women and girls were adorned with precious stones, and had bracelets and rings on their hands, feet, and even toes; so that the soldiers were loaded with them. The 15th, in *Old Dehli* the *Indians* retired into the great mosk, to defend themselves: but the Amîr *Shâh Mâlek*, and *Ali Saltân*, entering it with 500 men, sent to the abyss of hell, says our good *Musulman* author, the souls of those infidels, of whose heads they erected towers. Never was such a terrible slaughter and devastation heard of. Several days were employed to make the inhabitants quit the city, which was plundered; and as they went, the amirs took a number of them for their service. The artisans were also distributed among the princes and commanders: but the masons were all reserved for the emperor, in order to build him a spacious stone mosk at *Samarkant* ^k.

Mirtha
besieged.

JANUARY 18th, *Timûr* decamped from *Dehli*, and marched down to *Firûzabâd*, three miles distant from the *Jawn*. He stayed there to say a prayer in a stone mosk, and then went on to the other side of *Jehân Numay*, near *Wazîrabâd*, where he was presented with two white parrots, from *Bahâdr Nêhîr*, prince of *Kûtele*, who had submitted to his envoys. These birds lived ever since the reign of *Toghluk Shâh*, and had been kept many years in the antechambers of the *Indian* emperors. From thence the army passing through *Mudâla*, beyond the *Jawn*, *Keçe*, and *Bâghbûr*, a delightful garden, came to *Ash*,

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situate between the rivers. These places are six miles asunder. *Timūr*, resolving to take the city of *Mirzha*, one of the most noted places of the empire, twenty miles from *Afir*, marched thither, at the head of 10,000 men, in two days and one night. As the ghebrs refused to submit, he ordered the walls to be undermined; and the workmen having, by the time it was night, advanced ten or fifteen cubits breadth towards each bastion and courtine, the besieged were so greatly surprised, that they desisted to defend themselves.

NEXT day, being the 26th, the Amir *Allahād*, with his regiment of the *Kachins*, named *the faithful*, having attacked the gate, *Saray*, a young lad, one of his domestics, cast a net upon the battlement, and boldly mounted the walls. He was followed by *Rāstem Berlās*, and a great many others, who rushed into the town. They bound *Elias Ugānt*, and the son of *Mulāna Ahmed Tohānesārī*, governors of the place, whom they seized; but the ghebr *Sefi*, one of its princes, was slain in the assault. They slay'd alive all the ghebrs, and made slaves of their wives and children. Every thing was burned, and the walls razed. All this was quickly done, although *Turmesherin Khān*, a great emperor in *Asia*, could not make himself master of this town. On this occasion, *Timūr* gave a singular instance of his modesty: for when, in a kind letter, which he had ordered to be written to the inhabitants, he found these words, *Why do you compare us to Turmesherin Khān?* he reprimanded his secretary; saying, *Turmesherin was a greater lord than I, of stricter virtue, and better conduct:* and would not suffer the letter to be concluded.

THE same day, he marched six miles to *Mānsūrā*; and the 27th, eight farther to *Pirūznūr*, on the *Ganges* (M). He encamped five miles lower, not able to find a safe passage; though *Pir Mohemmed*, several amirs, and part of the army, swam over the river, yet not without great danger. From thence he went twenty miles farther to *Tokluk Pār*, on the *Ganges*, having, by the way, sent 50,000 horse against the ghebrs, who were gathered on its banks. Here he was seized with a very troublesome swelling in his arm; but it did not long continue. Mean time, a vast number of ghebrs, in forty-eight great flat-bottomed boats, having advanced towards the camp, he set out to meet them, with 1000 of his officers; several of whom spurred their horses into the water, and advancing, in spite of their arrows, entered their boats, and cut them in pieces. With these boats they attacked ten others,

(M) Which is called, in *Persian*, *Dariya Konk*, or the sea of Konk.

A. D. 1399. fastened together for better defence; but the *Jagatays* boarded them, and cut those who manned them in pieces.

by water
and land.

ON the 29th, *Timûr* left *Tokluk Pâr*, and, a little after, crossed the *Ganges*, at an easy passage. He then advanced against *Mohârek Khân*, who, not far off, expected the *Jagatays*, with 10,000 horse. As the *Indians* were far more numerous, the two wings of the army being at a great distance, *Timûr* was in no small perplexity; but, just at that instant, 500 horse, who had crossed the river to make inroads, arrived, as if sent by heaven, says our author, to succour the emperor; who, after returning God thanks, sent the Amirs *Shâh Mâlek* and *Allâhdâd*, with 1000 horse, to attack the enemy. These thinking them to be only the van-guard of a great army just behind them, suddenly grew afraid, and fled into the woods; where they were pursued, and a great number put to the sword. The booty taken, with their wives and children, was considerable. At the same time, *Timûr* having received advice, that a great number of ghebrs were assembled in the defile of *Kupele*, to the east of the *Ganges*, he departed, with 500 horse. On his arrival at the mountains, he met a body of them, whom his amirs soon routed: but, being left with only 100 of his guards, a ghebr, named *Mâlek Shoyka*, fell briskly upon him, with the same number of men. However, *Timûr* shot him in the belly with an arrow, and then unhorsed him, by a cut of his sword on the head, of which he presently died¹.

Defile of
Kupele.

SOME time after, advice was brought, that a great many ghebrs were gathered in the defile of *Kupele*, two miles distant: and, though *Timûr* was in want of sleep, he marched thither, with some officers of his van-guard, through almost impassable woods; and, being joined by his son *Pâr Mehemed*, they made a great slaughter of the enemy, from whom they took a considerable booty. Thus *Timûr* was in three battles the same day; which never happened to any prince before him. The defile of *Kupele* is situated at the foot of a mountain near the *Ganges*; and fifteen miles above it is a stone, carved in form of a cow, from whence this great river springs (N). For this reason, the *Indians* adore that stone; and all the inhabitants within one day's journey turn towards it when they pray. As there yet remained a prodigious number of ghebrs in the moun-

Head of
Ganges.

¹ Hist. Tim. Bek, p. 67—76, c. 21—24.

(N) This relation is contrary to late accounts, which place the head of the *Ganga*, or *Ganges*, a great way distant in *Tiber*: and it is observable, that our author does not say that either *Timûr*, or any of his troops, were at the place to view it: so that what he delivers must be only from uncertain report.

tains of *Kâpele*, who possessed a great quantity of riches, cattle, and other effects, *January 30*, *Timûr* marched towards the defile, where the infidels were gathered; but, on his approach, they lost courage, and dispersed themselves through the mountains; whither being pursued, many of them were slain, and their goods carried away.

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AFTER this, *Timûr* returned, and, crossing the *Ganges*, en-
camped five miles lower on that river. Then, being satisfied Mountain
Swalek

with having marched to the eastern borders of the empire of *India* in one campaign, and acquired the merit of the *gâzi*, he resolved to return to his own dominions. With this view, the 31st of *January*, he left the *Ganges*. Next day, advice being brought, that a great number of *Indians* were assembled in *Swâlek*, one of the most considerable mountains of *India*, stretching over two thirds of that vast empire, *February 4th*, he departed for that mountain; where a *râja*, named *Behrûz*, had posted himself, with a great number of *ghebrs*, in a narrow passage: but the *Jagatays* falling suddenly upon them, they made but a weak defence: so that those who escaped the sword were taken prisoners, with their effects; which so loaded the army with spoil, that they could not march above four miles a day. The 5th, they came to *Behre*, near *Bekeri*, commonly called *Meliapûr*.

THE 8th, they crossed the *Jawn*, and encamped in another cleared of
part of the mountain of *Swâlek*; where an infinite number of *ghebrs*.
Indians being assembled, under one *Râja Ratan*, *Timûr* marched all night, and next morning came up with them, between the mountains *Swâlek* and *Kâke*: but they fled, on his approach, into the woods, where a great many were slain. He continued his progress in the mountains for several days, slaying the *Indians*, and seizing their effects. In short, there were twenty battles fought in thirty days; during which time, seven of the most important places in all *India* for strength were conquered. They were one or two leagues asunder; and the inhabitants were always at variance among themselves. One of them, by persuasion of the *Mohammedans* who lived there, submitted to *Timûr*: but when the tax for saving their lives was imposed on them, they made use of tricks, to avoid paying it. To enable them to do it with less reluctance, an amir proposed buying their old bows, which they sold at a good price. Then it was ordered, that forty *ghebrs* should be listed in the service: but they would not consent; and slew several *Musulmans*. Upon this, the *Jagatays*, treating them as enemies, besieged the place in form; which they took, and put 2000 *ghebrs* to the sword^m.

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Reduces
Chamû.

THE gâzis on the mountains of *Swâlek* being finished, *Timûr* departed from *Manfar*, the 12th of *March*, and encamped six miles from thence; at *Bayla*; a town of the province of *Châmû*, whose inhabitants were valiant men, and their forests of difficult access: yet, on the army's approach, they abandoned the town, to be entered and pillaged by the soldiers. Mean time, *Shâh Eskânder*, prince of *Kâshmir*, being arrived at *Jebbân*, in his way to the camp, and there informed, that the amirs of the diwân had taxed him at 30,000 horses, and 100,000 darests of gold, each weighing two medikals and one-half, he returned, to collect the same. *Timûr*, on advice of this, disapproved of the order, which had laid on *Eskânder* a tax more than his little kingdom was worth; and sent to him to return in ten days to the bank of the *Indus*. The 15th, they encamped over-against *Châmû*, capital of the province of that name. Next day, *Timûr* entered the defile, from whence springs the river of *Châmû*, which the army had crossed several times. It is situated at the foot of a mountain, on the left side of the city *Châmû*, having on its right the town of *Menû*. It was inhabited by strong and tall *Indians*, who had intrenched themselves in almost inaccessible woods, upon a craggy mountain, with their king at their head, resolved to defend their lives.

Its king
taken.

TIMUR judged it better to insnare them by artifice, than attack them in so dangerous a place. He therefore ordered his troops to leave them, and go pillage *Menû*: they likewise entered *Châmû*, and brought away abundance of spoil. Then posting some regiments in the woods, departed with the cavalry. The 17th, he crossed the river *Châmû*, and encamped four miles thence, on the side of the *Jenâve* (or *Jenaw*), in a plain four leagues long, full of pasturage. As soon as the army had quitted the defiles, the *Indians* came out of their mountain, to re-enter their houses; but were soon attacked by the ambuscade, who cut them in pieces, without giving any quarter, excepting the king, and fifty officers of consideration. On this success, *Timûr* blessed the Almighty, who had delivered the enemies of the faithful into their hands. Great care was taken of the king of *Châmû*, who had been wounded in the fight, in order to get more easily, the money due for saving the lives of him and his people. This, joined to the discourses of those about him, concerning the *Mohammedan* religion, prevailed on him, when cured, to embrace that faith, and eat the flesh of oxen. Upon this, *Timûr* made a treaty with, and received him under his protection.

Lahor
pillaged.

MEAN time, news arrived, that the forces sent to *Lahor* (or *Lahûr*) had made themselves masters of that city, had actually received

received the ransom tax, and made *Shikay Kuter*, prince thereof, prisoner. This prince, at the beginning of the war, accompanied *Timûr* every-where, and was in great favour: but, at length, leave being granted him to return to *Lahor*, he shewed a disregard for the *Jagatays*; which drew on him *Timûr's* resentment, who ordered his country to be pillaged, and his person seized. *March 20th*, the emperor crossed the *Jenaw*, and encamped five miles thence. Next day, the army crossed the river. The 22d, they passed the *Dandâna*. And the day following, *Timûr* ordered, that all the amirs of both wings, the colonels of regiments, and the captains of companies, should return home, by the different routes marked out for them. He then made presents to them, according to their rank and merit. He did the like to the lords of *India*, amirs, and sharifs, who had accompanied him, and permitted them to return; assigning the government of the city and province of *Multân* to *Kader Khân*, who, imprisoned by *Sârenk*, in the citadel, escaped, and fled first to *Ahûdan*, a *Mohammedan*, king of *Biâna*, dependent on *Dehli*; and then to *Timûr*, on his arrival in the country^a.

The army
disbanded.

THE 24th, the army encamped at *Jebhân*, a delightful residence, on the borders of *Kâshmir*. This country is a principality, near *Hâk*, of an oval form, and surrounded on all sides by high mountains. To the south, it has the country of *Dehli*; to the north, *Badakhshân* and *Khorassân*; to the west, the *Ugân* tribes; and to the east, *Tebbat*, or *Tibet*. According to the natives themselves, there are in this province 10,000 flourishing villages: but 'tis the common opinion, that, both in the mountains and plains, there are not fewer than 100,000. The flat country between the mountains is twenty leagues in breadth. The women are beautiful, to a proverb among the *Persians*: The air and water very wholesome. They have vast quantities of good fruits: but the winter is hurtful, because of the abundance of snow. The summer fruits, as dates, oranges, and citrons, never come to maturity; but are brought from warmer countries. The prince resides at *Nagaz* (O), which is the centre, and capital of the whole. Through the middle of the city runs a river, as large as the *Tigris* at *Bâghdâd*, and is exceeding rapid, though formed from a single fountain in the same country, called the fountain of *Vîr*. The inhabitants have crossed it by more than thirty bridges of boats, besides

Kâshmir
described.

^a Hist. Tim. Bek, p. 86—94, c. 28—30.

(O) Doubtless the same now called *Kâshnûr* and *Srinagar*. *Nagaz* is perhaps a mistake for *Na-*

gar, the Arabic *r* and *z* differing only by a point over the latter.

A. D. chains at the chief passages; seven of which bridges are in 1399. Nagaz.

River and mountains. WHEN this river has passed out of *Kashmîr*, it takes different names, from the countries it washes, as *Dindana* and *Jamad*. Above *Multân*, it joins the *Jenave* (or *Jenaw*); and, having passed that city, falls into the *Râvi*, which runs by the other *Multân*. At length the river *Biah* joins them; and, near the town of *Ucha*, they all rush into the *Ab-sind*, or *Indus*, which is lost in the sea of *Omman* (or *Arabia*), at the end of the country of *Tatta*. The mountains which surround *Kashmîr*, serve as a fortification against enemies; and over them are three roads into it: that from *Khorassân* is so very difficult, that the inhabitants are obliged to carry the merchandizes, and other burdens, on their backs, with beasts of carriage: the road of *India* is equally difficult: that of *Tobbot* (*Tobt*, or *Tibbet*) is easiest, but, for several days, travellers meet with venomous herbs, which poison their horses. Thus God has given the country natural defences; so that the inhabitants have no occasion for arms or armies.

Timûr
returns

to Samar-
kant.

MARCH 25th, *Timûr*, leaving *Jebhân*, marched to the *Dandâna*, four miles distant, and crossed it over a bridge, which he caused to be made. Next day, he departed for *Samarkant*, before the army; and having marched twenty miles along that river, encamped at *Sanbaste*, a town in the mountain of *Indis*. The 27th, he came to the castle of *Beruj*; then entering the desert of *Jalâli* (or *Jerû*), got out of it, and came to a cavern, three miles from *Beruj*, where he encamped. Next day, at ten in the morning, he arrived at the *Indus*, which he crossed, over a bridge of boats. The 29th, he stopped at *Banû*. April 2d, he set out; and next day came to *Nagaz*, a castle built by the Amîr *Soleymân Shâh*, to curb the *Ugans*. April 6th, he arrived at *Kâbul*; the 7th, at *Garbân*. The 8th, having crossed the mountain and defile of *Shebertâ*, being struck, says our author, by some evil eye, or malign influence, he fell sick, and had on his feet and hands painful ulcers: so that he was forced to be carried in a litter. Thus he passed a very narrow defile of the mountain *Siapâch*; in which space, they crossed the river of the defile forty-eight times: twenty-six from the beginning of the defile to the mountain, and twenty-two from the mountain to the end of the defile. The 12th, *Timûr* recovered. The 13th, he reached *Bakalân*; from whence passing through *Semenkân* and *Kulm*, he arrived at the *Jihân* on the 14th, and crossed over to *Termed*. From this place, by the way of *Kolûga*, or the iron gate, he came to *Kash*; and, having made some days stay in this city, departed for *Samarkant* the 9th of May, and arrived there on the 16th.

Soon

Soon after, he distributed the curiosities and riches which he had brought from *India*, among the princes of the blood, the sharifs, and principal men of the kingdom. To crown this *Indian* expedition, *Timūr* erected a magnificent mosk in his capital, large enough to contain all the faithful in that great city°.

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TIMŪR had not been returned above four months, when he found himself obliged to undertake a new expedition into *Irān* (or *Persia* at large), to put a stop to the disorders which had crept in there, during his absence in *India*; chiefly owing to the misconduct of the *Mirza Mirān Shāh*, viceroy of *Azerbejān*, whose understanding had been impaired by an accident. This prince, while hunting near *Tauris*, in autumn 801, saw a roebuck, which he was desirous to take with his hands: but, in stooping, he fell off his horse, though one of the best horsemen in all *Asia*; and the violence of the fall cast him into a swoon, in which he lay a long time. He continued in fits for three days; and his physician being an ignorant fellow, or rather a knave, the *mīrza* was seized with a vertigo, which impaired his senses: so that, on a bare suspicion, he slew a man, squandered away the public treasures, and destroyed the most noted buildings. He marched with his troops to besiege *Bāghdād*, at an improper season of the year: but, two days after he had invested it, was obliged to raise the siege, on account of the revolt of *Tauris*; where, on his arrival, he put to the sword all who were accused of being in the conspiracy.

AFTER this, taking it in his head, that the Sharif *Ali*, in great prince of *Sheki*, intended to revolt, he, without farther examination, set forward with an army, to ravage his country. The Christian *Georgians*, before this, had revolted, when they understood how little the *mīrza* applied himself to public affairs; and to revenge this invasion, in conjunction with the Sharif *Ali*, went with a great army, to relieve Soltān *Tāher*, son of *Ahmed*, sōltān of *Bāghdād*, who had been besieged a long time in *Alenjīk*, by Soltān *Sanjer*, son of *Haji Sayfo'ddīn*. they entered *Azerbejān*, and plundered the country. On which advice, *Sanjer* raised the siege; and, being returned to *Tauris*, *Mīrān Shāh* sent his son the *Mirza Abubekr* to repulse the *Georgians*. These latter having sent away *Tāher*; and placed *Haji Sāleh*, with three oznawrs, or chief lords, of *Georgia*, in *Alenjīk*, in their return met the army of *Tauris*; which, being far less numerous, would have avoided fighting: but, as they were obliged to engage, the *Georgians* broke through both their wings, at the first onset; and the Sharif *Ali* perceiving

A. D. 1399. *Abûbekr*, rushed on him with his sword : but this young prince, though but eighteen years old, shot him dead with an arrow, which stuck in his neck : however, the *Georgians* defeated his troops P.

to what
owing.

THE *Mirza Mirân Shâh's* lunacy appeared still more in his debauches ; for he spent almost all his time in drinking and gaming. One day he reproached his wife, the Princess *Khân Zâdah*, with a fact which wounded her honour. She endeavoured to discover the grounds of it ; in which inquiry several persons of both sexes were sacrificed. The aversion between the *mirza* and her still increasing, she retired to *Samarkant* ; where arriving, just at the time when *Timâr* was returned thither from *India*, she assured him, that, if he did not march forthwith into *Irân*, her husband, who, through his distemper, already slighted his mandates, would certainly revolt. The emperor, who had been before informed of the misconduct of his son, resolved to follow this advice ; and immediately issued orders to assemble the troops, for a campaign of seven years. The *Mirza Shâh Rûkh*, on first notice, got ready the troops of *Khorassân* ; and sent his Wazîr *Soleymân Shâh* towards *Tauris*, with his van-guard, following with the rest of his army. *Timâr* set out from *Samarkant* October 11th, 1399 ; and, crossing the *Jibûn* (or *Amû*) at *Termed*, came to *Balk*. From thence, after several days march, he arrived at *Sarek Kâmisb Jâm* ; where he visited the tomb of the celebrated Mufti *Ahmed Jâm*. From thence he sent the *Mirza Rustem* to his eldest brother *Pîr Mehemed*, at *Shîrâz*, with orders for them to march to *Baghdâd*. Then continuing his road by *Nisbâbûr* and *Bostâm*, *Ray* and *Khovar*, to *Ayvanik*, he was there joined by the *Mirza Shâh Rûkh*, who had marched by *Shafuman*, *Astarabâd*, and *Sâri*.

The au-
thors pu-
nished.

MEAN time, the *Amîr Soleymân Shâh*, being arrived at *Ray*, in his way from *Herât* to *Tauris*, heard of *Mirân Shâh's* lunacy ; and not thinking it safe to go thither, resolved to march to *Hamadân*. But, at the invitation of the *Mirza Abûbekr*, the *amîr* went thither ; and even persuaded *Mirân Shâh* to set out, two days after, to meet the emperor ; which he did, at *Shâhriar* ; but was not received with any tokens of kindness. Then *Timâr* sent commissaries to *Tauris*, to inquire into that prince's deportment ; and it appearing, that his excesses were chiefly owing to the instigation of certain profligate musicians, and others, the emperor ordered that they should all be hanged, without exception, for a warning to others. Among the men of parts, who suffered on this occasion, was the incomparable

Mûlâna Mehemed Kâhestâni, so famous for all sciences, and so celebrated a poet, whose conversation and agreeable wit had rendered him the wonder of his age. A. D. 1399.

TIMUR, leaving *Shâhriar*, proceeded by *Soltânîya* and *Karadetra* to *Ardebîl*; and, having hunted in the plains of *Mâ-kân* and *Aktûm* (towns of *Azerbejân*), crossed the river *Arâna*, to *Karabâgh Arrân*. Here *Sharif Sidi Ahmed*, son of *Sharif Ali*, king of *Sheki*, by the mediation of *Sheykh Ibrâhîm*, king of *Sibirwân*, was pardoned, and confirmed in his principality, by *Timûr*; merely on account of *Ibrâhîm*, whom he loved, for his sincerity, and distinguished among his greatest officers. The *Sheykh*, to welcome his majesty's arrival in his country, made a sumptuous banquet for the court, and afterwards offered his presents, which were very considerable. Mean time, the court received advice of the death of several great princes; as *Timûr Kotluk Aglen*, who having been raised by the emperor to the throne of *Kipçâk*, after the defeat of *Toktamîsh Khân*, had afterwards made war on his benefactor; likewise of *Barkok*, king of *Egypt* and *Syria*; *Tamgûz Khân*, emperor of *China*; and *Kezra Kojâ Aglen*, king of *Jetâh*, upon whose decease dissensions arose among his four sons, *Shama Jehân*, *Mehemed Aglen*, *Shîr Ali*, and *Shâh Jehân*.

News arrived also of the *Mîrza Eshkânder's* successes in *Mogulestân*. This prince, though but fifteen years old, taking advantage of the dissensions which arose among the *Getes* after the death of *Kezra Kojâ Aglen*, left *Andekhân*, at the head of his troops, and entered into the lands of the *Moguls* (or *Mangls*). Being come to *Kâshgar*, they pillaged the city of *Târkent* (P) (or *Târkiân*), and then proceeding forward, plundered *Sârek Kânîsh*, *Kelapine*, *Ali Gheul*, *Târ Kurgân*, *Char-tâk*, and *Keyûkh Bâgh* (Q). They at length arrived at the province of *Awj*, most of whose tribes submitted: the rest they carried prisoners towards the citadel of *Aksh*, consisting of three castles, which have a communication with each other; and is esteemed so strong, that the inhabitants of all the neighbouring provinces consider it as a safe retreat in time of war. But the *mîrza* having caused assaults to be given, one after another, for near forty days, the besieged were forced to surrender. After this, he sent troops to pillage the towns of *Bay*, *Kûsân*, and *Târetm*.

† Hist. Tim. Bek, p. 112—121, c. 1.—4.

(P) The present capital of *Kâshgar*.

(Q) All towns of *Mogulestân*.
La Craix.

A. D. 1399. THESE conquests finished, the Mirza *Eskânder* marched from *Aksû* to *Kotan* (R). This place is thirty-five days journey from *Kara Kôja* (or *Aramuth*), and fifteen from *Kâshgar*, which is twenty-five from *Samarkant*. In *Kotan* are two rivers, *Orak-kash* and *Karakash*, the stones of which, being jasper, are carried to other countries. The mirza behaved with so much prudence, that all the towns and castles of this frontier province were reduced. From *Kotan* he went to *Karângû Tâg*, a steep and rugged mountain, in which the rivers of *Kotan* have their springs, and to which the inhabitants of that and the neighbouring places fly for refuge in time of war: but, finding it inaccessible, returned, to winter at *Kâshgar*. From hence he sent presents to the emperor, and the Mirza *Mehemed Soltân*, of three beautiful women of *Kotân*: but the latter refused his present, being greatly incensed against *Eskânder*; because, having entered *Turkeştân* with an army, in order to join him against the *Getes*, the young mirza, that he might not serve under *Mehemed Soltân*, instead of waiting for him, as he ought, marched before into *Mogulestân*, while his cousin, in disgust, returned to *Samarkant*.

and his
disgrace.

WHEN spring was come, *Eskânder* returned to *Andekhân*, and thence set forward to visit *Mehemed Soltân*. But, learning on the road that the latter intended to seize him, he returned, and entered the castle of *Andekhân*. There, being taxed by two amirs with a design to revolt, they assembled the militia, and besieged him. Upon this, *Eskânder* came out, and having talked to them with much good-nature, went to lodge in a garden made by his father *Omar Sheykh*. Then having seized his domestics, they, by *Mehemed Soltân*'s order, carried them, with the mirza, to *Samarkant*; and having bound him, put to death his *atabek* (or governor), with twenty-six of his household.

Timûr
attacks
Komha.

To return to *Timûr*. This prince, having chosen three men out of every ten, to serve as scouts, set out from *Karabâgh Arrân*; and crossing the *Kûr*, over a bridge of boats, was joined by *Sheykh Ibrâhîm*, of *Shîvân*, and *Sidi Ahmed*, prince of *Sheki* (S), by which city the army passed, and took the road

(R) This city is 157 days journey from *Kambâlek* (or *Peking*); for, from *Kotan* to *Kara Kôja*, are thirty-five stages; thence to *Tetkawul*, in the borders of *China*, thirty-one, where there is a wall between two mountains, with a great gate, and several inns; from hence to

Ghen-jan Fû, a city of *China*, fifty-one days; and forty thence to *Kambâlek*; 'tis also forty from *Ghen-jan Fû* to *Nem-nay*. *Sharifo'ddin*.

(S) A town on the south borders of *Georgia*, near the *Caspian* sea. *La Croix*.

to the defile of *Komsba* (belonging to a prince of that name), where the infidels dwelt. As this defile was full of impassable woods, the soldiers, with their axes and saws, made a road, ten days journey in length, and broad enough for six companies to march in front. Although it snowed very hard, for twenty days together, yet the army entered *Georgia*, and fell upon the infidels in the mountain, giving quarter to none. *Komsba*, the chief of them, fled, leaving his family and effects. They destroyed his villages, with the churches, and plucked up the vine-trees, which the inhabitants, who were very fond of wine, had carefully planted. After a month's stay in this defile, the roads being impassable, through the severity of the weather, *Timūr* returned to *Karabagh*; where an inquiry being made into the behaviour of the officers, who fought the *Georgians* in their return from *Alenjik*, some were punished with the bastinado, and all the principal officers of the *Mirza Mirān Shāh* fined. The Prince *Burhān Aglen* (who had been restored to favour) was put to death, for his misdoings in several skirmishes; and his son treated in the same manner: but the *Mirza Abbēkr* was much honoured, for his valour shewn in that action.

A. D.

1399.

THE *Mirza Rūstem*, sent from *Jām* to *Shīrāz*, as before *Pīr Meā* mentioned, being arrived at that city, was handsomely received and welcomed by the *Mirza Pīr Mehemed*: and set out for *Bāghdād* soon after, *posted*, according to his orders, leaving *Pīr Mehemed* behind to follow him. He passed by *Toftar* and *Rāmhermes*, to *Mendeli* (T); where he arrived in *March* 1400; and, defeating *Amīr Ali Kalānder* the governor, pillaged the town. Mean while, the *Mirza Pīr Mehemed*, after a long delay, set out for *Bāghdād*: but, after some days march, turned back again, on pretence of sickness; and, by the instigation of certain persons, undertook to compose poisons and fascinations. The *Amīr Saīd Berlās*, governor of *Shīrāz*, being informed hereof, imprisoned the *mirza* in the castle, and gave advice to *Timūr*; who immediately sent *Allahdād*, to prosecute the offenders, and place *Rūstem* on the throne of *Pārs*, in the room of his elder brother, whom he was to bring bound to court. This *amīr* put to death some men of quality, concerned in corrupting the prince; while *Rūstem*, coming from *Mendeli*, on notice given him, was, by letters patents, established in his place.

Hej. 804.

A. D.

1400.

* Hist. Tim. Bek, p. 121—130, c. 4—6.

(T) A town of *Arabia* [rather *Irāk Arabi*], dependent on *Bāghdād*. *La Croix*.

A. D. 1400. *Plot at Bâghdâd.* WHEN *Mir Ali Kalander* arrived at *Bâghdâd*, with an account of what had passed at *Mendeli*, Soltân *Ahmed*, in great perplexity, ordered the gates to be shut, and the bridge destroyed. He was still more alarmed at the conspiracy formed against him by *Sherwân*. This lord had been made governor of *Khûzestân* by *Timûr*; but, having committed several irregularities, in extorting money, and even putting to death governors of cities, he revolted, with 1000 horse, to the sultan. He had not been long at *Bâghdâd*, before he began to conspire against his protector, by bribing his principal officers with vast sums of money. The plot was discovered by an officer, who finding the memorandum of the monies paid, which *Sherwân's* secretary had lost, carried it to his master, at such time as he had ordered the gates to be shut. The sultan, more affrighted at this treason than before, sent orders to the amirs, who were on an incursion with *Sherwân*, to cut off his head; and, in less than eight days, put to death above 2000 of his own officers in *Bâghdâd*; he slew, with his own hand, most of the ladies and officers of his (*Sherwân's*) household.

Soltân Ahmed's flight. AFTER this, Soltân *Ahmed* shut himself up in his saray, not suffering any one to come near him: even when the stewards brought him his dinner, they delivered it at the door, without entering. He spent several days in this manner; and then crossing the *Tigris*, in the night, by boat, with six persons only, rode to the country of *Kara Yusef*. Mean time, the stewards, as usual, delivered the king's dinner at the palace-gate; so that he returned, with *Kara Yusef* and his troops, before the people knew any thing of his absence. In July *Ahmed* hearing that *Timûr* was on his march to *Sirwâs* (in *Anatolia*), set out, with *Kara Yusef*, his family, and treasures, that he might get thither before the roads were stopped up by the emperor's troops. At *Hâleph*, he was opposed by *Temür-tâsh*, who commanded there; but having defeated his troops, he continued his road.

Timûr invades Georgia. To return to *Timûr*. When winter was over, this prince called a dyet, wherein the war of *Georgia* being considered as preferable to all others, both on account of religion, and increase of power, he departed from *Karabâgh* for *Georgia*; the roads and provinces of which, he ordered to be described in writing. In ten days he arrived in the plain of *Berdaa*; where he gave audience to *Tahârtén*, prince of *Arzenjân*, on the *Euphrates*. The emperor honoured him with the marks of sovereignty, and then dismissed him, with orders to watch the motions of the *Othmâns*. After several days march from *Berdaa*, he arrived on the borders of *Georgia*; from whence he sent to *Mâlek Ghârghîn*, king of that country, to demand *Tâher*,

Tâher, son of Soltân *Abmed*: but, instead of complying, *Ghûrghin* returned a very uncivil answer. Upon this, the *Jagatays* entered his dominions, and destroyed every thing they met with, even the vines. The affrighted inhabitants, who escaped the sword, fled, with their effects and provisions, to the high mountains; where they had fortified caverns and houses, built on craggy rocks; so that no power had ever yet conquered them.

A. D.

1400.

FOR all this, *Timûr*'s soldiers, without considering the dangers, ascended the mountains; and then, laying themselves in boxes, were let down by cords to the caverns of the infidels; which they entered, making a terrible slaughter. Some of these craggy places were so well defended, that, as well to disperse the enemy, as to burn their houses and intrenchments, the army were obliged to make use of combustible matter. Thus they took fifteen noted places, giving quarter only to such as turned *Mohammedans*. *Timûr* left a strong garrison in *Tafîs*, or *Teffis*, capital of *Georgia*, and then went to encamp in the plain of *Mokran*. King *Ghûrghin* fled into the desarts; but the greater part of the *Oznawrs* came to the camp, and sued for pardon. When the country was reduced, the temples and monasteries were razed, and chapels and mosks erected in their room.

AFTER this conquest, *Timûr* resolved to attack the other provinces of *Georgia*, and marched next towards the defile of prince *Jâni Bek*, whose country being pillaged, and people slain, he soon came to submit himself. Among other fortresses, there was one named *Bil*, at the entrance of the defile, which, though standing very high, and of difficult access, was presently taken, and razed. The army, having ravaged other parts of the country, went to encamp in the true antient *Georgia*; from whence at length removing, they crossed the *Kûr*, laden with spoils. During these transactions, a great number of *Oznawrs* retired into the castle of *Zerit*, situated on the ridge of a narrow mountain, and never before taken: but *Timûr* having besieged it, after several attacks, on the seventh day a general assault was given, and the fort being taken sword in hand; it was demolished, and all the *Georgians* slain. After this, on advice that king *Ghûrghin* was in the town of *Swanit*, the emperor marched thither, with one half of his army: but the king, not daring to wait his coming, fled towards *Abkhâz* (U).

* Hist. Tim. Bek, p. 130—139, c. 7, 8.

(U) A town of *Georgia*, on the frontiers of *Cberkassia*. La Croix. — Perhaps rather the country of the *Abkhâz*, to the west of *Mingrelia*.

A. D. 1400. The troops carried *Swānit* at the first assault; and then went in pursuit of *Ghārghin*: but that prince, crossing the rivers *Aygar* and *Korlan* (X), had the good fortune to escape.

The king
submits.

THE king of *Georgia* seeing himself reduced to the last extremity, by protecting Prince *Tāher*, he obliged him to retire to his father, in the *Othmān* dominions; and then sent an ambassador to beg *Timūr*'s pardon, with a promise, on oath, to pay the annual tribute, and send any number of forces into his service. The emperor, on those conditions, withdrew out of his country, and marched towards the territories subject to *Ayvāni*, one of the most powerful sovereigns of *Georgia*. As there was no army to oppose them, the soldiers dispersed themselves, ruining the towns and castles, and destroying every thing with fire and sword. They did the like by the country and people of *Kara Kalkānlık*, who were armed with black bucklers, and good mountain horsemen. After this, *Timūr* set forward on his return: but, receiving advice, when at *Ilāk* or *Teylāk Menkāl*, that the enemy had assembled again in *Farafgherd*, in *Georgia*, he marched thither; and, in five days, made himself master of seven fortresses, which he razed, after slaying an infinite number of the infidels; and then returned to *Menkāl*. Here ambassadors arrived from an *European* prince, to make an alliance with him. They brought with them the son of *Amir Morād* (or *Amurath*), the *Othmān* emperor, whom they had taken prisoner. *Timūr* received them with great civility, granted them what they desired, and, having given them rich vests, dismissed them, to return by way of *Trabizond*¹.

CHAP. V.

Timūr overthrows Bayezid, and reduces Georgia. Dies on his March to conquer China.

Timūr of- fended, DURING the two months that *Timūr* encamped in *Menkāl*, he prepared to march against *Bayezid*, surnamed *İldrīm*, or the thunderer. This prince, who had extended his dominions considerably on every side, had not only taken *Siwās* and *Malatya*, from princes in friendship with *Timūr*; but had summoned *Taharten*, though he knew him to be under the emperor's protection, to come to his court, and to send the tributes of *Arzenjān*, *Arzerūm*, and their dependencies, to his treasury. Of this *Taharten* sent advice to *Timūr*; who

¹ Hist. Tim. Bek, p. 139—145, c. 9—12.

(X) Rivers of *Kapshāk* (or *Kipjāk*). *La Croix*.

thereupon wrote a letter, to advise *Bayezîd* to keep within his own bounds, and not offer to go beyond those limits. But, as that letter contained many reproachful expressions, the *Othmân* made answer to the envoys, that he had long desired to have a war with their master; and that, if *Timûr* did not advance against him, he would go seek *Timûr*, and drive him beyond *Tauris*.

A. D.
1400.

THE emperor, on the return of his envoys, immediately ^{marches} marched towards *Anatolia*. Being arrived at *Aventk* (or *Vân*), ^{against} he was met by the Amîr *Allahdâd*, who brought with him, *Bayezîd*, from *Shîràz*, the Mîrza *Pîr Mehemed*, bound like a criminal. *Timûr* ordered that the Mîrza should be examined, in a council of war, and punished according to his deserts. He was sentenced to receive the bastinado, according to the *yasa* (or laws of *Jenghîz Khân*); and, having undergone that punishment, his chains were taken off, and he was set at liberty. By the same laws, the Sheykh *Zâde Ferîd*, and *Mobârek Roja*, were put to death, for having corrupted the mîrza, and taught him magic. After this, the emperor marched forward, at the head of his army; and, at his arrival at *Arzerûm*, was saluted by *Tahârtên*, prince of *Arzenjân*. September 1, he entered the country of the *Othmâns*, and attacked *Sîwâs*: but, as we intend to give a pretty circumstantial account of this war, in our history of the *Othmâns*, we shall only slightly touch on those transactions in this place *.

SIWAS (or *Sebastê*), a fine as well as strong city, sub-Takes Si-
mitted, after eighteen days leaguer, to *Timûr*; who ordered ^{was}.
4000 *Armenian* cavalry to be buried alive, and the walls to be razed, for an example to other places. He then sent troops in pursuit of Soltân *Ahmed*, who had entered *Anatolia*, and others, under the Mîrza *Shâh Rûkh*, to destroy the *Turk-mân* robbers of *Abâleştân*, in *Zulkâderia*, who had carried off some horses. The soltân and *Kara Yusef* escaped, with the loss of their baggage, and a soltâna; but the robbers were cut to pieces. After this, he marched against *Malattiyah*, which he took in one day, the governor and his party flying at his approach. Then he sent out troops, on all sides, to ruin the country of *Malattiyah*; which they did, and returned with abundance of spoil. Thus the frontiers of *Anatolia* and *Syria* were, in a short time, brought in subjection; and as the soltân of *Egypt* had offended *Timûr* no less than the *Othmân* emperor, he resolved to invade his dominions, before he proceeded any farther against *Bayezîd*, who had no army yet in the field.

* Hist. Tim. Bek, p. 145—152, c. 13—15.

A. D.
1400.

Invades
Syria.

TIMUR, in the year 795 (1393), after he had reduced *Bâghdâd*, having sent an ambassador to *Soltân Bârkok*, then reigning in *Egypt*, as hath been before-mentioned, this ambassador, on his arrival at *Rahaba*, on the *Euphrates*, was seized, according to custom, and sent to *Egypt*; where, by the persuasions of *Soltân Ahmed*, he has put to death. After this, *Kara Yusuf* having, in battle, taken prisoner *Atilmîsh Kûchin*, *Timûr's* governor of *Avanik*, while that monarch was in *Kipjâk*, sent him to *Bârkok*, who confined him in prison, and continued his hostilities against the *Jagatays*. The emperor being now on the borders of *Malattiyah*, sent a letter to *Farrâj*, who had succeeded *Bârkok*, to demand *Atilmîsh*: but *Farrâj*, after his father's example, ordered the ambassador to be imprisoned at *Hâlep*, where he had been already stopped, as usual, till notice was given to the sultan of his arrival. *Timûr*, enraged at this insult, resolved to be revenged; and although, at first, the amirs besought him to disband his troops, who wanted repose, after so many late fatigues, yet, perceiving him to be firm, they applauded his resolution. They marched on to *Behesna*, and encamped on an eminence near the castle, which is in a defile where several torrents flow, built with very high and strong walls, on the ridge of a steep mountain ^b.

Takes Antâp.

WHILE *Timûr* was viewing the place, a great stone, shot at him from an engine, fell near his tent, and rolled into it. Enraged at this, he immediately ordered his troops, who had taken the lower town, to besiege the fortress, in whose wall they soon made breaches with their engines, sapping them, at the same time, in other places. The governor *Mokbel*, seeing himself in this distress, sent to beg quarter. *Timûr* promised him his liberty: but said, he would take the place first, to shew, that though reckoned impregnable, it was not so to him. The 7th of *October*, fire being put to the props, the towers began to fall: after which, the emperor not only spared *Mokbel*, but the whole garrison. The army then marched to *Antâpa* (or *Antâp*) (A), a city, whose walls were built of stone, exceedingly strong; surrounded by a ditch thirty cubits deep, and near seventy wide, with a draw-bridge. The counter-carp, which was of stone, had a covered-way, broad enough

^b Hist. Tim. Bek, p. 152—162, c. 15—19,

(A) *Arabshâb* says, that *Timûr* left *Kalâto'rrûm* (or the castle of the Romans), without daring to attack it, on account of its strength, although the commander made several sallies up-

on him: yet he owns, that, by the computation of *Karezem*, *Timûr's* comptroller, his army amounted to 800,000 men. *Timûr* did what was necessary; and *Arabshâb* hated him.

for

for a man on horseback to pass along it; which post was assigned the archers. When the *Tatars* arrived, they found the principal persons all gone out (B); and only a few poor inhabitants left, who immediately opened the gates to *Timûr*, and put him in possession of abundance of goods, as well as ammunition.

A. D.
1400.

*Proceeds
to Hâlep.*

MEAN time *Temûrtâsh*, governor of *Hâlep*, having sent advice to *Kâhera* (or *Kayro*) of the enemy's proceedings, the sultân sent orders for all the troops of *Syria* to march to that city. When they were arrived, *Temûrtâsh* assembled the chief commanders, to consult whether it was best to submit to a powerful prince, whose successes and conquests he set forth to advantage, or oppose him. The most experienced officers approved of the motion: but the majority, and especially *Shadûn*, governor of *Damaskus*, taxed him with cowardice (C); vaunting, that the towns of *Syria* were not built of mud and brick, like those of the countries conquered by *Timûr*, but with solid stone; and that taking but a few men out of every village, which the registers reckoned to be 60,000, an army might be raised sufficient to withstand any force. While, therefore, it was resolved to defend *Hâlep*, *Timûr* advanced towards it. The two first days he marched six or seven leagues each; but afterwards ordered the army to move no more than half a league *per* day: so that in a whole week they proceeded but one day's journey, and that with great precautions. The *Syrians*, imputing the slowness of the enemy's march to fear, abandoned their first resolution of keeping in the town, and drew out in the open field.

THE 8th of *November* the army of *Timûr* arrived near *Hâlep*; and, the third day after, marched to attack the enemy in order of battle: every one had on a coat of mail, a cuirass, and helmet. The right wing was commanded by the Mirzas *Mirân Shâh* and *Shâh Rûkh*; and the van-guard of it by the Mirza *Abûbekr*. Sultân *Mahmûd* led the left wing, whose van-guard was conducted by Sultân *Hussayn*. The main body was commanded by *Timûr* himself; who had before him a rank of bulky elephants, which served as a rampart, with towers on their backs, filled with archers; and slingers of wild-fire. The battle began by the skirmishers; who rushed into the midst of the enemy's batallions, and either killed, or brought

*Defeats
the enemy.*

(B) According to *Arabshâh*, *Askemâr* the governor sallied out; and, being abandoned and wounded, fled to *Hâlep*, but was not pursued.

(C) *Arabshâh* says, that *Temûrtâsh* had agreed with *Timûr* to betray the sultân of *Egypt*.

A. D.
1400.

off some noted person prisoner. The right wing then fell on the Syrians left wing, which was routed by the valour of the Mirza *Abûbekr*. Their left wing likewise defeated the enemy's right, while the main body performed the like service. Hereupon *Shadûn* and *Temûrtâsh* fled into the city, followed by their troops, who dispersed. The major part took the road to *Damaskus*: but, being pursued, only one horseman of all that great army escaped to carry the news to that city.

Takes the
city.

As for those who retreated into *Halep*, the disorder was so great in the chief street of the city, and the gates so crowded, that one could hardly pass. Here was the greatest slaughter ever mentioned: for, to avoid the fury of the sword, they flung themselves upon one another into the ditches. On the other hand, the *Yagatays*, with a single pike, often ran three or four of the enemy through at a time, in the throng of the gate: so that the dead bodies were piled upon one another, to the very plinth of the walls; and at length a passage was made over the ditch, upon those bodies, level with the draw-bridge. There one might see the horses and their riders mixed promiscuously, and covered with blood and dirt; some pierced with arrows, and others with their brains dashed out; one with a coat of mail, his head bending beneath the blow of a war-club; another falling without his head, his sword fast clasped in his hand. Mean time other troops were employed in pillaging the enemy's camp, where they met with abundance of spoil. At length the whole army marched to the general assault the same day, and entered the city; which they plundered of its great wealth, carrying away the women and children, horses and cattle.

The castle
surrendered.

SHADUN and *Temûrtâsh* had retired to the fortress, which was built on the ridge of a high steep rock (D), surrounded with a ditch thirty cubits wide; and so deep with water, as to carry a boat (E). From the surface of the water to the castle-wall, it is about 100 cubits; and the shelving so smooth and steep, that it is impossible to ascend it on foot, because it is covered with free-stone, and polished bricks. As soon as the *Yagatays* had surrounded the ditch, they shot arrows so incessantly, that the besieged dared not appear on the walls;

* Hist. Tim. Bek, p. 162—172. c. 19—21.

(D) The castle of *Alppo* is not built on a rock, but a mountain of earth, covered with free-stone. *La Croix*.

(E) The author seems not to

have seen the ditch, any more than the castle; for if the ditch was full of water, a ship might sail in it. *La Croix*.

while

while the sappers, crossing the water in floats, began to work at the bottom of the mountain, and shake the stones. This being perceived by the besieged, five of the bravest men, going down by a rope tied to their waist, the ends of which were held by others on the wall, ran sword in hand upon the sappers; but the *Tatars*, who had orders to support them, sallied out of their tents, and slew them with their arrows. After the dead bodies were drawn up, no soldier would venture to shew his head. Upon this, *Timûr* wrote a letter to the two generals, exhorting them to save their lives, and surrender. This they did, upon a reflection on their circumstances; and, being put in irons, with other chiefs, and 1000 soldiers, *Timûr* sent one of them to acquaint the king of *Egypt* with their condition; and that he must forthwith send *Atthmîsb* to him, if he would preserve their lives.

A. D.
1400.

THERE were in this city treasures of an infinite value, consisting of that laid up by several kings; and the riches carried in by the citizens, in hopes of saving them. Part was distributed among the soldiers; and the rest left in charge with eight amirs, who were appointed to govern this strong place. Then, after fifteen days stay, he marched, to continue his conquests in *Syria*. He had sent before the Mirzas *Pir Mehemed* and *Abûbekr* as scouts towards *Hama* (F); the town of which they took, but could not reduce the castle: yet, on the appearance of the innumerable troops which *Timûr* brought, the garrison begged quarter; which was granted, but the spoil was given to the scouts. The emperor staid here twenty-two days: during which time the amirs made another attempt to induce him to stop here; representing, that, for two years, they had been continually on the march, or in battle; and that the enemy's troops were in much better condition than theirs. They therefore desired that they might go and repose themselves at *Tripoli*, on the sea-coast; so that, at the beginning of spring, they might march with vigour against the *Syrians*. Hama reduced.

BUT *Timûr* would not hearken to their reasons; alledging, that they ought not to give the enemy any time to recover themselves. Hereupon he ordered them to march towards *Hems* (or *Emessa*): and, as a great amir was sent before for a scout, he prevailed upon the inhabitants to submit, on promise both of their lives and effects. Accordingly the principal men went out, loaden with presents, to meet *Timûr*; and received his protection. The emperor then continued his road towards Hems surrendered.

(F) A city of *Syria*, of which *Abû'Iseda* was prince. *La Croix*, the geographer (or historian) It is the antient *Epiphania*.

Baalbek :

A. D. 1400. *Baalbek*; and, in the way, detached troops to pillage the coast of *Saïd* (or *Sidon*) and *Barût*. When the army came before *Baalbek*, they admired the beauty of its walls. Among the stones, which are of a prodigious size, there is one at the corner of the castle, facing the gardens, which is twenty-eight cubits long, sixteen broad, and seven high. Its buildings are very lofty; and it is believed to have been raised by dæmons and genii, at the command of *Solomon*, who had an absolute power over them. For all this, it was quickly reduced by the *Jagatays*, who found abundance of provisions. After which, they marched towards *Damaskus*, which is seventy leagues distant from *Hâlep*, through snow and rain, it being the third of *January*; and, having made one day's journey, *Timûr* halted to visit the tomb of the prophet *Noah* ^d.

Attempt of assassins. MEAN time *Farruj*, sultân of *Egypt*, to whom *Syria* belonged, raised a great army, chiefly of cavalry, which were the best in the world; and came to *Damaskus*, which he put in a good posture of defence. But, relying more on policy than strength, he sent to *Timûr* an eloquent villain, in quality of ambassador; who, the better to cover his intentions, put on a religious habit. He was accompanied by two assassins, who had orders to murder the emperor during the ambassador's audience. When *Timûr* drew near *Damaskus*, those villains joined the court, and were admitted to pay their compliments. They had thus several favourable opportunities: but, the emperor being protected by Heaven, they could not execute their designs. However, *Koja Massâud Semnâni*, one of the great secretaries of the council, suspected, by their behaviour, that they had some evil intention. This being related, by a third person, to *Timûr*, he ordered them to be searched; and poisoned daggers were found in their boots. The chief of the villains, perceiving their plot discovered, confessed the truth; and was, by the emperor's order, slain with the same dagger which was found about him, and his body burnt. The two assassins had their nose and ears cut off, with design to send them, in that condition, with a letter to the sultân of *Egypt*.

Farruj feigns submission. *TIMUR*, being arrived at *Kobbey Seyâr*, ordered *Shadân*, and the other prisoners, brought from *Hâlep*, to be put to death, farther to be revenged on *Farruj*. The same night there happened an affair as ridiculous as extraordinary: The *Mirza Soltân Hussayn*, after a debauch, was excited by some seditious persons to revolt against his grandfather (G). Ac-

^d Hist. Tim. Bek, p. 172—181. c. 21—24.

(G) According to *Arabshâb*, to see him with his army in so he quitted *Timûr*, being ashamed miserable a condition.

cordingly he went to *Damaskus*, and lifted himself in the Syrian service. This adventure gave the enemy much joy; and *Farruj*, in policy, treated him with all possible respect. Next day the army went and encamped towards the south side of the city; building a wall, the height of a man, about the camp, and digging a trench round the wall. Two days after, *Timûr* sent a letter to the sultân, to demand *Atîlmîsh*; and offer peace, on condition that he caused money to be coined in the emperor's name, and his name to be read in the public prayers. The ambassador was received with great honour; and, being dismissed, was followed by several lords, who, from *Farruj*, promised obedience to *Timûr*, and to send *Atîlmîsh* to his court within five days.

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TIMUR, believing these lords to be sincere, received them kindly, and presented them with vests; but he was soon undeceived: for, some days after, having ordered his army to remove their camp to *Gauta* (H), that the horses might feed in that delicious place: they had no sooner begun to move, than the whole army of *Syria* sallied out of *Damaskus*, imagining that this march eastward proceeded from weakness, and an intention to fly. They thought likewise, that so numerous an army could not decamp without falling into some disorder; and that, if they took the opportunity to attack their rear, they could not fail of defeating them. With these hopes, the soldiers, issuing forth, and joined by prodigious numbers of the populace, armed with swords, sticks, or stones, fell on the rear of the *Tatars*; who thereupon, facing about, secured their front with the bales of baggage. When the whole army were come together, and ranged in order, *Timûr* sent to the *Mirzas Mirân Shâh*, *Shâh Rûkh*, and *Abûbekr*, who commanded the right wing, to attack the enemy on one side, while the amirs of the left wing pressed them on the other. As the two wings, backed by the main body, fell furiously on the *Syrians*, they were defeated, after an obstinate battle, and repulsed to the gates of *Damaskus*; after having above half their soldiers slain, and a great part dispersed: who, being pursued, were for the most part cut off.

THIS signal victory was gained January 19th, 1400. During the heat of the battle, one of *Shâh Rûkh's* officers fell in with the *Mirza Sultân Hussayn*, who commanded the *Syrians* left wing; and, having seized his horse's bridle, brought him

• Hist. Tim. Bek, p. 181—189. c. 24—25.

(H) A great plain to the east of *Damaskus*, where there is a very large lake; into which the rivers watering that city fall in an united stream.

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to his master, who gave advice of it to *Timâr*. This prince ordered him to be put in prison, loaded with chains: but he was soon after delivered, through the intercession of *Shâh Rûkb*; yet not till he had received the bastonado, according to the yasa; and, besides the reproaches he met with, was never after suffered to enter the emperor's hall. Next day *Timâr* ordered the army to march towards the city in order of battle, with the elephants at their head, to strike farther terror into the inhabitants: and it is remarkable, that, from the end of the right wing to the extremity of the left, it took up between three and four leagues of ground. The sultân, on this, held a council; wherein it being agreed for him to return to *Egypt*, and leave the soldiers to defend the city, with the inhabitants, he sent an ambassador to excuse what happened the day before, as a popular sedition; and promised, that, if his highness would grant a cessation of arms for the present day only, he would next morning execute whatever he should command.

Damaskus
besieged,

THE emperor, on this message, ordered his army to return, and encamp a second time: but, when night came, *Farruj*, accompanied by the principal lords of his court, departed from *Damaskus*. This flight being discovered by a *Tatar* deserter, *Timâr* sent after him a great body of horse; who overtook the sultân, slew several of his men, and obliged the rest to abandon their equipage to fly the swifter. Next day he ordered the city to be invested by his whole army. This so terrified the inhabitants, that the sharifs, kâdi's, and other men of the law, opened the gates; and, going to the camp, agreed to pay a tax to save their lives. The city being thus yielded, they invested the castle, which was one of the most noted fortresses in the world. Its walls, consisting of great pieces of rock, very high, and regularly built, were encompassed with a ditch about twenty cubits wide. The soldiers having raised three platforms high enough to command the city; the battering-rams, and engines to cast stones and wild-fire, began to play: while the sappers, after the ditch was drained, fell to undermining the walls on every side, notwithstanding the great stones and wild-fire showered down on them by the besieged. They heated great pieces of the rock, by putting fire underneath, and casting vinegar thereon: and then, with their hammers, broke them out; placing wooden props, to keep the rest from falling on them. When they had done sapping the bastion of *Tarma*, which was largest of all, fire was set to the shorings; when presently this high and famous tower fell, and made a vast breach by its fall: but, as the soldiers ran to enter this breach, on a sudden another part of the wall fell; which, crush-

with great
vigour.

ing

ing fourscore of them to pieces, so damped the ardour of the rest, that they would advance no farther.

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THE besieged, taking advantage of this respite, closed up the breach, and fortified themselves behind it; but, great part of the castle falling soon after, they lost all hopes: so that *Yezdār* the governor caused the gate to be opened, and carried the keys himself to *Timūr*; who ordered him to be put to death, for having deferred surrendering too long. They found in the castle abundance of riches. The garrison, consisting mostly of *Gherkassians*, *Hababans*, *Zenji*, and *Mamluks*, were all made slaves; so were the citizens. *Timūr*, observing with indignation, that, while *Damaskus* abounded with fine edifices, the tombs of *Omnia Selma* and *Omnia Habiba* were neglected, ordered two magnificent marble domes to be built over them, adorned with several works in sculpture. He likewise caused gold and silver to be coined in place of the Syrian money, which was coarse; and sent troops to ravage the sea-coast about the city of *Akkia*^f (or *Akka*). and surrendered.

DURING these transactions, *Timūr* was attacked with an imposthume in his back, which was very grievous for the time, but soon went off. After this, assembling his privy-council, he told them, "He had heard that the *Syrians* encouraged the *Omniyan* khalfahs in all the cruelties they exercised against *Ali*, in the wars which they carried on against him; and could not conceive how a nation should be thought to be of the sect of a prophet, which united with the most cruel enemies of his family. He added, that so rigorous a punishment, as had then fallen on them, was a proof that the said tradition was true." This reflection of *Timūr*, being communicated to others, so wrought on the minds of the soldiery, that, *March* 28th, 1401, they broke into the city without orders, and made a terrible slaughter; enslaved the rest of the inhabitants, and seized their effects (I). The riches were so great, that the beasts they had taken between *Siwās* and *Damaskus* not being sufficient to carry them off, they were obliged to fling away great part, such as gold and silver broades, curious belts of *Egypt*, *Cyprus*, and the like. Dreadful massacre.

Hej. 803,

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1401.

As the two upper stories of the houses of *Damaskus* are of wood, the lowest being of stone; and most of the cieling, as well as walls, are varnished, next day the city took fire by

^f Hist. Tim. Bek, p. 189—198. c. 25—27.

(I) *Arabshāh* inveighs against *timūr* for the havock made at *damaskus*; and, from this ac-

count, he seems to have been the cause of it.

accident,

A. D. 1400. accident, and burnt down; nor was it possible to quench it. Besides the wooden roof of the famous *Ommiyan* mosk, covered with lead, the eastern menâret, built of stone, was reduced to ashes: yet that of *Arûs*, named also *Munar Beyza*, on which the *Musulmâns* believe *Isa*, or *Jesus*, will descend to judge the world, though made of wood, remained intire. After this, *Timûr*, resolving to return out of *Syria*, ordered all the slaves taken in that country, as well as *Damaskus*, to be set at liberty. He then set forward, the 31st of *March*; and sent for the *Mirza Mehemed Soltân* from the frontiers of *Mogulestân*, to invest him with the empire of *Hûlâkû*, which he deserved for his merit. When he arrived at *Hems*, he sent the *Mirzas Rûstem* and *Abûbekr*, with 10,000 horse, to the city of *Tadmîr* (or *Tadmor*), built by *Solomon*, the houses of which are of free-stone, to pillage the subjects of *Zulkâder*, who were in its neighbourhood. The *Mirza Soltân Hussayn*, at the head of 5000 horse, marched to *Antiokh*; and the *Mirza Kalîl Soltân*, with 15,000 horse, was detached against the *Turkmâns* of *Kubek*, who were encamped on the *Euphrates*.

Turk-
mâns
spoiled.

THE first party, having made the *Zulkâderians* fly into *Arabia*, and brought away 200,000 sheep, went on to the *Euphrates*. The second party pillaged the city and country of *Antiokh*; and then, joining the third at *Hâlep*, marched towards *Kalûto'rrûm*, and the *Euphrates*. Here, meeting the *Turkmâns*, they were vigorously attacked: but the *Sheykh Hussayn*, son of *Kubek*, their leader, being slain, his brothers fled with the rest of those people, who left a great prey of cattle: so that, with what the other soldiers had gotten, they reckoned 800,000 sheep, which sold for a dinâr apiece, and were obliged to leave the other animals behind. Mean while *Timûr* proceeded on his way. When he came to *Hamâh*, he ordered the town to be pillaged, the houses plundered, and the inhabitants made slaves; to punish them for destroying the edifices which the *Jagatays* had built at their first arrival. The walls likewise of the castle of *Hâlep* were razed, and the houses burnt, by the amîrs, who then joined the imperial army, which in four days marched to the *Euphrates*, where the other detachments met them. As the *Mirza Soltân Hussayn* performed several brave actions in his expedition, he obtained pardon for his former fault, and was received into favour.

Hamah
pillaged.

Bîr and
Roha
yield.

THE army crossed the river, by swimming, over-against the city of *Bîr*; from whence two boats were sent to carry over the baggage of the emperor, who confirmed the governor in his

his post. Here *Kara Ozmân*, governor of *Malattya*, arrived also, and was handsomely received. After *Timûr*'s departure from hence, he had a mind to hunt in *Mesopotamia*: hereupon a circle was made by the two wings, five days journey in circuit, of which the fountain of *Râs'ol Ayn* (K) was the centre; where they found such abundance of game, that they took them with their hands. The hunt concluded with a feast; in which they ate of antelopes and roebucks, whose flesh is very tender, and the best of all the animals of the desert. In their passage, the inhabitants of *Roha*, or *Orfa*, came out with presents, and were kindly treated: but a castle beyond it was razed; and the *Armenian* robbers, who held it, cut to pieces. The army then advanced to *Mardîn*; whither the sultâns of *Husni* *Keyfa* (L) and *Arzina*, and other lords in those quarters, came to salute the emperor: only the sultân of *Mardîn*, who had been set at liberty and restored by *Timûr*, not having followed the army into *Syria* with his troops, or sent any of his brothers on that duty, dared not come to meet his highness. *Timûr*, however, kindly asked after him, and sent for him in very obliging terms: but he refused, confiding in the strength of the place. And, as the emperor was sensible it would require a long siege to reduce it (M), he was contented to ruin and burn all the houses of the lower town; at the same time ordering *Kara Ozmân* to block up the fortress so closely, that not a man might escape.

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1401.

Mardîn
revolts.

TIMUR, having sent the Amîr *Allâhdâd* to take care of the frontiers of *Jetah*, departed from *Mardîn*. After which, he detached the Mirzas *Soltân Hussayn*, *Pîr Mehemed*, *Omar Sheykh*, and *Abûbekr*, with a great body of the army, to *Alenjik*; with orders, after taking that fortress, to march into *Georgia*: but as they had heard at *Vân*, that *Alenjik*, after two years siege, had been forced by famine to surrender, they turned off towards the right for *Georgia*; and made such haste, that they surprised the inhabitants, and ravaged their country. Hereupon *Mâlek Gûrghîn* sent to acquaint the mirzas, that he was surprised at this invasion, seeing he was one of the

Alenjik
reduced.

Georgia
invaded.

* Hist. Tim. Bek, p. 198—208. c. 27—30.

(K) From hence springs the river *Al Khabûr*, which falls into the *Euphrates* at *Karkîsia*.

(L) Corruptly called *Hasan Keif*; a city on the *Tigris*, between *Amed* and *Mûssel*. *La Croix*.—'Tis also, by travellers, written *Asan Kief* and *Chief*: it

should be *Hasn* or *Hesn Keyf*, that is, the castle of *Keyf*.

(M) *Arabshâh* says, that *Timûr* could not take the castle of *Mardin*, because situated on an inaccessible rock, large enough to contain much plowed lands, with several springs of water.

emperor's

A. D. 1401. emperor's most faithful servants; and that, as soon as his highness should come into those parts, he would not fail to pay obedience to him. Upon this, the mirzas ceased ravaging his country; and sent to know if *Timûr* would grant that king-quarter, waiting at *Mentâl* the return of the courier.

Bâghdâd besieged. AT the same time the Soltân *Mahmûd Khân* and the Mirza *Râstem*, with several amirs at the head of their tomâns, according to orders, set out for *Bâghdâd*. Where, as soon as they arrived, *Farruj*, of the *Jalayr* tribe of *Mungls*, who was governor, supported by vast multitudes of *Turks* and *Arabs*, sallied out, being joined by several princes and amirs of *Irâk Arabi*: from the east, came the amirs *Ali Kalânder*, of *Mendeli*, and *Jân Ahmed Bakâ*; from the west, *Farrukshâh*, of *Hilleh*, or *Hella*, and *Mikail*, of *Sib*, with 3000 men. The Mirza *Râstem* immediately took horse, with his troops; and, surrounding the enemy, repulsed them as far as the *Tigris*, where a bloody battle ensued. *Jân Ahmed* was slain, with many of the bravest soldiers; and others drowned in the river. For all this defeat, *Farruj* would not surrender; pretending that Soltân *Ahmed* ordered him to deliver up the city to *Timûr*, if he came in person, but not else. Of this the amirs sent advice to the emperor; who, after the submission of *Nisibîn*, having passed the *Tigris* at *Musel*, in his way to *Tauris*, immediately set out for *Bâghdâd*, accompanied by the bravest men in his army, by way of *Altûn Kupruk* (N). As soon as he arrived at that city, he encamped at the lower part of the river, opposite to the gate called *Kariet Ulakab*; and his troops, surrounding the walls, tho' two leagues in compass, began to sap them.

Its vigorous defence. MEAN time *Farruj*, desirous to know if *Timûr* was come, sent to him, as an ambassador, one who knew him; who was admitted to audience, and honoured with a vest: but altho' this person was a confidant of the governor, yet, at his return, he imprisoned him, under pretence that he told what was not fact. On the other hand, *Timûr* caused a bridge of boats to be laid across the *Tigris*, below *Kariet Ulakab*; and took all necessary precautions to block up all the passages with his troops: in short, it was so inclosed on all sides, that, altho' the river ran thro' the middle of it, and was covered with boats, yet it was impossible for any body to get out. In the interim, *Farruj*, and the inhabitants, thro' despair, rather than bravery, performed actions which almost exceeded human power: for, as soon as the *Tatars* made a breach by sapping, the besieged

(N). A bridge on the river *Altûn Sû* (or water of gold), near *Mûssil*. *La Croix*.

immediately

immediately repaired it with mortar and brick, and entrenched themselves behind. The heat was now so violent, that the birds fell down dead, and the soldiers melted like wax under their cuirasses : for all this, they raised a platform which commanded the city, from whence they incessantly cast stones with their engines.

THE amirs had often begged to make a general assault ; *Taken by* but Timūr would not give leave, in hopes the enemy would *assault.* submit : but, at the end of forty days, on the 23d of July, when the inhabitants were forced, by the heat of the sun, to quit the walls, and retire to their houses, leaving their helmets reared on sticks in their places, the army advanced furiously to the walls ; and, having fixed their scaling-ladders, the Amir *Sheykh Nūr-oddin* mounted first : then, sounding the drums and trumpets, all the commanders followed, and the troops entered sword in hand. The inhabitants, endeavouring in vain to fly from the place to avoid the sword, cast themselves into the *Tigris*. Several got into boats ; and others swam, to descend the river : but were no sooner come to the bridge, than they were shot by soldiers placed in ambush. However, *Farruj* found means to escape by water, with his daughter : but, being closely pursued, and not able either to defend himself, or get off, cast himself, with his daughter, into the river, where they were both drowned, and the boat sunk. Afterwards his body was taken up, and thrown on the bank^b.

As several *Tatars* had been slain in the assault, each soldier *Barbarous* was ordered to bring one (O) head of the men of *Bāghdād* ; *massacre.* in executing which command, they spared neither old men of fourscore, nor children of eight years old : the number of the dead was so great, that the officers could not count them ; and of their heads they made towers. Altho' no quarter was given to either rich or poor, yet some learned men found means to get access to Timūr ; who pardoned them, gave them vests, and a convoy to places of safety. After this, the mar- *Bāghdād* *destroyed.* kets, karawansarays, monasteries, palaces, and all other buildings, were razed, excepting mosks, colleges, and hospitals. The air becoming infected with the stench of the dead bodies, the camp was removed to the upper part of the river, near

^b Hist. Tim. Bek, p. 208—215. c. 30—32.

(O) *Arabshāh* says, two ; of the heads, piled up together and that 90,000 were slain in towers, to the number of cold blood. They flung away 120. the bodies ; and made trophies

A. D. 1401. the tomb of the great imâm *Abû Hanifah*, chief of the four orthodox sects among the *Mohammedans*, whose intercession *Timûr* implored. From this place he ordered *Soltân Mahmûd Khân* and the *Mirza Kalîl Soltân* to make inroads in the neighbouring places. They accordingly passed by *Hilleh*, as far as *Masbhâd Nejef* (P); and thence to *Wâset* (on the *Tigris*). They ravaged the two cities: but paid their devotions at the holy place of *Masbhâd*, instead of attacking it.

The Kûrds punished. *TIMUR* took the road to *Shehrezûr* and *Kâlghi*, leaving the main body to come after with the baggage. As, in this march, the *Kûrds* attacked all who separated themselves, tho' at ever so small a distance, from the army, the emperor placed foldiers in ambush round the roads; who, falling out as soon as those robbers appeared, seized, and hanged them on the chestnut-trees which grew in the highways (Q). At the river *Jagatû*, the empress *Saray Mulk Khanûm*, and other wives of the mirzas, with their children, met his highness; and at *Akziaret* the sharifs, doctors, and principal lords, of *Irân*, came to wait on him. During his stay at this place, he invited the learned to dispute on points of religion. When he had passed by *Ujûn* (R), and was encamped at *Hesht Rhûd*, or *The eight rivers*, he received advice that *Bâyezîd*, who, during his stay in *Syria*, had taken *Arzenjân* from *Tahârtén*, was marching towards the east. Hereupon *Timûr* ordered the troops who were at *Menkûl* in *Georgia* to join the *Mirza Shâh Râkh* at *Avenûk* (or *Vân*), and oppose the *Othmâns*. But a messenger arriving from *Tahârtén*, with advice that *Bâyezîd* desired peace, and would make him satisfaction, the mirza sent notice to court, and staid for an answer.

Affairs of Georgia. MEAN time *Timûr*, being arrived at *Tauris*, a few days after marched towards *Georgia*; and, when he came to *Kom-tâpa*, ordered the *Kojâ Ismael Kavâsi* to be hanged before the marketplace of the camp, for the tyrannies he had exercised over the people. He afterwards crossed the *Arâs*, and encamped at *Nakhshivân*; from whence he went to see the castle of *Alenjîk*, which is near that city. About this time *Tahârtén* arrived at court with a letter from *Bâyezîd*; and, by his intercession, obtained pardon for the *Othmân*. Here being joined

(P) The same as *Masbhâd Hufayn*, in the plain of *Kerbela*, near the *Euphrates*, often mentioned before.

(Q) The author was informed by credible persons, that these trees one year produce chestnuts, and the next gall nuts: but *La*

Croix believes he mistook the oaks, which have that property for chestnut trees; which, he says, are very uncommon in *Syria*.

(R) A town of *Azerbeijân*, near *Tauris*. *La Croix*.—*Herbert* calls it *Ojane*.

by *Shâh Râkh*, and the other mirzas, with their troops, the army marched to the defile of *Shâbbâz*, and entered the mountains. From thence they passed by *Gheukchey*, *Tonkez* to *Shemkâr*, a town of *Georgia*: whither the commissary, sent to *Mâlek Ghûrghîn*, returned with that prince's brother, who brought the tribute, and rich presents; promising, in the king's name, due obedience, and to keep troops always ready for the emperor's service. The prince being dismissed with orders for *Mâlek* to send an army forthwith to join the imperial troops, *Timûr* removed his camp to *Karawl Topâ*; from whence, marching by *Ghenjeh* and *Berdûa*, he came, the 12th of *December*, to *Karabâgh Arrân*, where he wintered. Here ambassadors arriving from *Kipjâk*, to assure the emperor of the khân's obedience, diverted him from his intended expedition into that country in the following spring. Here also the *Mirza Mehemed Soltân* came from *Samarkant*, and was received with great honour, his father placing a crown of gold upon his head. He brought with him bound the *Mirza Esikander*; who, having been convicted, before the divân, of a fault committed¹, received the bastonado; but at length his chains were taken off, and he was set at liberty.

As soon as *Soltân Ahmed* heard that *Timûr* had left *Bâghdad*, he returned thither with a design to rebuild that city; but *Timûr*, being informed of this, sent four bodies of troops, under the mirzas, by different roads, to ravage the country, and prevent his intention. One party, passing through the country of the *Kûrds* (who, during the winter, were encamped in the plains), put an infinite number to the sword. The *Mirza Abûbekr*, who took the road to *Bâghdad*, arrived there so suddenly, that the sultan, with his son *Taher*, and some domestic officers, crossing the *Tigris* in a boat, fled to *Hilleh*, whither he was hotly pursued; but, by breaking the bridge behind him, escaped into the isles of *Khâled* and *Mâlek* in the *Euphrates*. Another detachment pillaged *Mendelli*, and defeated the governor *Ali Kalânder*; while a fourth advanced to *Wâset* (on the *Tigris*), and plundered the *Arabs* of *Abbâdan* (S), from whom they took a considerable spoil in horses and camels. When winter was over, all the troops joined about twelve leagues from *Bâghdad*, and marched together to the imperial camp.

Soltân Ahmed fled.

¹ See before, p. 320.

* Hist. Tim. Bek. l. v. c. 32—37.

p. 215—226.

(S) A town of *Arabia*, on the Persian gulf, near *Basrah*, or borders of *Irâk Arabi*, on the *Basora*. La Croix.

A. D.
1401.
Ambassadors from
Báyezid.

BAYEZID having given protection to *Kara Yásef*, who had begun afresh to rob passengers, and even insulted the caravan of *Mekka*, *Timúr* resolved to make war on him: but, as the inhabitants of *Anatolia*, who had already experienced this monarch's power, represented the destruction which would attend the arms of so formidable an enemy; the sultan sent ambassadors to *Karabágh*, with a letter, asking pardon for what was passed, and promising obedience for the time to come. *Timúr*, unwilling to hurt a prince who was at war with the infidels of *Europe*, told them: that he would forbear hostilities, provided their master would either put *Kara Yásef* to death, send him to the *Tatar* camp, or expel him out of his dominions. After this, he did them particular honours, and dismissed them, accompanied with an ambassador of his own; telling them, that he would march in spring to the borders of *Anatolia*, where he would wait for an answer, which would determine whether their master desired peace or war.

*Timúr ir-
resolute.*

WHILE *Timúr* was hunting in the plain of *Arkám* (south of *Arrás*), to which the *Ottomán* ambassadors were invited, he perceived an old canal ruined by time, which he resolved to restore by means of his soldiers; who carried on the work with so much vigour, that, in a month, two leagues of it, deep enough for a boat, were dug. The spring-head is at a place called *Surtáph*; and it falls into the *Arrás*, at another named *Kioshk Chenghíski*. The emperor gave it the name of *Náhrí Berlâs*, or *River of Berlâs*; and, on its banks the inhabitants have since built several towns, villages, and pleasure-houses, with gardens and vineyards. When spring came, *Timúr* was still in suspense whether he should march against *Báyezid*, though he knew him to be his enemy: in consideration, partly, that he so zealously maintained a religious war against infidels; and partly because the *Ottomán* empire abounded with valiant as well as martial troops. On the other hand, the *Jagatays* being greatly fatigued with a long continual service, the amirs endeavoured to dissuade *Timúr* from the expedition; alleging, among other reasons, that, in the campaign against the *Ottománs*, there appeared in the heavens, according to the astrologers, an inevitable misfortune attending the *Jagatayan* army.

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THE emperor, upon this, sent for *Múlâna Abdó'llah Keshn*, one of the most famous court-astrologers; and, to remove the apprehensions of the amirs, ordered him to declare what the different aspects of the heavens portended. *Abdó'llah* here-upon said, "It appears, by the ephemerides of the present year, that the ascendant of this empire is in the highest

Consults
the astro-
logers.

degree

"degree of strength, and that of the enemy in the lowest A. D.
 "degree of weakness. A comet will appear in *Aries*; and an 1402.
 "army, which comes from the east, will make an intire con-
 "quest of *Anatolia*, the prince of which will be taken pri-
 "soner (P)." All objections being thus removed, *Timûr*, in the
 end of *April*, departed from *Karabâgh*; and, by way of *Ber-
 dâa* and *Ghenjeh*, arrived at *Shemkûr*; from whence he marched
 towards *Alatâk* (U). Having passed by *Tabadâr*, on the bor-
 ders of *Georgia*, he came to the plains of *Menkûl*; from
 which place he sent a second ambassador, with a letter, to *Bâye-
 zîd*, importing; that, in case the sultan consented to what he
 had desired, and would deliver up the fortress of *Kemak* (W),
 which had been always subject to the countries under the obe-
 dience of *Timûr*, he would not interrupt his wars against the
 infidels, but even succour him with his troops¹.

THERE being a strong castle, named *Tartûm*, in the neigh- *Marches*
 bourhood, whose garrison refused to pay tribute, and insulted *towards*
 passengers, *Timûr* sent troops to take it; which they did on *Anatolia*.
 the sixth day of the siege, and put all the *Georgians* to the
 sword. He staid at *Avenik* (or *Vân*) for the return of his
 ambassadors sent to *Bâyezîd*: but, when two months were
 passed beyond the time agreed on, finding all his endeavours
 to preserve *Anatolia* were frustrated, he continued his march
 towards that country. When he came to *Arzerûm*, the *Mirza*
Mehemed Soltân begged leave to go and conquer the castle of
Kemak, which his father granted; and, when he arrived
 at *Arzenjân*, he sent the *Mirzas* *Abûbekr*, *Kalîl Soltân*, *Soltân*
Hussâyûn, and *Eskânder*, with more troops, to his assistance in
 the siege. The castle of *Kemak* (X) is one of the most noted
 in all *Asia*: it is situated on a high steep rock, and surrounded
 with a defile in form of a labyrinth. At the bottom of its
 walls are gardens, and parterres of flowers, on the bank of
 the *Euphrates*; and no prince had ever taken it by force. Se-
 veral poets have compared it to the terrestrial paradise, be-

¹ Hist. Tim. Bek, l. v. p. 228—238. c. 37—41.

(T) *La Croix*, in the margin, puts, *Admirable prediction of an astrologer*: as if he believed in that idle science, or rather imposing art; and took it for granted; that the prediction was made according to its rules: whereas it might have been flamed to encourage the army;

or only added by the historian from report, which always magnifies or changes facts.

(U) Perhaps it should be *Avenik*, or *Vân*.

(W) On the *Euphrates*, twenty-one miles south of *Arzenjân*.

(X) *Kamek*, *Kamak*, or *Kâmkh*, as in the *Nubian* geography,

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cause every year, for three days together, little birds as big as sparrows, and unfledged, fall out of the air; which the inhabitants gather up, and preserve salted in pots. If they do not take them in three days, their wings grow large enough to fly away.

Takes Kemak fort-
ress.

THE troops no sooner came before *Kemak*, than they besieged it in form. They made their approaches for ten days; during which time they cut off the water which supplied the place. Next day they made rope-ladders; and, in the night, the *Mekrit* soldiers, who ran up the steepest mountains like roebucks, got to the top of the rock; from whence they let down cords, by which a great number of brave men mounted, armed with cuirasses, during the darkness. When the besieged perceived them, they cast down great stones; and several, missing the steps, fell down. Next morning the soldiers mounted to the assault; while wildfire flew from the engines on both sides. The officers of the *Mirza Abûbekr*, who himself did wonders, first scaled the walls, and erected the horsetail: at the same time others mounted on all sides, and became masters of the place. When *Timûr* received advice that *Kemak* was taken, he came before it; and gave the government to *Tahârten*, because it was no more than seven leagues from *Arzenjân*.

Defeats
and takes
Bayezid.

AFTER this, *Timûr* marched forward; and at *Siwâs*, or *Sebasté*, was met by his ambassador, with two others from *Bâyezid*; whose answer was so unsatisfactory, that the emperor refused their presents, and bid them tell their master, they must prepare for war. Having reviewed his army, he departed from *Siwâs*; and, sending troops to take the castle of *Harûk*, marched towards *Kaysariya*, or *Cesârea*, in *Kappadocia*; to whose inhabitants he gave quarter; and then set out for *Ankora* (Y), to meet *Bâyezid*, who was advancing on that side. The Amîr *Shâh Mâlek*, who was sent before to get intelligence, with a thousand horse, lay in ambuscade, to surprise the *Othmân's* scouts; and defeated them. *Bâyezid's* son, on the other hand, formed an ambuscade near the camp of *Timûr*, but to no effect. The emperor, being come to *Ankora*, laid siege to it: but, on advice that *Bayezid* was approaching, he ordered it to be raised, and the army to march toward the enemy. Next day, being the first of *July*, the two armies

Hist. Tim. Bek, l. v. p. 238—242, c. 42, & seq.

(Y). The same as *Aukûria*, a city towards the north part of *Anatolia*, and about the middle of the antient *Ankora*; from east to west.

met,

met, and came to an engagement, the particulars of which we have related elsewhere^a; and therefore shall only mention here, that *Timûr* gained the victory; and *Bayezid* was taken prisoner, with his son *Mûssa*, who were treated with great humanity and honour^o.

UPON this great defeat, *Ankora* submitted; and *Timûr* sent the *Mirza Mehemed Soltân* towards *Prusa*, to seize the treasures of *Bâyezid*, and other riches of that city. While the *Mirza Efkânder* was detached to *Konîya* (*Kogni*, or *Ikonium*), *Akshâhr*, *Karahissar*, *Satalia*, and other places, the *Mirza Shâh Râkh* was sent to *Ghulhissar*, and *Timûr* himself marched to *Khyutahia*; from whence he sent out parties towards other cities, to ravage all the country of *Anatolia*, while he recreated his court and great officers with feasts and rejoicings. Although the *Mirza Mehemed Soltân* made the greatest haste to *Prusa*; yet *Mussulman Chelebi* had gotten thither before, and fled with the treasures: the principal inhabitants also fled different ways; but were pursued, and brought back. *Bâyezid's* wife and two daughters were taken at *Yenishâhr* (Z); as was likewise the daughter of *Soltân Ahmed*, king of *Bâghdâd*, whom *Bâyezid* had demanded in marriage for his son *Mostafa*. The *Mirza* seized on what treasure had been left at *Prusa*, consisting in abundance of plate and rich furniture: after which, the pillage was given to the soldiers; who, when they had done plundering, set the houses on fire.

FROM thence the *Mirza Abûbekr*, being sent to *Isnik*, or *Isnik pil-Nice*, took and pillaged it: he also reduced the whole country. Then, marching with the *Mirza Mehemed Soltân* to *Yenishâhr*, married *Bâyezid's* eldest daughter. Mean time the *Mirza Soltân Hussayn*, detached to make inroads in the southern parts, took *Akshâhr* and *Karayser* (or *Karahissar*); plundering the towns as far as *Koniyah*; while others ravaged the province of *Aydın*, and the sea-coast. *Timûr* generously sent to *Bâyezid* his wife *Destina* (A); and restored the *Amir Mehemed*, son of *Karamân*, who had been twelve years kept in chains by *Bâyezid*, to the government of all *Karamânia*. After this, he left *Kyûtahîya*, where he had staid a month, and marched towards

^a See, in a subsequent Volume, the History of the *Othmân Turks*.
^o Hist. Tim. Bek., l. v. p. 242—257. c. 43—49.

(Z) Four leagues from *Prusa*, and six days journey from *Constantinople*; the same as *Yeniche*. *La Croix*.—It seems rather to be ten leagues from *Prusa*, or *Purfa*. It is called also *Shahrîho*.

(A) The *European* romances call her *Roxana*; and say *Timûr* kept her for his own use. *La Croix*.

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Tangshah. In the way, he issued out a severe order, that the brave *Saints Maure* and his brother *Morad* should be put to death, for several crimes they had committed; with his son, and other brothers: *Koja Firáz*, prince of *Isra Yaka* (B), was treated in the same manner. At the same time feasts were prepared; to which *Báyezíd* was invited, and treated with great honour: further to comfort him, *Timár* conferred on him, by patents, the kingdom of *Anatolia*, and had the crown placed on his head.

Egypt and Turkey threaten'd. THE feasting being over, *Timár*, October 25th, sent an ambassador to *Farruj*, sultan of *Egypt*, with a letter, threatening to march to *Káherah*, or *Kayrá*, unless he ordered money to be coined with his (the emperor's) impress; the kotbah to be made in his name; and *Atilmish* to be sent him without delay. Two other ambassadors were sent to the *Tchár*, or Greek emperor, to summon him to pay tribute, and the customs: likewise messengers to *Mussulmán Chelebi*, who had fled to *Isra Yaka*, and resided at *Ghuzelbissar*, which his father had built above *Constantinople*, threatening to send over the army, if he did not forthwith repair to court, or at least lend *Timár* money. Some time after, the ambassadors, sent to the Greek emperor, returned with two others, to make his submission, and agree to pay the imposed tribute. At *Bálak* he was overtaken by the messengers sent to *Mussulmán Chelebi*, and an ambassador, with a letter from that prince, promising to come and throw himself at *Timár's* feet. After this, advice was brought, that Sultan *Mohammed Khán*, titular emperor of *Jagatay*, who, by *Timár's* order, was gone to make inroads, had died of a violent distemper, with which he had been seized at *Kechik Bárúgh* (in *Ghermian-ili*); at which news *Timár* was very much afflicted.

Anatolia ravaged. MEAN time *Kechik Bárúgh*, *Akyaka*, and *Satala*, situated on the sea-coast, were ravaged. Afterwards the provinces of *Mentesbá* and *Take-ili* were ruined, by the amirs sent for that purpose, who returned to court laden with booty. During autumn, the emperor lay encamped at *Tangshah*; where, the air being infected by the violent heat, several soldiers died, as well as by drinking the water of a spring at this place, which petrifies when it stagnates. *Timár*, having settled the winter-quarters for his troops, sent the *Mirza Mehemed Soltán* to *Magnasiyah*, in the province of *Serhan-ili* (or *Sarákhán*), and *Sháh Khán* to quarter in the province of *Ghermian-ili*, between *Qúg*

* Hist. Tim. Bek, l. v. p. 258—267. c. 50—53.

(B) That is, Turkey in Europe. La Croix.

Bârlûgh and *Kechik Bârlûgh*. After this, the emperor marched to *Dâğârlîk*; and, having crossed the *Menduras*, came to *Ghuzelhisâr* (C); from thence he passed on to *Ayâzlik* (D); then to *Tira*, one of the most noted cities of *Anatolia*, whose inhabitants, like those of other places, were obliged to pay the ransom for their lives.

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BEING informed at this place, that, on the sea-coast, there were two exceeding strong fortresses, named *Ezmîr* (or *Smyrna*), one possessed by Christians, the other by *Mohammedans*, who were incessantly at war on account of religion; he thought it his duty to deliver the *Mussulmans*, by extirpating their enemies. Hereupon he sent the *Mirza Pîr Mehemed*, son of *Omar Shейkh*, to summon the Christian *Ezmîr* to embrace the faith: but, on the news of his approach, *Mahmûs* the governor, craving aid of all the *European* princes, soon assembled a considerable force. *Timûr*, being informed of this, marched in person to attack the place; and, having been joined by all his troops, laid siege to the same in form; whereof we shall give an account in the *Turkish* history¹. The place being taken, the inhabitants were put to the sword, excepting a few, who swam to the ships in the road; and all the houses demolished. As all this was done in fourteen days, the people of the country were astonished, who were acquainted with the strength of the place, and knew that it had never been taken before by any *Mohammedan* prince: besides *Morâd*, father of *Bâyezîd*, had several times attempted it, with a formidable army, to no purpose; and *Bâyezîd* himself had laid siege to it for seven years in vain².

and ruin'd.

DURING these transactions, ambassadors arrived again from *Foja* and *Mussulman Chelebi*, and from *Isa Chelebi*, another of *Bâyezîd's* Khions, promising the utmost obedience; with whose misfortunes the emperor was touched. *Foja*, another Christian castle, a day's journey distant from *Ezmîr*, submitted, on sight of the troops of *Timûr*; who afterwards, having furnished the *Mussulmans*, who inhabited the other castle of *Ezmîr*, with arms to repulse the enemy, went to encamp at *Ayâzlik*. There *Soha*, an *European* prince of the island *Khia*, in which grows mastic, sent an ambassador to *Timûr*, offering submission, and to pay the tribute; upon which he was taken into the emper-

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¹ See a subsequent Volume, l. v. c. 54—57. p. 267—278.

² Hist. Tim. Bek,

(C) This is the same with *Magnesia*, on the *Meander*; the same as *Menduras* in the text, by others called *Madre*.

(D) Or *Ayâzlık*, the same as *Ephesus*.

A.D. 1403. roi's protection. From *Tangúzlik* the army marched to *Soltán Hissar* (*); where *Timúr* gave the cities of *Khyútabia*, *Tangúzlik*, and *Karashár*, with the province of *Ghermian-ili*, to *Jalál Chelchi*, who fled from *Báyezid* to the emperor, and was the rightful heir. Being come to *Ulug Búrlugh*, which had not yet surrendered, he gave orders to attack it. It was soon taken; and, as the Amir *Jalál's* *Islám* was slain before it, the men were all put to the sword, the women carried away captive, and the place demolished. Here *Timúr* ordered the Mihrza *Mehemed Soltán* to march by the road of *Ankora*, and rejoin the camp at *Kaysartya*.

Other
places
taken.

AFTER this, leaving *Uluk Bürlügh*, in two days and nights he reached *Egridur*, a city built with free-stone, in the province of *Hamid-ili*. It stands on the bank of a fresh-water lake, called by some *Falak abad*, five leagues long, and four broad. Three of its sides are surrounded by the lake, and the fourth by a mountain. In the middle of the lake are two isles, *Ghulistan* and *Nasutin*; in which last is built a fortress, whither the neighbouring people had retired for safety with their effects. As *Timür* thought himself obliged in honour to take this place, he ordered it to be attacked by his troops: who, soon entering it, put the inhabitants to the sword, excepting a few, who escaped in boats to *Nasutin*; which island they resolved to attack next. To this purpose, the mirzas and amirs having crossed over on floats made of the skins of oxen and horses, the governor immediately went out and submitted. Thence the court marched to *Akshähr*, where the Amir *Muhammed Karamán* came from *Koniyá*; and, under the name of ransom, among other things, presented such vast sums of silver, that it was thought he did more than he was able, considering the small extent of his country; which made *Timür* honour him the more.

Death of Bayezid. ABOUT this time *Bâyezîd* fell sick, and soon after died at this place; whose death *Timûr* bewailed with tears, having intended, after the conquest of *Anatolia*, to re-establish him on the throne. He bestowed several largesses on that prince's officers; and presented his son *Mûssa Chelebi* with a royal vest, a load of gold, and other rich things, and then dismissed him; telling him, that his father should be buried with the greatest pomp. Mean time advice came, that the *Mirza Mehemed Soltân* was likewise fallen ill; and that, thro' the unskilfulness of his physician, he was become delirious. Upon this, *Timûr* immediately departed from *Aksâhr*, for the place where his grandson lay sick; and, having harassed the lands of the

(*) Cr Tralles,

Durgot tribe of *Turkmâns* in the way, *March* 25th arrived thither, and found the *Mirza* speechless. He ordered him to be put in a litter, and departed: but, coming to *Kara Hissar* three days after, the prince died there, aged eighteen years, extremely regretted by *Timûr*, on account of the great actions he had performed, and what might have been expected from him. His corpse was sent under a convoy to *Avenik* (or *Vân*); whence, being put in a new coffin, it was sent to be interred at *Soltâniya*, in the prophet *Kayder*'s tomb; from whence it was translated afterwards to *Samarkant*.

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1403
and Me-
hemed
Soltân.

WHEN *Timûr*'s ambassadors were arrived at *Kayra*, they found a handsome reception from *Farruj*, surnamed *Almâlek-nâsfr*; who, having heard of *Bâyezid*'s overthrow, thought it would be ruinous to refuse obedience to the conqueror: he therefore, by advice of his council, caused money to be coined, and prayers read, in *Timûr*'s name; and, after honouring *Atilmîsh* with an audience, sent him back, with two ambassadors, and presents, to intercede for him. *Timûr*, being pleased with this submission, dismissed the ambassadors with a crown, mantle, and belt enriched with precious stones, for the sultan. Being then in the country of the *Kara Tatars*, he resolved to remove those people into *Tartary*. They are a nation of *Turks*, whom *Hûlakû* brought with him into *Irân* (in 1256); and, having experienced their malice, obliged them to reside on the borders of *Anatolia* and *Syria*: but, in the confusion which arose in *Irân* on the death of *Abûsâid Khân* (in 1320), they revolted; and, dividing themselves into fifty-two tribes, resolved to live independent. When *Bâyezid*, after the death of *Kâdhi Burhânoddin*, prince of *Siwâs*, was become master of this kingdom, he enrolled them in the *Othmân* army, and gave them a residence in his empire, where they became exceeding rich and powerful.

Egypt
submits.

As *Timûr*'s design of removing them was to repeople *Jetah*, he treated their chiefs with great honour, and likewise made them presents, when they came to salute him: but, as there were between thirty and forty families of them, he ordered his army to surround the plains of *Amassia* and *Kaysariya* (E), where they dwelt, that none might get away, and then sent for their chiefs; who, after being told his resolution to carry them back into *Tartary*, seemed readily to submit to his will; and, being distributed among his troops, began their march with them out of *Anatolia*. When *Timûr* arrived at

Kara Ta-
tars trans-
planted.

Hist. Tim. Bek, l. v. p. 279—289. c. 57—62.

(E) I believe it should rather be *Aksarâ*. La Croix.

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Timûr
comes to
Vân.

Kayfariya, the inhabitants, through fear, defended themselves against his troops; but, being overpowered, were all cut to pieces. From thence he went to *Stwâs*; where he conferred several honours on *Kara Ozmân*, and sent him back to his principality. At *Arzenjân* he was complimented by the faithful *Tahârtien*, on whom he bestowed a royal vest. From thence he passed on to *Arzerûm*; and at length came to *Avenik* (or *Vân*), where the empresses met him, clothed in black, for the death of the *Mirza Mehemed Saltân*; which being now made known to the princess *Khân-zâdeh*, she swooned away, and tore herself like one distracted.

AFTER this excess of mourning, *Timûr*, for the good of the deceased prince's soul, gave alms to the poor; and provided a funeral banquet, where the shariffs, doctors, grandees, and nobles, of all *Asia*, assembled on this occasion. They sat down, according to their rank, at the emperor's table: the korân was read over several times. The banquet was served up by his majesty's stewards: the mirza's brass drum was beaten; whereat the ladies, amirs, and soldiers, made a great cry, and wept bitterly; after which, it was broken to pieces, according to the custom of the *Mungls*.

Enters
Georgia.

MEAN time *Mâlek Ghûrghîn*, king of *Georgia*, having failed to come, at the time appointed, to cast himself at *Timûr's* feet, and beg pardon, that monarch marched into his country; and, being arrived at *Menkûl*, received the submission of *Mâlek Issa* (or *Aysa*), prince of *Mardin*, who, with his head uncovered, begged pardon on his knees. The emperor, after reprimanding, forgave him. As this prince brought with him the tribute for several years past, and made abundance of handsome presents, *Timûr* gave him a crown, a royal vest, and a belt set with precious stones. As an addition to those favours, his daughter was betrothed to the *Mirza Abûbekr*; and thus had the honour to be allied to the emperor. At the same time *Towâni*, grandson of *Akbûga*, a *Georgian* prince, and *Kustandil*, brother to *Mâlek Ghûrghîn*, besides the lords and princes of all the neighbouring places, came with presents to pay their homage. *Timûr* received them with great civility; and, presenting them with vests, dismissed them.

Mirza
Abâbekr
sent

IN the neighbourhood of *Menkûl*, the emperor again invested the *Mirza Pîr Mehemed*, son of *Omar Sheykh*, in the government of *Shîrâz*, capital of *Pârs*, or *Persia*, then sent him away: and at the same time dispatched orders to the *Mirza Rûstem*, at *Shîrâz*, to repair to court. At *Kansâr*, a place dependent on *Jerbâdkhân*, he received a packet from

court, signifying that the emperor had given him the government of *Ispāhān*, capital of *Persian Irāk*; and with orders to rebuild the fortress of *Ormiyān*, at *Urūjerd*; which he did, after parting with his brother *Pīr Mehemed*, who came to *Kanfar*, in his way to *Shīrāz*. When the court was come to *Kārs*, he invested the *Mirza Abūbekr* with the government of the province of *Irāk Arabi*, as far as *Wāset*, *Basrah*, *Kūrdestān*, *Mārdīn*, *Diğārbekr*, and *Qyrat*. He gave him orders to restore *Bāghdād*, which had been destroyed: also to exterminate all disturbers of the public peace; and begin with *Kara Yūsef* the *Turkmān*, who had made himself master of *Irāk Arabi*.

THIS prince, having fled from that province to avoid the troops of *Timūr*, as hath been before mentioned, got into *Rūm*, or *Anatolia*: but, when the *Tatar* army arrived at *Kayfariyā* (in its march against *Bayezīd*), he fled back again to *Irāk*; where having assembled all the *Turkmān* tribes, he stopped at *Payan Hīt*. *Soltān Ahmed* at the same time retired from *Bāghdād* to his son *Soltān Tāher*: but being excited by his father's amirs, who feared *Ahmed*, to revolt, he passed the bridge during the night, and encamped on this side of the river. When the *soltān* was informed of it, he broke down the bridge; and, marching along the river, stopped in presence of the rebels. From thence he sent an express for *Kara Yūsef*; who having joined him, they passed the river together; and, coming to a battle, *Tāher* was vanquished, and fled: but, endeavouring, with his armour on, to leap his horse over a brook, both fell in, and he was drowned.

AFTER this defeat, *Tāher's* troops dispersed; and *Soltān Ahmed*, growing jealous of *Kara Yūsef*, returned to *Bāghdād*; but this latter, coming soon after from *Hilleh* with his army, took that city. The *soltān* hid himself: but was perceived by one *Kara Hassan*, who helped him to escape during the night, carrying him on his shoulders to a place near five leagues distant; where, meeting a man with an ox, *Ahmed* mounted, and came with his deliverer to *Takrīt*. Being here joined by several of his officers, he went to *Damaskus*; while *Kara Yūsef* became peaceable possessor of *Irāk Arabi*. When the *Mirza Abūbekr* came to *Erbīl* (or *Arbela*), he seized *Abd-ullāh* the governor, and other chiefs of the rebels; then, marching to *Bāghdād*, he went in pursuit of *Kara Yūsef*; and, being joined by the *Mirza Rūstem*, from *Urūjerd*, with other amirs, and their troops, near *Hilleh*, they passed the *Euphrates* together; and met the *Turkmān* prince opposite the town of *Sīb*, more to the south, on the other side of *Nābro'lgānam*; where, altho' he was entrenched with a numerous army, and

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1403.Is defeated,
and flies.

the Mirza had but three thousand men, they resolved to attack him.

ON this occasion, they divided their troops into two bodies, that they might assault him on both sides at once : then *Rüstem* crossed the water, and fell on the enemy with great resolution ; while the Mirza *Abúbekr* did the like on his part. Nor did the enemy yield in bravery to the *Jagatays* ; but at length they were defeated. *Kara Yüsf* fled into *Syria*, with some of his domestics : but his subjects, who consisted of between 10 and 15,000 families, his oxen, sheep, and camels, were plundered. His brother *Yar Ali* was shot off his horse in the battle, and had his head cut off : but his wife, the queen of the *Turkmans*, with the ladies of her court, and relations, were taken prisoners. The Mirzas also vanquished *Noayr*, absolute sovereign of all the *Arab* tribes of the desert ; with several other princes in those parts, who, till that time, had never submitted to any conqueror. After this, *Abúbekr* employed himself to render the country as flourishing as ever : he encouraged the people, obliged them to cultivate the lands ; and caused the city of *Bághdád*, which was almost ruined, to be rebuilt.

Georgia
invaded,

MEAN time *Timúr*, having decamped from the neighbourhood of *Kárs*, entered *Georgia* ; whither *Sheykh Ibráhim*, prince of *Shirwán*, passing thro' *Armenia*, had gone before, and seized some defiles. *Málek Ghúrghín*, surprised at the news of this march, sent ambassadors to court, with presents, signifying " his obedience ; and that he was ready, on the first order, to send either money or troops : that his fear had hindered him to repair to court ; but that, as soon as it was over, he would run to kiss his majesty's feet, as the prince of *Mardin*, and other governors, had done ; would prostrate himself before the throne, and receive his orders as his slave." *Timúr* would not hearken to what the ambassadors said, nor receive their presents. He told them, " That the case of their master, who was a Christian, differed from that of the other princes (he mentioned), who were *Mohammedans* ; and therefore, on the score of religion, more intitled to favour : that, if he desired life, he must immediately repair to court ; and, if God should not give him grace to turn *Mohammedan*, the tribute of *Karaj* would be imposed upon him ; after which, he would leave him once more the government of his country, and suffer his subjects to live in peace : that the emperor of *Constantinople*, as a

* Hist. Tim. Bek, l. vi. c. 1, 2. 11. p. 299—305. 325, & seq.

" Christian, was on the same footing with him : in short, that A. D.
 " if he came to court, he should be well received ; but that, 1493.
 " if he made the least difficulty of coming, none of his ex-
 " cuses should be accepted of."

THE ambassadors being dismissed, and the corn-harvest of *and cruelly*
 the *Georgians* approaching, to prevent their reaping it, *Timûr* ravaged.
 sent troops into their country, who drove out the inhabitants ;
 and, carrying off all the corn and pulse, destroyed every thing
 else. There is a very steep hill in *Georgia*, 150 cubits high,
 situated between two very deep defiles ; on the south of it is a
 rock, which surpasses it in height, and is ascended by ladders
 and cords. There is but one way leading to this hill, and that
 very narrow as well as crooked ; besides, the precipices which sur-
 round it, hinder an army from encamping, and besieging it.
 The *Georgians* had fortified this mountain on all sides ; built
 houses on it, and a gate at the very extremity, with cisterns
 to preserve rain-water. This fortress, called *Kortene*, was
 commanded by *Trâl*, a *Georgian* prince, who had under him
 thirty great *Oznawrs* ; and a strong garrison, secured against
 want, their cisterns being filled with water, their cellars with
 delicious wines, and the place stored with swine and sheep.

TIMUR, apprised of the importance of this place, resolved *Fortress of*
 to take it, notwithstanding the difficulties which might attend *Kortene*
 the siege ; as it was in the midst of the enemy's country, and
 neither victuals nor water enough was to be found for the
 troops required to carry it on : so that every one was surprised
 at this undertaking, and believed it impossible to take the
 place. As soon as the imperial standard arrived before the
 castle, *August* 13th, the inhabitants sent to offer *Timûr* pre-
 sents and submission : but, finding they could not divert the
 storm, they declared war by a discharge of arrows and stones.
 The amirs having taken the quarters assigned them, *Shah Mâ-
 lek*, who was posted on the side of the gate, was ordered to
 build a sconce opposite to it ; which, to the admiration of all,
 he finished in three days, though capable of containing 3000
 men. Two other amirs were likewise ordered to build two
 sconces in different places : this was done, that, in case the
 siege lasted too long, garrisons might be put in them, to in-
 commodate the besieged.

TIMUR encamped in a place behind the fortress, proper *desperately*
 for making battering and other engines ; where he commanded *besieged.*
 a meljûr, or platform, of stone and wood, to be built high
 enough to command the place. This work being finished in
 a week, on the 20th *Bikijek*, a *Mekrîst*, skilful in marching
 over mountains, found means, during night, to get upon the
 rock

A. D. 1403. rock south of the castle ; to the top of which he carried a goat, which he took in his way up ; and, having killed it, placed it for a signal, and then descended unseen by the *Georgians*. Next day he told this adventure to the emperor ; who immediately ordered strong cords to be made of raw silk and thread, for making ladders. When these were finished, four other *Mekrits* ascended the rock, and drew up the ladders with long cords. Then mounting by an arch, which a goat could scarcely pass, and fastening the ladders to a tree which grew out of the very ridge of the rock, fifty of the bravest *Turks* of *Khorassan* immediately ascended. At day-break one of them cried aloud, *Allah Akber*, and blessed *Mohammed* : at the same time *Mahmūd*, an officer, sounded his trumpet.

and taken. THE watch, alarmed by this noise, roused the sleeping garrison ; while the scalers began to advance towards the place by a way very narrow and dangerous, no more than three persons being able to march in front. One of them went first, followed by two others, holding his buckler before him : but, being shot in the mouth with an arrow, he fell backwards, and the enemy seized on his buckler. *Abdallah Sebzawari* advanced sword in hand, and slew some *Georgians* ; till, being mortally wounded in ten or twelve places, he fell, thro' weakness. The *Turk Mahmūd* fell on the enemy with a heavy club, with which he broke the leg of a very considerable *Oznawr*. In short, of the fifty men who had mounted to the assault, several arrived at the castle-gate ; where a bloody battle ensued. Some also continued to attack the place from the *meljūr*, or platform ; so that at length the gate was broken, and the troops entered the castle on the 22d of *August*. The besieged begged for quarter on their knees : but most of the *Oznawrs*, or officers, were cast headlong from the walls. The governor *Trā* was bound, and carried to the camp, with the whole garrison ; who were all beheaded by *Timūr's* order, and their wives and children enslaved : but he made a present of *Trā's* wife to *Sheykh Ibrāhīm*, prince of *Shirwān*.

The garrison slain. THE emperor heaped honours and riches on *Bikijek*, and the other brave men who had first mounted the rock. He made *Mehemed Turān*, surnamed King of *Bauran*, one of the principal lords of *Khorassan*, governor of the place ; with orders not to suffer the *Georgians* to gain any more footing in the neighbouring conquered countries. He was likewise to convert the church into a mosque, to build a niche in place of the altar, and, instead of bells and crosses, to provide muezzins, and readers of the korān.

* Hist. Tim. Bek, l. vi. p. 306—310. c. 3—5.

DURING these transactions, all the great officers, and governors of the several provinces and cities of *Khorassân* and *Irâk*, came to court, to pay their homage. After the taking of *Kortene*, *Timûr* marched for *Abkhâz*, which is the northern frontier of *Georgia*; and the van-guard having opened a road through the thick woods, he entered into the middle of the kingdom: where he plundered 700 towns and villages, laying waste the cultivated lands, razing the Christian monasteries and churches, which were built of marble and free-stone.

A. D.
1403.Georgia
wasted.

THE *Georgians*, to avoid the enemy, retired into caverns, among rocks and mountains, by means of ladders, which they drew up after them: but the soldiers being let down in boxes, by great ropes, from the top of the mountain, to the caverns, as in former expeditions, entered them, though some contained near 100 *Georgians*, and put them to the sword. When *Mâlek Ghûrghîn* was informed of this desolation, and progress quite through his country, by the lords who were slaves in *Timûr's* army, he sent ambassadors, offering to send all his riches to court, the annual tribute, and the troops which should be required. The amirs, on their knees, intreated him to accept of these submissions: but, not being able to abate his zeal for the continuation of the *gâzi* (or religious war), they proposed the affair to the doctors of the law, and to the musti's; who unanimously declared, in the imperial council, *That, since the Georgians consented to pay the tribute, and not to injure the Mussulmans, they were obliged, by their law, to grant them quarter, without doing them any farther harm, either by slaughter or pillage.* Upon this conclusion of the doctors, *Timûr* nodded to *Sheykh Ibrâhim* (king of *Shîrwân*), one of the intercessors, in token, that, in respect to him, he condescended to the request of king *Ghûrghîn*. The ambassadors, who were dismissed, between hope and fear, soon returned, and brought 1000 gold medals, struck in the name of *Timûr*, 1000 horses, gold and silver plate, with a balaf ruby, of a beautiful colour, weighing eighteen medikals, there being few which weigh so much; they likewise obliged themselves, by oath, to pay the tribute *.

THEN *Timûr* decamped, in order to return; and, after some days march, arrived at *Teffis*, having ruined all the churches and monasteries in the neighbouring parts. When he had gone two days journey beyond the river *Kûr*, he resolved to march to *Karabâgh*, and rebuild the city of *Baylakân* (F);

* Hist. Tim. Bek, Vol. II. p. 311—319, c. 5—8.

(F) Called also *Bilkân*, and *Pilkân*.

A. D.
1403.

near which last he encamped. From hence removing, to winter at *Karabâgh*; although the season was very cold and rainy, yet he set the work forward, in which the soldiers, under the inspection of the *shâhzâdehs* (or *mirzas*), and the *amirs*, wrought with such diligence, that the buildings, which were of brick, were finished in a month. The circuit of the walls was 2400 cubits, of large measure, the thickness eleven, and height fifteen; the ditch was thirty cubits wide, and twenty deep. At each angle of the place was a great bastion; and in the middle of each curtain, a gallery, with battlements, and an engine to cast stones. *Timûr* gave the government of this new city to *Bahrâm Shâh*; and invested the *Mirza Kâtil Soltân* with that of *Baylakân*, *Berdaa*, *Ghenjeh*, the country of *Arrân*, *Armenia*, *Georgia*, and *Trebizond*. He likewise ordered a canal to be cut, six leagues in length, and fifteen cubits in breadth, to convey the water of the *Arrâs* into *Baylakân*: and this is one of the most magnificent monuments of his grandeur and power.

*Timûr's
vigilance*

DURING *Timûr's* stay at this place, the principal lords of *Irân* and *Turân* came to court, where an assembly of the most learned men was held; the emperor being very curious in hearing the chief questions of the law explained; with the distinction between positive commands, and those which contain only matter of advice. One day the conversation happening to fall upon the words of *Mohammed*, *That God orders princes to practise justice and beneficence*; *Timûr* asked the doctors, *How they came to neglect to tell him what he ought to do, and what he ought not to do?* they answered, *That his highness did not stand in need of their counsels; but, on the contrary, they might profit by imitating him.* The emperor told them, he did not like that sort of compliments, which looked like flattery: adding, his meaning was, that, as they could not but be acquainted with the affairs of the provinces they came from, and conduct of the several officers in authority, he expected they should inform him, whether they distributed justice or not, that he might remedy evils, and deliver the weak from oppression. Hereupon the doctors having represented the condition of their respective provinces, *Timûr* chose the most experienced among them, and sent with each an intendant, to whom he gave a full power to make, or dispense with, laws, for the better administration of justice. He likewise permitted them to restore, out of the treasury, what sums had been extorted from poor people, and to punish the oppressors, in an exemplary manner. Then *Timûr* made this memorable speech, which was taken down by a lord, who was present at the assembly:

*over go-
vernors.*

“ *My*

A. D.
1403.Remark-
able speech.

"MY heart hath hitherto been set upon enlarging the limits of my vast empire : but now, I take up a resolution to use all my care in procuring quiet and security to my subjects, and to render my kingdoms flourishing. It is my will, that private persons address their petitions and complaints immediately to myself : that they give me their advice, for the good of the *Mussulmans*, the glory of the faith, and the extirpation of the wicked disturbers of the public quiet. I am unwilling, at the day of judgment, that my poor oppressed subjects should cry out for vengeance against me. I am not desirous, that any of my brave soldiers, who have so often exposed their lives in my service, should complain against either me, or fortune ; for their afflictions touch me more than they do themselves. Let none of my subjects fear to come before me with their complaints : for my design is, that the world should become a paradise under my reign ; knowing, that when a prince is just and merciful, his kingdom is crowned with blessings and honours. In fine, I desire to lay up a treasure of justice, that my soul may be happy after my death."

TOWARDS the end of November, a *Cherkassian* officer came to the camp before *Baylakân*, with the head of *Mâlek Azzo'ddin*, oppressor-king of *Lor Kuchek*, who had revolted. His skin had been flay'd off, and hung up, stuffed with straw, for an example to others. About this time, *Timûr* likewise performed an act of justice on the person of the famous doctor, *Mûlâna Kothbo'ddin Karmi*, who was come to court, with the other officers of the diwân of *Shîrâz* : because, at his departure, he had taxed the inhabitants of *Pârs* (or *Proper Persia*) at the sum of 300,000 dinârs kopeghi, under pretence of a present to the emperor. His majesty, being highly offended at this tyranny, which he was informed of privately, by *Mûlâna Saed*, a doctor of the same country, immediately ordered the *Sheykh Darwîsh Allâhi* to bind his hands, and, placing the forked branch about his neck, sent him, in that figure, to *Shîrâz*, with the sum he had extorted from the inhabitants, to be restored to those who had paid it. *Argûn*, *Kothbo'ddin*'s intendant, was condemned to be hanged, on account of the troubles which he had brought on the people, by his masters order : and sentence was executed on him, as soon as *Mûlâna Saed* returned to *Shîrâz*.

THE Friday following, the inhabitants of the city and neighbouring villages, being assembled in the old mosk, *Mûlâna Kothbo'ddin* was exposed, at the foot of the preaching-chair, which was of free-stone ; from whence *Mûlâna Saed*

A. D. 1403. having told the people what *Timûr* had ordered him to say on the occasion, the mosk echoed with their acclamations. After this piece of justice had been done on the person of one of the greatest lords of the kingdom, the *Mirza Pîr Mehemed*, son of *Omar Sheykh*, took off his fetters and forked branch, and sent him back to *Samarkant*, the intendancy of the finances of *Shîrâz* being given to another.

Eskânder Sheykhî revolts.

WHEN *Baylakân* was intirely built, *Timûr* marched to pass the winter at *Karabâgh*, in koria's, or thatched houses, built for the purpose. Here advice being brought, that *Eskânder Sheykhî*, prince of *Damâwend* and *Fîrâzkûh*, had revolted, the *Amîr Soleyman Shâh* had orders to go to *Ray*, to observe *Eskânder's* motions; and the *Mirza Rûstem* was sent to assist him. They were directed to give him a handsome reception, in case he returned forthwith to his obedience: but to prosecute him to the utmost, if he continued obstinate. About this time, *Ibrâhim*, king of *Shîrwân*, regaled the whole court with a banquet; and *Nûr Alwerd*, son of *Soltân Ahmed*, of *Bâgbdâd*, eighteen years old, was brought from *Irâk Arabi*. The venerable *Sheykh Bereke* (G) then also arrived at court; and the pious *Timûr* went out of his tent to meet him. The fanton, having perceived the emperor, flung off his turbân, and paid his compliments of condolence on the death of the *Mirza Mehemed Soltân*. *Timûr* embraced, and wept a long time with him. The learned of *Grsât Bukhâria* came to court on the same occasion of condolence; and every evening, after the emperor had done with the affairs of state, he heard them dispute on some questions of learning and religion.

Sheykh Bereke arrives.

Affairs of Ghilân.

As the princes of *Ghilân* had only sent a few small presents, instead of coming to court, *Timûr* sent the karawl, or vanguard, and the *Mirza Shâh Rûkh*, with his troops, to *Kzebigâj* (or *Kezeligâj*). The princes, alarmed at these motions, consented to pay a great sum, under the name of *Karaj*, and sent the *Seyd Râzi Kiya*, one of the princes of *Dilem*, of *Mohammed's* race, with another prince, to give assurances of their obedience. The emperor honoured the *Seyd Râzi* in a particular manner, made him vast presents, and gave him the government of the castle of *Kemâk*, on the borders of *Anatolia*, which *Shâms*, a relation of the *Amîr Abbâs*, formerly possessed (H), with troops to go thither. Soon after, the *Sharif Seyd Bereke* fell sick at *Karabâgh*, and died. *Timûr* wept bitterly for the loss of his best friend; and caused his coffin to be buried at *Andekid*.

The Sheykh dies.

(G) He is mentioned before, as prophesying victory to *Timûr*. P. 225.

(H) *Timûr* gave it, not long before, to *Takârten*, prince of *Arzenjân*. See before, p. 342.

Then

Then he gave to the Mirza *Eskânder* the government of *Hamadân*, *Nehawend*, *Urujerd*, *Lor-kâchek*, and their dependencies. A. D. 1403.

WHEN winter was over, *Mâlek Issa* (I), prince of *Mardin*, Hej. 806. came to court, with his daughter, betrothed to the Mirza *Abûbekr*. *Mâlek Azzo'ddîn Shîr* came also from *Vâstân*, with A. D. 1404. a present of numerous horses. About the same time, the emperor issued out a general order to all the greater and lesser officers of the kingdom of *Hûlâkû Khân*, residing in *Azerbeijân* and *Irâk Arabi*, to send each a brother, or some relation, to reside at *Samarkant*: and, to prevent delay, dispatched officers to the respective places, to bring them away forthwith. In the month of *Ramazân*, *Timûr* made a funeral banquet for the Prince *Mehemed Soltân*, in which the poor chiefly were regaled. The sheykhs, doctors, and imams, from all parts, were present at this feast; where the intire *Korân* was read over; and which concluded with prayers for the repose of the mirza's soul. Afterwards the Princess *Khân Zâdeh* went to *Soltânîyâ*, and conveyed from thence the mirza's coffin to *Samarkant*. Politic regulation.

TIMUR, after this, took the diversion of a grand hunting, *Mirza* in the plains of *Aktâm*, beyond the *Arrâs*; in which, besides *Omar* dogs, were employed leopards, with gold chains; swift grey- promoted. hounds of *Greece*, and uncommon beagles. But, what were most remarkable, huge *European* mastifs, as strong as *African* lions, terrible as enraged tygers, and swift as arrows. When the chase was over, the emperor distributed among the learned of *Great Bukhâria* an infinite number of curiosities, brought from *Anatolia*. And finding there was nothing in *Asia* which he was not master of, excepting *China*, he left *Karabâgh* on the 8th of *April*, with a resolution to go upon the conquest of it; and, crossing the *Arrâs*, encamped near the town of *Nimet-abâd*, on the canal of *Berlâs*. Here, at a great feast, he invested the Mirza *Omar*, son of *Mirân Shâh*, with the government of the empire of *Hûlâkû*, containing the countries of *Azerbeijân*, *Rûm*, or *Anatolia*, and *Syria*, as far as *Egypt*. He likewise obliged the princes who governed *Pârs* and both the *Irâks*, to be subject to his jurisdiction.

MEAN time, the Mirza *Rûstem* and *Soleymân Shâh*, who *Eskânder* were gone to *Ray*, to inquire into the conduct of *Eskânder* pursued. *Sheykhi*, found that he had revolted; and, having placed his family in the fortress of *Firâzkûh*, was fled to the mountains in the forests of *Chelawn* and *Rûstemdâr*. The generals here.

² Hist. Tim. Bek, Vol. II. p. 328—338, c. 13—17.

(I) Called elsewhere Soltân *Issa*.

A. D. 1404. upon drew 2000 men out of the garrisons, and, entering the forest, took and razed the fortrefs of *Nûr*. Here *Mâlek Kayûmarrez*, an enemy of *Eskânder*, coming to meet them, they sent him to *Eskânder*, thinking to oblige him with a kind invitation to a treaty in his favour: but, not daring to trust them, he accommodated matters with *Kayûmarrez*, and began hostilities. On advice of this, *Timûr* sent several troops before; and following himself, with the rest of the army, by *Ardebîl* and *Soltâniya*, arrived, May 15, at *Kasbîn*; where, at *Mirza Abûbekr's* request, he permitted *Mirân Shâh*, his father, to go to *Bâghddâd*, to reside there with him; and then sent him to join *Rustem* at *Kujûr*, where they kept entrenched till the arrival of the army: after which, they cut roads through the forests, and marched to seek the enemy.

Firûzkûh taken. THE 22d, *Timûr* came to *Kay*; then passing by the castle of *Ghulkendân*, at the foot of mount *Damâwend*, and afterwards by *Damâwend*, arrived at *Firûzkûh*; a citadel, famous in history, situated on the ridge of a mountain, and walled with the utmost strength. The 31st of May, the siege was formed, and the throwers of wild-fire began the attack. As one of the towers of the place was built on the bank of the river, and reached as high as the level of the mountain, at whose foot it stood, the enemy made use of it, to draw up water from the river: but the besiegers turned the course of the stream, and spoiled the water which was left, in spite of a vigorous opposition. During night, *Mehemed Azâd*, *Akbuga*, and other brave men, got up to the foot of the walls; who, being perceived by the garrison, were resolutely attacked, and several wounded: but, after sun-rise, all the soldiers ascended, by different places, and gave a general assault. The son of *Eskânder Sheykhi*, governor of the castle, and those with him, being seized with fear, though the garrison consisted of 300 strong men, surrendered the place, after a two days siege.

Kara Tatars revolt. NEXT day, advice came, that the *Kara Tatars* had revolted near *Damgân*, and wounded almost to death their deroga. The other bands, hearing this, resolved to fly: but the Amîrs *Shâmso'dîn*, and other captains, who had the conduct of them, falling on the mutineers, slew above 3000 on the spot. Some were brought away, and the rest fled to the forests of *Astarabad*; but, being pursued by way of *Bestâm*, were overtaken at *Karatugan*, on the *Caspian* sea, and defeated, though far more numerous. Above 1000 were slain, and more than 10,000 families were taken prisoners. After this, *Timûr* marched in person against *Eskander Sheykhi*, over high mountains and deep valleys, to *Chelawn*, where he arrived June 11; but, not being able to find the rebel, returned the same day. In this road there is a
very

very deep defile, full of woods, always covered with mists; and in the middle runs an exceeding rapid torrent, which one can neither ford nor swim over. The great difficulty there is in passing this streight, has given it the name of, *the defile of hell*; and as *Eskânder* had broken the bridge over the torrent, his pursuers were obliged to build another of wood, which *Timûr* crossed, and encamped on the top of a mountain beyond it *.

A. D.

1404.

PARTIES being sent out every way, in search of the fugitive, one of them met with him, on the 17th of *June*, in the middle of a wood, near the *Caspian* sea, at the head of 200 foot, and thirty horse, with which he sallied out of his little camp, and prepared to attack his pursuers; who, though but twenty in number, fearing *Timûr's* reproaches, resolved to die rather than fly. *Eskânder*, followed by his horsemen, attacked them several times with their pikes: but the *Jagatays* so plied him, that he at length shamefully turned his back, though famed for intrepidity, and fled, with his soldiers, farther into the forest. They pillaged his camp; and, next morning, met with his son, the Amir *Ali*, and daughter, his wives, and domestics, who were all made slaves. The scouts, being joined by the Mirza *Soltân Hussayn*, and seventy men, continued the pursuit of *Eskânder*; and meeting him, about noon, in the midst of the forest, with 200 foot, and fifty horse, fell furiously upon him; then retreated, as if he would have fled. The enemy, upon this, boldly sallied out to attack his men: but they turned on them suddenly, in good order, and made a cruel slaughter of the foot. Two of the horsemen were taken prisoners; and *Eskânder*, re-entering the forest, went out by the side towards *Ghilân*; nor was ever heard of more: although some say, he took the habit of a monk: others, that he died for grief in the woods.

THE amirs being all returned to the camp, *Timûr* reproved them for not continuing the pursuit, and sent them back again on the same errand: but, on advice that they could not encamp in the woods, which the rains had made exceeding miry, he sent orders for them to return, after they had sufficiently fatigued themselves. Then *Timûr* marched to the castle of *Harsi*, towards *Ghilân*, and from thence to the meadow of *Kelare Dâst*. After he had sent the mirzas to their respective governments, he departed for *Samarkant*. In a few days, he came to the kiosk, or pavilion, of *Argûn Khân*, at the foot of mount *Damâwend*, in the country of *Lâr*; and *July* 10th, encamped at *Firâzkâh*, the government of which, and *Ray*,

* Hist. Tim. Bek, Vol. II. p. 338—347, c. 17—21.

A. D. 1404. with their dependencies, he left with the Amir *Soleymân Shâh*. The 14th, he arrived at *Bestâm*. The 20th, left *Nisâbâr*; and passing *J.m*, came to the river *Jûkûjerân*. From hence, by *Kerlân*, he went to the river *Morgâb*; where *Apaktâlpa*, governor of *Shîsbektu*, was, for oppressing the inhabitants, hanged, with his head downwards, after having had his feet bored through.

to Samar- THEN continuing his route by *Andekûd*, the defile of *Gbez*, kant. and *Aliab.d*, he at length crossed the *Jihûn* (or *Amû*) at *Termed*, and came to *Kash*. From whence he made such haste to *Samarkant*, that the principal persons had not an opportunity to proceed far to meet him. He arrived there in *Mohârrem*

Hej. 807. 807. Soon after, *Massâid Dawd*, and *Mehemed Jilde*, who A. D. had been the principal secretaries, and, during *Timûr*'s ab- 1404. sence, performed the function of wazirs, were condemned, for July. doing injustice; and both hanged, by his order, at *Khâni Gheul*, during the banquet there. Afterwards, *Timûr* went to the garden of *plânès*, where he gave audience to an ambassador of *Idekû*, emperor of *Kipjak*, who presented him with a shonkar. He next visited the garden of *Dilen Shâh*, where he received an ambassador from one of the greatest sovereigns of *Europe* (K), who made him several curious and magnificent presents; particularly, some pieces of tapistry, wrought with so much art, that, were the great performances of the painter *Mani*, on the cloth of *Artene*, to be compared with them, *Mani* would blush, and his works appear deformed ^b (L).

Magnifi- cent pa- lace.

AFTER this, *Timûr* ordered a palace to be built by the Syrian architects, in the garden south of *Bâghi Shamâl*, more large and magnificent than any he had founded before. It was a square, each side being 1500 cubits in length. The chief ornaments were of marble, in sculpture, and inlaid work of

^b Hist. Tim. Bek, Vol. II. p. 347—357. c. 21—24.

(K) This, doubtless, was *Ruy Gonzales de Clavijo*, sent by *Henry III.* king of *Castile*. He set out 21 May 1403, and returned to *Spain* 24 March 1405. He mentions the feast made by *Timûr*, on the marriage of his children, and to which he was invited: but not a word of his audience of leave, and the rich presents he received. On the contrary, he assures us, he never had one; because *Timûr* died about that time, at *Samarkant*.

But this appears to be false in fact; and also shews the ambassador had left *Samarkant*, and obtained his audience. For had he been at *Samarkant* (as he intimates) when *Timûr* died, he must have known that conqueror did not die in that city. See *La Croix*, pref. to *Timûr Bek*, for an account of this embassy.

(L) This is doing great honour to *European* manufactures.

various

various colours. The outside of the walls was covered with porcelain of *Kashān*, and the fountains were beautified with infinite jet d'eaus of several forms. The emperor solemnized the finishing of it with a splendid banquet, to which the European ambassadors were invited: *for the kasses*, says our author, *have also their place in the sea* (M).

A. D.

1404.

TIMUR resolving, before he made his intended expedition *Kind of* to *China*, to marry his grandchildren, ordered a grand feast *jubilee*, to be made, in the plain of *Khāni Gheul* (N), whither he went to lodge, on the 17th of *October*. The governors of provinces, generals, and great lords of the empire, assembled in this place, and pitched their tents in order. People from all parts of *Asia* repaired, to behold this solemn rejoicing; where all sorts of diversions were exhibited, and the richest curiosities sold, in magnificent shops. There was built a *chartak*, or amphitheatre, covered with brocade and *Persian* carpets, furnished with seats for the music, and places for the buffoons and jesters, to shew their skill. There was another *chartak* for all sorts of tradesmen, and 100 of a different manner, filled with those who sold fruit, each of whom had a kind of garden, of pistachios, pomegranates, almonds, pears, and apples. The butchers dressed up skins of animals in very ludicrous figures. Women imitated speaking goats, with horns of gold, and ran after one another. Some were dressed like fairies and angels, with wings; whilst others assumed the appearance of elephants and sheep.

THE skippers also appeared in masquerades, like leopards, *Feast, and* lions, tygers, foxes, with whose skins they were covered, *diversion.* The upholders made a camel of wood, reeds, cords, and painted linen, which walked about, as if alive; and the man within it, drawing a curtain, discovered the workman in his own piece. The manufacturers of cotton made birds of cotton, and a high minareh, or tower, of the same material, with the help of reeds, which every body imagined to be built with brick and mortar. It was covered with brocades and embroidered work, carried itself about, and on its top was placed a stork. The saddlers shewed their skill in two litters, open at top, carried on a camel, with a beautiful woman in each, who diverted the spectators by actions with their hands and feet. The mat-makers gave a proof of their dexterity, by two lines of writing, in *Kufik*, and other large characters, worked with reeds.

(M) This seems to be spoken with great contempt of the ambassadors: for the *kass* is a little animal, the size of a barley-corn, which is seen on the surface of the sea. *La Croix*.

(N) That is, a mine of flowers.

THUS

A. D.

1404.

Princes
married.

THUS every one contributed to celebrate the marriage of the young princes, who were the *Mirzas Olúk Bek* and *Ibráhim Soltán*, sons of *Sháh Rúkh*; *Ayyel*, son of *Mirán Sháh*; *Ahmed*, *Seydi Ahmed*, and *Bierá*, all three sons of the *Mirza Omar Sheykh*. The astrologers having chosen a happy moment, the first officer of the household drew the curtain of the imperial gate. The kadi's, sharifs, imáms, and doctors, of the empire met the emperor; and having agreed on the articles of marriage, the great doctor *Sheykh Shamsó'ddín Mehemed al Jazári* was pitched on to read them to the assembly. The grand kadi of *Samarkant*, *Múlána Saláho'ddín*, received the mutual consent of the parties, which he registred; and then, according to the *Hanafiyan* rites, joined the princes and princesses together in marriage; on whom every one sprinkled gold and precious stones.

Great
magnif-
cence

THE emperor being seated on his throne, the banquet was served up to the brides, and other ladies of the court, by the most beautiful young women of his faray, who had on crowns composed of flowers. The princes of the blood, amirs, nevians (or noyáns), sharifs, and foreign ambassadors, were seated under a canopy, supported by twelve columns, and distant about a horse's course from the nuptial-hall. Here were ranged earthen urns, with strings of precious stones about them, filled with gold, and silver pilastres, on the tops whereof were cups of gold, agate, and crystal, adorned with pearls and jewels: all which vessels were presented on salvers of gold and silver, to those who drank; the liquors being kammez (O), oxymel, hippocras, brandy, wines, sirma, and the like. It is reported, that the wood of several large forests was cut down, to dress the victuals for this banquet. There were tables furnished in different places throughout the whole plain, and flaggons of wine set near them, with infinite baskets of fruit. Besides these preparations for the court, there were jars full of liquors, ranged all through the plain, for the people's drinking: and, that their joy might be complete, they were allowed to pursue whatever pleasures they thought fit, without any restraint, by proclamation, in these terms; "This is the time of feasting, pleasure, and rejoicing. Let no person reprimand, or complain of, another: let not the rich insult the poor; nor the strong the weak: let no one ask another, "Why have you done this?"

in the
feast,

* Hist. Tim. Bek, Vol. II. p. 357—364, c. 24—26.

(O) Or kemis, made of mares milk. See before, Vol. IV. p. 302.

THE

THE elephants, with thrones on their backs, were drawn out on this occasion. When the feast was over, a vast quantity of curious moveable goods was, according to custom, laid upon mules and camels, for the new-married princes; among which were all sorts of rich habits, crowns, and belts, set with precious stones. The mules had coverings of sattin, embroidered with gold: and their little bells, as well as those of the camels, were of gold. This pompous equipage passed before the admiring people. The bridegrooms, with their brides, were clothed nine times in different habits, set off with crowns and belts. Each time they changed their dress, they paid their respects, as usual, to the emperor; while the ground was covered with the gold, pearls, and precious stones, which were sprinkled on them, and became the perquisite of their domestics. At night, illuminations were made, with lanthorns, torches, and lamps; and the new-married princes entered the nuptial-chamber. Next day, *Timūr* honoured them with a visit at their respective apartments, accompanied by the empresses, great amirs and sharifs of the court. Nor were the rejoicings confined to *Khāni Gheul*: for there was not one place in the whole empire, from thence to *Tās* (or *Masbhad*), in *Khorassān*, where the sound of drums and trumpets was not heard.

THE marriage-feasts lasted two months; after which, the assembly was dissolved, and the licence which had been granted during the feast recalled: so that, for the future, no person was allowed to drink wine, or commit any thing unlawful. After this, *Timūr* retired to his closet; where “ he thanked God for his favours, in raising him, from a petty prince, to be the most mighty monarch in the world: in giving him so many victories and conquests; maintaining him in sovereign authority, and making him his chosen servant.”

TIMUR, having taken a short repose, resolved to put in execution his design against *China*. To this end, he summoned the mirzas and great amirs of his council to court; and made a speech, wherein he told them, his dear companions, as he called them, “ That as the vast conquests he had made were not obtained without some violence, which had occasioned the destruction of a great number of God’s creatures, he was resolved, by way of atonement for his past crimes, to perform some good action; namely, to make war on the infidels, and exterminate the idolaters of *China* (P): that it “ was

(P) He intended to atone for the destruction of God’s creatures, by a farther destruction of his creatures: to atone for one crime, by committing another. Not only the *Chinese* idolaters

A. D. 1404. " was fitting those very troops, which had been the instruments whereby those faults were committed, should also be the instruments of repentance; he therefore required, that they should march into *China*, to acquire the merit of that holy war, by demolishing the temples of the idols of fire, and erecting mosks in their places."

resolved in
council.

THE council having approved of this pious expedition, orders were immediately issued for assembling the forces of the empire at *Tashkunt*, which was to be the general rendezvous of the army. *Timûr* then went from *Khâni Gheul* to *Samarkant*; where having done particular honours to the ambassador of *Egypt*, he gave him leave to depart; sending with him an ambassador of his own, with a letter to *Soltân Farruj*, seventy cubits long, and three in breadth, written in letters of gold, in answer to what that sultan had written, relating to *Soltân Ahmed* and *Kara Yûsef*. He likewise granted particular honours and favours to the ambassadors of *Europe* (*Q*), *Dâsh Kijjak*, *Jetâh*, and other parts, and permitted them to return home. He gave the *Mirza Omar Bek* the government of the towns of *Tashkunt*, *Sayrâm*, *Yenghi*, *Asbira*, and all the kingdom of *Jetâh*, as far as *China*: likewise to the *Mirza Ibrâhim Soltân*, that of *Andekhân*, *Aksiket*, *Tarâz*, and *Kâshgar*, as far as *Kotan*^d.

Timûr
sets out.

WHEN the troops were assembled, the *Amir Berendâk* reviewed them, by *Timûr*'s order; and brought account, that there were in the army, which he designed to carry into *China*, 200,000 men complete, consisting of the forces of *Great Bukhâria*, *Turkestân*, *Bâlk*, *Badakhshân*, *Khorassân*, *Sistân*, *Mazânderân*, the *Kara Tatars*, with the colonies from *Pârs*, *Azerbejan*, and *Irâk*. The emperor was pleased with the good condition they were in; and, having distributed his treasure among them, commanded them to begin their march. The *Mirzas Kâhîl Soltân* and *Ahmed Omar Sheykh*, with the troops of the right-wing, were ordered to pass the winter, at

^d Hist. Tim. Bek, Vol. II. p. 364—372. c. 26, & seq.

laters were to be rooted out, but also those who were not idolaters, under the name of infidels.

(*Q*) The *Spanish* ambassadors, whom we have mentioned in the preface, were dismissed at the same time as those of *Egypt*, without obtaining an au-

diencé of leave of *Timûr*, who was reported to have been very sick; whence, in the *Spanish* relation, he is said, through mistake, to have been dead. *La Croix*.—This seems to be a palliation: *Timûr* died at *Otrâr*, and it does not appear that he was sick at *Samarkant*.

Tib.

Tâshkunt, *Shâbrukhiya* (R), and *Sayrâm*; while the *Mirza Soltân Huffyayn* was to remain, with some troops of the left-wing, at *Tâssi* and *Sabrân*. At length *Timûr* set out from *Samar-kant*, the 23 of *Jomazio'lawel*, in 807, in a happy moment fixed by the astrologers (*); and although the rains, snows, wind, and cold, were extremely violent, yet he continued his march to *Aksulat*, where cottages and houses had been built to lodge in. Here the emperor being informed, that the *Mirza Kalil Soltân* had, a second time, concealed, in his apartment, *Shâdi Mulk*, one of the concubines of the *Amir Sayfo'ddin*, whom he had married for love, he ordered her to be put to death: but, by means of the great empress, it being pretended she was with child, the order was countermanded, and the lady committed to the care of the black eunuchs (S).

TIMUR took such care with regard to provision and arms, *Arrives at* that every horseman had enough of both to serve ten men. *Otrar.* Besides this, several thousand loads of corn were carried, in waggons, to sow the fields on their road, to supply them, in their return. Several thousands of camels also were in the train, that, on pressing occasions, their milk might serve for nourishment to the soldiers. These precautions were necessary in an army so numerous, as not to be matched in antiquity (T). Although the cold was so extreme, that several men and horses perished on the road, some losing their hands and feet, others their ears and noses, yet *Timûr* set forward from *Aksulat*, and crossing the *Sihûn* (or *Sir*), over the ice, at *Zarnûk*, *February* 27th, arrived at *Otrar*. This river was frozen so hard, that they were obliged to dig two or three cubits to get water: and, during the months of *January* and *February*, waggons, men, and beasts, could pass either the *Jihûn* or *Sihûn*, in any part of them. The same day, one corner of the roof of the *A bad* palace where the emperor lodged took fire, by means of a *omen.* chimney; which accident was considered by the courtiers, who before had been scared with frightful dreams, as a prognostic of some misfortune to his majesty.

* Hist. Tim. Bek, Vol. II. p. 372—380, c. 27—29.

(R) This place, formerly called *Fenakunt*, was intirely ruined by *Jenghîz Khân's* army; but, in the year 794 of the *Heraiah*, and of *Christ* 1392, *Timur* ordered it to be rebuilt, and re-peopled: and, as he then gave it to the *Mirza Shâh Rûkh*, it was called after him *Shâbrukhiya*. *Sharifo'ddin*.

(*) Who could not foresee his death.

(S) To prevent the *mirza's* having any future commerce with her.

(T) Then it must have consisted of more than 200,000 men. Nay, *Timûr* himself had more numerous armies at other times.

A. D.
1405.Appoints
an heir;

AT this time, an ambassador arrived from *Tokâtmiş Khân*, formerly emperor of *Kipjak*, who had, for a long time, wandered as a vagabond in the deserts of that country, confessing his master's ingratitude, and imploring forgiveness. *Timûr* not only gave *Karâ Koja* a magnificent audience, but assured him he would, at his return from *China*, again conquer the empire of *Tusbî Khân*, and give it to *Tokâtmiş*. The 25th of *March*, his majesty was attacked with a burning fever, and believed he heard the hûrlis say, *Repent! for you must appear before God*. On this, he became sincerely penitent for his crimes, and resolved to make satisfaction for them, by good works. Although his sickness daily increased, yet he was continually inquiring after the condition of his army. When he found death approaching, he sent for the empresses, and principal amirs. "He bid them not weep, but pray, for him. Said, he had hopes God would pardon his sins, though numberless; and had this consolation, that he had never suffered the strong to injure the weak. He exhorted them to procure ease and safety to the people, as an account would be required of all in power, at the day of judgment." He then declared his son *Pîr Mehemed Jêhân Ghîr* his universal heir, and lawful successor; commanding them all to obey him, and sacrifice their lives to maintain his authority. After this, he ordered all the amirs, great lords of the court, and generals, to come before him, and made them swear to see his will executed, and to suffer none to oppose it. He commanded that all those who were absent should take the same oath.

and dies.

THE lords burst in tears, and promised to fulfil his testament. They proposed sending for the *Mirza Soltân* and amirs at *Tâshkunt*, that they might hear his majesty's will from his own mouth; alleging, that their declaration could not have the same force with them. But *Timûr* forbid it, as they could not come time enough to find him alive; and said, he had no other desire than to see the *Mirza Shâh Rûkh* once more; but that it was impossible. After recommending the observance of his will, and the avoiding of discord, to the princes his children, he ordered one of the doctors to read the *Korân* at his bed's-head, and often repeat the unity of God. At night (about eight o'clock), he several times made profession of his belief, *That there is no other god than God*; and then gave up his soul to the Angel *Esrâfiel* (or *Israel*), on the 17th of *Shabân* 807 (U), after he had lived seventy-one years, and reigned thirty-six^f.

^f Hist. Tim. Bek, Vol. II. p. 380—387, c. 29—31.(U) Which answers to *Wednesday* the 1st of *April* 1405.

TIMUR was remarkable for his sincere piety, great veneration for religion, strict justice, and unbounded liberality; which have been sufficiently exemplified in the foregoing history. As to his birth, his ninth grandfather was *Tumena Khân*, of the race of *Buzenjer Khân*, chief of a branch of the tribe of *Kayât* (X), descended from *Turk* the son of *Japhet*. However, the Amîr *Trâgay*, his father, as well as his grandfather the Amîr *Berkulk*, had abdicated the kingdom, and left the government of the principality of *Kâsh*, which they had preserved, with the toman of 10,000 men annexed thereto, to the children of their uncles, of the family of *Berlâs*: so that *Timûr Bek* may be said to have brought the crown into this august family, he being the first emperor of it. At the age of twenty-five, he attained the highest dignities, with surprising courage, and an ambition admired by all the world. Endeavouring to perfect the great talents which he had received from nature, he spent nine years in different countries: where his good sense, and great genius, appeared in councils and assemblies; while his intrepidity and valour, whether in personal combats or pitched battles, drew upon him the admiration of every-body.

A. D.
1405.

His character.

HE made himself master of the three empires of *Jagatay Khân*, *Tusbi Khân*, and *Hulâkû Khân* (Y); so that his power, riches, and magnificence, were greater than what we read of other monarchs (Z), or even than can well be imagined. But the chief proof of his power was, whatever kingdom he made war upon, he soon conquered it, and gave the government to some of his children and officers (A); not acting like antient conquerors, who were contented with those tokens of submission which vanquished princes might make by the payment of a tribute. One thing farther remarkable in this monarch's conduct was, that, although he observed the wholesome maxim of holding dyets, yet he never solely confided in them; but constantly did what his own genius inspired in him. He could not be shaken in his resolutions; and had the policy to be pre-

(X) *Jenghîz Khân* was descended from the same tribe. See before, Vol. IV. p. 324, & seq.

(Y) That is, three parts of the empire of *Jenghîz Khân*; which all descended to *Oktay*, who reigned in the eastern part of *Tartary*, and whose successors conquered *China*; of whom, for a time, those of the other three parts held their dominions. *Timûr* did much; for he carried his conquests to the river *Ganges* in the east, and the *Archipelago* in the west.

(Z) This seems to be aimed at *Jenghîz Khân*: but *Timûr* was not equal to that conqueror in those respects, or perhaps any other.

(A) In this he did but imitate *Jenghîz Khân*.

sent

A. D. 1405. sent at the execution of his most important enterprizes, whether they concerned the state, or religion : but, in peace and war, he would put forward every thing himself.

Public
works.

THERE remain infinite monuments of his grandeur in the cities, towns, castles, and walls, which he built; in rivers and canals which he dug; as well as bridges, gardens, palaces, hospitals, mosks, and monasteries, which he erected in divers parts of *Asia* in so great a number, that a king might be accounted very powerful and magnificent, who should have employed thirty-six years only in building the great edifices which *Timûr* caused to be founded. Are not all the karawansarays in the great roads of *Asia*, for the accommodation of travellers; the magnificent monasteries and hospitals, from which the poor, the sick, and passengers, reap so great advantage by the alms distributed there; the good works of this pious emperor?

His person.

THIS character of *Timûr*, given by his historian *Sharifoddin Ali*, is confirmed by his enemy *Arabshâh*, with circumstances which give us a much greater idea of that prince, than what his professed friend and flatterer has said of him. *Timûr*, according to that author, was, as to his person, very corpulent, tall, and exceeding fat, but very well-shaped. He had a large forehead, and big head. His countenance was good; and his complexion fair, very ruddy, and not at all swarthy. He wore a large beard (B); was very strong, and well-limbed: had broad shoulders, thick fingers, and long legs. His constitution was perfectly hale: but he was maimed in one hand, and lame of the right side. His eyes appeared full of fire, but were not very brisk. His voice was loud and piercing. He feared nothing; and, altho' near fourscore years of age, his understanding was sound and perfect, his body vigorous and robust; his mind constant, and unshaken like a rock.

Prudence
and sagacity.

HE did not like rallery, and could not bear a lye. There was no joking or fooling before him; for he loved the naked truth, even altho' it was to his own disadvantage. He neither grieved, if he miscarried in any attempt; nor appeared overjoyed on any good success. The device of his seal was, *I am sincere and plain*. He never admitted of any lewd discourse in his presence; nor ever talked of slaying, plundering, ravages, making slaves, or the like violences: yet was bold, courageous, feared, and respected. He had a clear and subtle understanding: was surprisngly sure in his conjectures; extremely happy in his

* Hist. Tim. Bek, l. v. p. 424, & seqq. c. 48.

(B) This description does not given by *Kämpfer* in his *Amanat* tally with the print of his head, *tates exoticae*, p. 36.

guesses;

guesses; vigilant and active where requisite; and unshaken in his resolutions. He could see into the most hidden intrigues, and discover the most subtle artifices: could distinguish the truth from sophistry; and, by the strength of his reason, saw things in their causes, as others see objects present to their eyes.

A. D.
1405.

TIMUR took great delight in reading history, or hearing *Knowledge* it related. He was so well versed in the state of countries, *of coun-* provinces, and cities, that the natives were astonished to find *tries.* him as knowing as themselves; and, when he arrived at any city, would ask those who came first to wait on him, *What news of such and such persons? What was it that happened to such a one, at such a time, and in such an affair? How did such an undertaking succeed? What end did such persons make of the difference that was between them?* and would often tell them *Great pe-* of the disputes and conversations they had with others. This made *netrations* them think he had been among them in disguise; and some affirmed they had seen him: but this intelligence he gained by spies and correspondents, which he had in all places. His stratagems, inventions, and their effects, looked like enchantment. His conjectures came surprisingly to pass: among the rest, when he arrived before *Siwās*, which had a very strong garrison, he said to his men, *Mark what I tell you; we shall have this place in eighteen days:* which actually happened. *It is most certain, says Arabshāh, that this limber, was either directed by heaven; or doomed to eternal torments, by the ill use which he should make of temporal felicities.*

HE was a great dissembler, and studied ways to deceive every *Close and* body. He would pretend that the things, which above all *subtle:* others he hated, or desired to avoid, were most agreeable to him; and seemed not to like those which he was passionately fond of. He would assemble his officers, to consult which way they should march next; and, when they had come to a resolution, would issue orders accordingly: and at the same time assign the reasons for taking such a route: but, as soon as every thing was ready, and the army began to move forward, he on a sudden countermanded his orders, and obliged them to march a quite contrary course. He was so artful, that, when an enemy advanced to meet him, he would often, as in *Syria*, spread a report, that his soldiers were fatigued and dispirited: he would even retreat, under pretence that his troops wanted provisions or forage: all this was done in order to animate the

²² His portrait by AHMED BEN ARABSH. p. 2, & seq. Ibid. p. 4—11.

A. D. 1405. enemy, and make them keep their post, that he might the more easily surround them with his forces.

Great
firmness

WHEN he resolved on any siege, or other enterprize, though ever so difficult and hazardous, he was not to be diverted from his purpose, and it was dangerous for any body to advise him to desist. *Mohammed Kawjin*, the greatest of all his favourites, having undertaken, at the solicitation of the chief commanders, to give over the siege of a castle in *India*, built on a very high rock; *Timûr* stripped him of all his wealth, which he gave to a Black, and turned him adrift^k.

of mind.

THIS prince, when he undertook any thing, never ceased labouring, both with his hands and head, to bring it about. One time, that he besieged a castle, he contracted a fever by too much fatigue; yet, not being able to rest, without seeing how things went on, he ordered himself to be carried to the door of his tent, which stood on an eminence, from whence he beheld the attack. He was supported under the arms by two persons: but, being very weak, soon ordered them to lay him gently on the ground; which they did. Then, sending one of them away, said to the other, named *Mahmûd*, of *Karazm*, "Consider my feebleness, and how destitute I am of strength. I have neither a hand to do any thing, nor a foot to walk: if I should be attacked, I cannot defend myself. Should I be abandoned in the condition I am in, I should remain as in a trap; without being able in any-wise to help myself, or avoid the evils that must befall me: yet, see, the Almighty has subjected nations to my obedience, gives me entrance into the most inaccessible places, fills the earth with the terror of my name, and makes kings and princes fall down before me. Can such works come from any but God? What am I but a poor miserable wretch, without either power or application equal to such great exploits." At these words, said *Mahmûd* to our author, the tears fell from his eyes, nor could I refrain myself from weeping^l.

His sons,

TIMUR left behind him fifty-three descendants; thirty-six males and seventeen females:

I. THE Mirza *Jehân Ghîr*, his eldest son, died before him, as hath been mentioned in his reign: but left two princes; (1) *Mehemed Soltân* (who also died before his grandfather). This prince had three sons; *Mehemed Jehân Ghîr*, nine years old at the death of *Timûr*; *Sadvakkas*, six; and *Yahia*, five. (2) The Mirza *Pîr Mehemed Jehân Ghîr*, twenty-nine years of

^k His portrait by AHMED BEN ARABSH. p. 12—21. ^l Ibid. p. 39.

age. He had seven sons: *Kaydu*, nine years old; *Kâled*, seven; *Buzenjer*, *Sadvakkas*, *Tenjer*, *Kayser*, and *Jehân Ghîr*: in all, eleven princes.

A. D.
1405.

II. THE Mirza *Omar Sheykh*, deceased, left six sons: (1) *Pîr andgrand-Mehemed*, twenty-six years old; who had one son, of seven years, named *Omar Sheykh*. (2) *Râstem*, aged twenty-four; who had two sons, *Ozmân*, six years old; and *Soltân Ali*, one year. (3) *Eskânder*, twenty-one years of age. (4) *Ahmed*, eighteen years. (5) *Sidi Ahmed*, fifteen. And, (6) *Bâyera Hassan*: in all, nine princes.

III. THE Mirza *Mirân Shâh*, thirty-eight years of age, had five sons: (1) *Abûbekr*, twenty-three years old: who had two sons, *Alengher*, nine years of age; and *Ozmân Chelebi*, four. (2) *Omar*, twenty-two years old. (3) *Kalil Soltân*, twenty-one years. (4) *Ayyel*, ten. And, (5) *Siorgatmish*, six: in all, seven princes.

IV. THE Mirza *Shâh Rûkh*, twenty-eight years of age, had seven sons: (1) *Olûk Bek*, eleven years old. (2) *Ibrâhîm Soltân*, of the same age. (3) *Baysânkar*, eight years. (4) *Siorgatmish*, six. (5) *Mehemed Juki*, three years. (6) *Jân Aglen*, two years. And, (7) *Turwi*, one year: in all, eight princes.

BESIDES these princes, *Timûr* had one daughter, named *Soltânâ Bâkht Begûm*; and sixteen grand-daughters. *Omar andgrand-Sheykh* had three daughters. *Mehemed Soltân*, three. *Mirân Shâh*, four: and *Shâh Rûkh*, one. *Pîr Mehemed Jehân Ghîr*, three. *Abûbekr*, one: and *Kalil Soltân*, one.

THE Mirza *Soltân Hussayn*, twenty-five years of age, was the son of *Timûr*'s daughter, named *Akiâ Beghi*, or *Taji Khân*; and his father was the Amir *Mehemed Bey*, son of the Amir *Mûssa* m.

CHAP. VI.

Distractions which arose on the Death of Timûr, and the Usurpation of Kalil Soltân.

AS soon as *Timûr*'s death was known in the court; the empresses tore their faces and hair; the court-lords rent their clothes, and, flinging themselves on the ground, passed the night in grief: while the heavens, says our author, seemed to share in their affliction; since rains and thunder, storms and tempest, ceased not all the night. Next morning the body was washed; and embalmed with camphire, musk, and rose-water; then wrapped in linen, and laid in a coffin of

* Hist. Tim. Bek, l. vi. c. 48. p. 427, & seq.

A. D.
1405.

ebony. As the design of the war in *China* was not yet abandoned, they kept his death concealed, by avoiding all signs of grief; and sent advice to the mirzas, particularly *Pir Mehemed Jehân Ghîr*, to repair forthwith to court. Next day the mirzas, empresses, and amirs, who were at *Otrâr*, set out, with the corps, for *Samarkant*; and, having crossed the *Sihûn*, two parasangs distant, on the ice, entered a wood; where it was agreed in council, that they should march to *Tâshkunt*, under the command of the *Mirza Ibrâhim Soltân*; who, on his arrival, should deliver up the command to his elder brother *Kalîl Soltân*: that this latter should bear the title of emperor the whole campaign; and proceed with the whole army to conquer *China*: lastly, that, at their return to *Samarkant*, they should hold a general dyet, to execute *Timûr's* last will and testament.

Mirza
Hussayn
rebels.

AFTER this, several lords were sent with *Timûr's* coffin to *Samarkant*; where they arrived the 6th of *April*, and buried it with the usual solemnity. The empresses, and other ladies, followed, with the *Mirza Olûk Bek*, and others; while the *Mirza Ibrâhim Soltân* took horse, at the head of the army, to march into *China*. When they were come to the bridge of *Kaldorma*, on the river *Arj*, east of *Otrâr*, and one league from it, expresses were sent to the *Mirzas Kalîl Soltân* and *Soltân Hussayn* to join them at *Jûklek*, a town five leagues east of the same city, in order to proceed in the expedition. But this great design was frustrated by the *Mirza Soltân Hussayn*, in whose breast the death of *Timûr* rekindled the inclination of revolting, which he had discovered in the war of *Damastus*: for, as soon as he received that advice, he disbanded part of the troops of the left wing; and, taking from them their horses, passed the *Sihûn* (or *Sîr*) at *Kojend*, with one thousand men, each having two horses, and took the road to *Samarkant*: his design was, to have amused the inhabitants, and entered the city by stratagem^a.

Kalîl Sol- THIS news being brought to the Amirs *Sheykh Nûro'ddîn*
tân elected, and *Shah Mâlek*, who sent him the express, they immediately gave notice to *Argûn Shâh*, whom *Timûr* had left governor at *Samarkant*; and ordered him to secure that ambitious prince, if he approached the city. They wrote also to the *Mirza Kalîl Soltân*, and his great amirs, who were at *Tâshkunt*, six days journey of the karawân from *Otrâr*, to acquaint them with the evil design of *Soltân Hussayn*; and that it was proper to return with their troops to *Ahar*, there to concert measures with them for the public good. After this, they marched for Sa-

^a Hist. Tim. Bek, l. vi. c. 31—35. p. 387—397.

markant;

markant; and, having crossed the *Sihân* on the ice, next morning joined the empresses. Mean time affairs took a cross turn; for the amirs, with Soltân *Kalil*, having had advice, before the express from *Otrâr* arrived, of the proceedings of Soltân *Hussayn*, their fear caused by *Timûr*'s death was much increased; and, thinking the best way to prevent the evil, was, to create an emperor, the Mirza *Ahmed Omar Sheykh*, and the Great Amirs *Kodadad Hussayni*, *Tadghiar Shâh Erlat*, *Shâms'o'ddîn Abbâs*, *Berendak*, and other principal officers, advanced the Mirza *Kalil Soltân* to the throne at *Tâshkunt*, and swore obedience to him.

As soon as the empresses, with the mîrzas and amirs, received this advice, they wrote to the mîrzas of *Kalil Soltân*, reproaching them with their breach of oath to *Timûr*, and acting contrary to his last dispositions. The amirs, having read the letter, sent *Berendak* to *Aksulat*, where the empresses were encamped, to acquaint the amirs, "That what they did was with a good intention, and to prevent troubles: but, since they found what they had done was agreeable neither to their sentiments, nor the late emperor's will, they were ready to join with them in such measures as they should judge proper for carrying his majesty's testament into execution." Upon this, the Amirs *Sheykh Nûro'ddîn* and *Shâh Mâlek* wrote a second letter to those at *Tâshkunt*, exhorting them to annul the oath they had wrongfully taken thro' inadvertency; and, by a written instrument, signed by *Kalil Soltân* as well as themselves, submit to the Mirza *Pîr Mehemed*. When *Berendak* was dismissed, the empresses and mîrzas, with their troops, continued their road. When they came to *Ali Abâd*, the Mirza *Omar Sheykh* and *Shâh Mâlek*, went before: but, on their arrival at *Samarkant*, *Argûn Shâh*, who had been gained by the promises of *Kalil Soltân*, shut the gates against them: he even refused to let in either *Shâh Mâlek* or *Sheykh Nûro'ddîn*, to confer with the amirs there; pretending it would be contrary to the orders he had received from *Timûr*. He said, however, "That he believed his majesty had ordained the Mirza *Pîr Mehemed* his successor; and that he would deliver up the government of the city, as soon as the mîrzas and amirs should, in an assembly, agree upon it."^b

Those amirs, who looked on all that *Argûn Shâh* had said to be grimace, returned to the empresses at *Ali Abâd*. Mean while, *Berendak* being returned to *Tâshkunt*, the amirs drew up a manifesto, which every one signed and sealed, and the Mirza *Kalil Soltân* himself was obliged to subscribe. The

*Renounces
the empire.*

^b Hist. Tim. Bek, l. vi. c. 36—38. p. 397, & seqq.

1405. D. mirza ordered *Atimish* to carry this paper to the Amirs *Nûro'ddîn* and *Shâh Mâlek*, and from them to *Pîr Mehemed*; directing him "to assure the mirza, that he was his sincere friend; and would acknowledge him for his father's success for, pursuant to his last will." But, in this, *Kalîl Soltân* acted the hypocrite; his sole desire being to reign; in which he was instigated by some amirs who were about him. He seized all the horses, mules, and camels, belonging to *Timûr*, as well as the mirzas and amirs of his attendants, which he had left to graze at *Tâsbkunt* and *Sayram*, and distributed them among those of his own party: he gave them likewise abundance of money, stuffs, and arms, which belonged to the soldiers who were in those quarters; and then departed, at their head, for *Samarkant*.

Assumes
it again,

WHEN he came to the *Sihûn*, he ordered the Amîr *Berendâk*, with the troops of the right wing, to cross the river, on a bridge of boats, above *Shâh Rûkhiya*. As soon as he was gotten over, he broke the bridge, and went to join the empresses, who were then on their way to *Samarkant*. The Amirs *Kodadâd* and *Shâmso'ddîn Abbâs*, with the same view, marched to *Achik Ferkint*, pursuant to a secret agreement made before with *Berendâk*, to abandon *Kalîl Soltân*, and do nothing contrary to *Timûr's* will. The mirza, on this advice, passed the *Sihûn* with his troops. Mean time *Berendâk*, being informed, on the road, how *Argûn Shâh* had refused the Amîr *Shâh Mâlek* admittance into *Samarkant*, he was surprised; and, moved as well by his ambition as his cowardice, without regarding his oath, immediately returned to join the Mirza *Kalîl Soltân*, to whom he swore fidelity a second time. Hereupon the mirza, with those of his party, declared the instrument void, wherein they had promised obedience to *Pîr Mehemed*; and at the same time continued his road to *Samarkant*, with design to usurp the empire.

without
reserve.

WHEN the Amirs *Sheykh Nûro'ddîn* and *Shâh Mâlek* received this advice, after a speech, wherein they lamented the confusion which the empire was fallen into; and the little regard paid to the will of a great monarch, when dead, by those very persons who had tasted most of his favours, they advised the empresses to proceed to *Samarkant*, while they attended the mirzas to *Bokhâra*; from whence they proposed to go meet the Mirza *Pîr Mehemed*, *Timûr's* heir. When the empresses came to *Samarkant*, the amirs of the city would not admit them on that day. Next morning they entered; and took up their abode at the kanika of the Mirza *Mehemed Soltân*, where *Timûr's* coffin lay. There several grandees of the empire, assembling in mourning habits, made lamentation over the

the emperor's corpse, and were joined in signs of grief by all the inhabitants^c. A. D. 1405.

MEAN-while the Mirzas *Olâk Bek* and *Ibrâhîm Soltân*, being arrived at *Debbâr*, a high fortress on the river of *Samarkant*, received a letter from *Koja Yûsef* and *Argân Shah*, importing, "that their refusing to open the gates to them, was not thro' any motive of treason, but to obey *Timûr's* will: that they would use the Mirza *Kalil Soltân* in the same manner, should he come; and, in short, would resign the city to none but the Mirza *Pîr Mehemed*, the lawful successor, for whom they kept it." This they swore to at the end of the letter: but, three days after, the princes received advice that they had gone out to meet *Kalil Soltân*, and conduct him into *Samarkant*. Hereupon they went on to *Bekhâra*, which they put in a posture of defence. The Mirza *Kalil Soltân* entered *Samarkant* on the 27th of *April*, chosen by the astrologer *Mûlâna Bâdro'ddîn*; and took possession of the great imperial palace, where all the treasures of *Asia* were amassed. There, being seated on the throne, he received the submission of the mirzas, amirs, and principal men of the state.

As soon as he was installed, to shew he had an outward regard to *Timûr's* will, he gave the title of khân to the Mirza *Mehemed Jebân Ghîr*, son of the Mirza *Mehemed Soltân*, and nephew of the Mirza *Pîr Mehemed*, though that prince was but nine years of age: his name also was placed at the top of all the patents, and imperial orders, according to custom; altho' the Mirza *Kalil Soltân* assumed the sole disposal of every thing, as if the lawful sovereign. Two days after, the new emperor went to the kanika, where *Timûr's* tomb was, to pay his devotions, and perform the public ceremonies of mourning; at which the empresses, mirzas, amirs, and all the people, assisted in black habits. When the funeral banquet was over, the imperial drum was beaten in a doleful manner: after which, it was broken in pieces; and the Seyd *Bereke's* body being brought from *Andekûd*, *Timûr's* was placed underneath it, pursuant to his orders. *Creates a khân.*

WHEN the Mirza *Kalil Soltân* was fixed on the throne, he distributed his immense treasures profusely among the amirs, principal lords, and soldiers. This liberality, or rather prodigality, was the first cause of his ruin: the second was his violent passion for *Shâdi Mulk*, before-mentioned: for, when he found himself an absolute sovereign, he resigned every thing up to the will of this beauty, and took no pleasure but in her company; while she shewed no regard to either princes or

^c Hist. Tim. Bek, l. vi. c. 39—43. p. 405, & seqq.

A. D. 1405. nobles, but thought every one below her. What made his lavish humour the more inexcusable, was, that he squandered away his wealth on men of no worth; while persons of extraordinary merit could obtain nothing, or but a trifle. He likewise advanced several strangers of mean extraction to the first employments in the state; which alienated from him the hearts of the great amirs of his court, and generals of his armies. Besides, as *Shâdi Mulk* was inferior in rank to the deceased emperor's wives, and these latter became jealous of her growing greatness, she conceived a great aversion to them, and persuaded *Kalîl* to give them, as well as *Timâr's* concubines, in marriage to some considerable amirs; in order, as she said, the more firmly to engage them in his interest. Accordingly he disposed of those great ladies, but in a manner condemned by all men of understanding, for he forced them to marry those who were not worthy to be their porters. In effect, his actions drew on him the aversion not only of his soldiers, but all his subjects; and affairs falling into confusion by his ill management, all his grandeur came to nothing in less than four years^d.

THIS is the substance of what *Sharifo'ddin Ali* has written concerning the reign of *Kalîl Soltân*: but here we must, with regret, take leave of that well-instructed historian, to follow others who lived at too great a distance to be well acquainted with the affairs of the descendants of *Timâr*, for want of authors who were upon the spot.

His character.

KALIL Soltân was of an amiable disposition; and, being exceeding liberal, attained, without any difficulty, to the sovereignty which he aspired to. He had at his disposal the brave *Arab* and *Persian* troops, with their best commanders, who were charmed with his affability, mildness, and sincerity. He was finely shaped, and handsome; dextrous in managing his arms, and valiant: bountiful to those who served him, and always did more than he promised. He began his reign with the consent of the army: but this consent was not to be depended on. His amirs and chief officers expected that he should be attacked on all sides as soon as the severity of the season was over; and only waited opportunities to serve their respective interests. We have already mentioned the desertion and return of *Brendâk* (or *Berandâk*), of whose perfidy at that time *Kalîl Soltân* took no notice: he even heaped favours on him; but, when his affairs were settled, put to death the traitor when he least suspected, seized all his effects, and extirpated his whole family.

^d Hist. Tim. Bek, l. vi. c. 44—46. p. 413—423:

THE next who took off the mask was *Khodadâd Hufsayn*, A. D. 1405. governor of the provinces beyond the *Sihân* (or *Str*), and the frontiers of *Turkeftân*. This person was the greatest enemy the new emperor had; and had always set himself on an equality with *Timâr* himself, as being of the house of *Soltân Hufsayn*: on which account he bore the rank as sovereign in those countries. But, as *Khakî*'s affairs were quite unsettled when he passed the *Sihân*, he could do no less than keep up a friendship with him, and leave him in possession of the government which he held before. On *Khodadâd*'s revolt, those who sought an occasion to quit *Kalil Soltân*, repaired to him. Now the winter was over, *Sheykh Nûro'ddîn*, who had been one of *Timâr*'s chief adherents, went away openly, and joined the rebel. *Shâh Mâlek*, another of them, hastened afterwards from *Samarkant*, with a great noise; and, passing the *Jihân* (or *Amû*), retired to *Shâh Râkî*; who held the government of *Herât* and *Khorassân*. *Kalil Soltân*, without giving himself any uneasiness about those who abandoned him, continued to oblige such as remained in his service.*

As soon as *Allâhdâd*, governor of *Esbara* (or *Afshera*, on the frontiers of *Jetah*, towards *Mogulestân*), heard of these transactions, he consulted his friends; who advised him to leave that fortress, and return to his own country. Next day the commanders of the troops under his power repairing, according to custom, to pay him their respects, and receive his orders, he asked them privately, what was to be done in this conjuncture. As the officers left it wholly to him to direct the method, and promised to follow his orders, upon oath, he told them, his resolution was to wait on *Kalil Soltân*; and desired, in the mean time, that they would stay and watch the *Mingls*. Things being thus settled, *Allâhdâd* set forward the 17th. of *Ramazân* 807 (*), followed by his wives, children, and all that belonged to him. Taking his route thro' frost and snow, he arrived at *Kulâpajuk*, where he received a mandate from *Kalil Soltân*, ordering him not to take any step against his interest, but to remain in his post at *Esbara*. *alarmed.*

THIS order disconcerted all his measures; but, while he debated with himself what was to be done, a deputy arrived from *Kodadâd*, advising him to leave *Esbara*, and come to him as soon as possible. Nothing could arrive more opportunely, to deliver him out of the perplexity which he was in: he therefore made haste to join *Kodadâd*, who was overjoyed to see him: then passing the *Sihân* at *Kojend*, they marched to- *Joins the revolter.*

(*) A. D. 1404; which date seems to have antedated facts a must be wrong. Our author whole year.

* ARABSH. Continuat. Hist. Timûr, p. 72—82.

A. D. 1425. wards *Samarkant*. When they came to *Tifek*, they began to ravage the country with fire and sword, which had remained in peace all the reign of *Timûr* : this happened in *Shawal*, the same year 807 ; nor could *Kalîl Soltân* prevent this disorder. Mean time the troops which *Allâhdâd* had left at *Esbara*, fearing the *Mungls* might fall on them, began to consult what course to take. Some were for waiting to perform their promise ; others were for quitting that post. At length the dispute rose to such a height between the two parties, that from words they came to blows, in which one of the captains was killed. At night part of the troops left the place ; which obliged the rest to follow, with all their effects. When they arrived where *Allâhdâd* was, this amir, instead of treating them ill for disobeying his orders, began to excuse himself for not having performed his promise, on pretence of having been prevented by *Khodadâd* (†) ; and bid them stay near him till there was an opportunity of going to *Samarkant* §.

Invited by
Kalil.

THIS adventure persuading *Khodadâd* that the enmity between *Allâhdâd* and *Kalîl Soltân* was irreconcilable, he began to put confidence in him, and ask his advice. As he had intercepted a troop of servants belonging to the army, he was inclined to put them to the sword : but *Allâhdâd* alleging, that it was most prudent to use lenity, especially at setting out ; and that, by sending them away, he might gain the friendship of their masters ; he took his advice, and dismissed them courteously. After this, *Kalîl Soltân* sent a deputy to dispose *Allâhdâd* to mediate the difference between him and *Khodadâd*, promising to satisfy both their expectations. The cause of their animosity is said to be this : *Kalîl Soltân* having at first been posted in the provinces near *Khodadâd*, his grandfather ordered this latter to have an eye over him, and regulate his conduct. As *Khodadâd* was naturally rough, severe, and disagreeable, he treated the prince with rigour and harshness ; which irritated him to such a pitch, that he procured poison to be given him : but, discovering it in time, he took remedies, and escaped ; however, he felt the effect of the dose ever afterwards.

Went to Sa-
markant.

FROM that time a thorough hatred subsisted between them, which at last became public, and was the occasion of great disorders in the state. *Allâhdâd* shewed *Khodadâd* the letter of *Khalîl Soltân* ; after which, he took an oath on the korân, backed with the most horrid imprecations, “ never to quit his service, or change his party, for any other ; adding, that, “ if he went to *Samarkant*, he would do his utmost to recon-

(†) Rather *Khodaydâd*.

§ ARABSH. Continuat. Hist. Timûr, p. 83—88.

"cile the difference between him and *Kalil Soltân*; put his affairs on a good footing; and procure him *Tumâna* (C), one of the wives of *Timûr*." Having, by these and many other artifices, lulled *Khodadâd* asleep, he returned to his friends at *Shâh Rûkhîya*, two stages distant; where crossing the *Sihân*, he made what haste he could for *Samarkant*; sending before to let *Khalil Soltân* know what had passed between him and *Khodadâd*; and desiring him to send an escort to meet and protect him, in case *Khodadâd* should suspect his design, and detach troops to stop him; as actually he did: but too late; for *Allâhdâd* never halted one moment on the road, excepting to refresh a little, till he arrived at *Samarkant*."

A. D.

1405.

KALIL Soltân was overjoyed to see him; and, as the post of prime wazir was vacant (*Sheykh Nûro'ddîn* and *Shâh Mâlek*, with all the rest who were inclined to rebel, having quitted the country), he gave that important mark of his favour to *Allâhdâd*, in prejudice to all the other wazirs and grandees of the state. The new minister soon restored every thing to order, and detached troops to guard the frontiers. In the management of affairs, he was assisted by *Berendâk*, *Argûn Shâh*, and one *Kajuk*, thro' whose hands every thing passed, under his controul. Mean time *Sheykh Nûro'ddîn* and *Khodadâd* continued their ravages; and became at length masters of the frontiers of *Turkestan*, with the territories of *Sayrâm*, *Nasikand*, *Andekân*, *Khajend*, *Shâh Rûkhîya*, *Ôtrâr* (D), and *Segnâk*, besides other cities and provinces in those parts. Sometimes, crossing the *Jihân*, they wasted the country of *Great Bukhâria*: but could never get any footing there; for, *Kalil Soltân*, in his turn, passed that river, and always put them to the route^b.

WHEN the *Mungls* first heard that *Timûr* was marching towards them with an army capable of forcing its way thro' all opposition, they immediately took flight, dispersed themselves over the country, and retired, some into castles, others to the tops of inaccessible mountains. The inhabitants of *Dâsh* (E), and those to the north, withdrew likewise into deserts: but, as soon as they heard of *Timûr's* death, and the troubles which ensued in his dominions, they took heart; and, returning to their respective countries, resolved to take advantage of the present opportunity. The *Mungls* first took the

^b ARABSH. Continuat. Hist. Timûr, p. 88—94.

(C) *Tumân Aga*, the second copy, by some mistake in placing the diacritical points.

(D) Written *Anzar* in our field;

(E) Or *Dâsh* Kipjâk.

A. D. 1405. field; and, falling upon *Esbara* and *Afakol* (or *Affighul*), over-ran the provinces, till they became neighbours to *Khodaddad*, whom they obliged to deliver up all the places taken from them by *Timûr*, and then made an alliance with him.

Pir Me-
hemed
arms.

Kalil's
answer.

MEAN time *Pir Mehemed*, cousin-german of *Kalil Soltân*, to whom *Timûr* had bequeathed the succession, departing from *Kandahâr*, with a numerous army, towards *Samarhant*; sent to let *Kalil Soltân*, and all the great lords, know, that, as his grandfather had appointed him for his successor, he thought it strange that any person should seize the capital of the empire, which belonged only to him, and oppose his accession to the throne. In answer to this message, *Kalil Soltân* alleged, "that, in this conjuncture, the sovereignty was to be held either by inheritance or acquisition. If by the former, that his father *Mirân Shâh*, and uncle *Shâh Rûkh*, had a better right than either of them, and he might hold of them either by grant or deputation (F). If by the latter, that he (*Pir Mehemed*) could have no pretensions, as being at a distance, while himself was in possession: that, as to his grandfather's will, it was of no signification; for that he became master of so many countries himself by force, and actually divided them, during his life-time, among his sons and grandchildren: that, as *Pir Mehemed* had *Kandahâr* for his share, it was fit that he (*Kalil Soltân*) should hold what he had conquered; especially as the principal persons of the state had acknowledged him for their sovereign: that however, if his father and uncle allowed of his competitor's pretensions, he would no longer dispute the point with him."

Backed
with
forces.

THE lords, on their part, returned an answer to the message of *Pir Mehemed*, without either allowing or contesting his demand: only *Abdo'wall*, the chief doctor in all *Great Bukhâria*, declared in express terms, "that altho' *Pir Mehemed* was the appointed successor of *Timûr*, yet Heaven had not favoured his cause; for that, if fortune had designed him for the empire, he would have been near the capital at *Timûr's* death: that therefore his best way would be, to rest content with what God had ordained him, and not put it to the hazard, by invading the property of another, lest he should lose the substance in following the shadow." These answers were sent: but *Soltân Kalil*, judging his cause stood in need of stronger arguments, raised a powerful army, and sent it against *Pir Mehemed*, under the command of his cousin *Soltân Hussayn*; accompanied by *Kajuk*, *Argûn Shâh*,

(F) The *Persian* historians say, *Shâh Rûkh* confirmed him in the possession of the countries to the north of the *Jilân*.

Allâhdâd, and other principal *Gete* commanders. In the month of *Zulkaadeh* 807 they set forward; and, being arrived at *Bâlk*, the general pretended to be sick, and sent for all the commanders, as if to consult about the war. When they were assembled at his house, he fell upon them furiously; ordering those, whom he had placed for the purpose, to spare none who resisted. On this occasion *Yusef*, an eminent commander, who had been lieutenant at *Samarkant* in *Timûr's* absence, was slain¹. A. D. 1405.

UPON this success, Soltân *Hussayn*, who was rash and violent, passionate and *flashy*, declared himself sovereign, and got the people to acknowledge him for such. As to the officers, they were at their wits end, and knew not what to think on this occasion: however, *Allâhdâd*, recovering his senses, called out to let him know he had some good advice to give him. Then taking him aside, told him, "that he was absolutely devoted to his service: that *Kalil Soltân* had no title to the sovereignty; and that if he (Soltân *Hussayn*) had but acquainted him with his intentions, he would have disposed matters intirely agreeable to his wishes." *Hussayn*, deluded by these and the like speeches, from thenceforth put confidence in him; and first advised with him, if he should put to death his companions. *Allâhdâd* made use of several plausible reasons, to shew that it was better not to do it: and knew so well how to ply him with flattery on the weak side, that he quite diverted him from that design; yet advised him, for his better security, to keep them in fetters.

SOLTÂN *Hussayn* followed his counsel; and, having taken an oath of fidelity from them, turned back towards *Samarkant*. At the same time he sent to acquaint *Kalil Soltân*, that he was coming to claim a share of his uncle's dominions, as well as the rest, and challenged him into the field. Then taking a new oath of his commanders, set them at liberty, and restored them to their respective posts. *Kalil Soltân*, who, before this, had been informed by *Allâhdâd* of the condition they were in, immediately set forward to meet *Hussayn*; who, with his usual imprudence, gave the command of his right wing to *Allâhdâd*, and that of the left to his two companions. When the two armies met, and were ready to engage, all those commanders went over to *Kalil Soltân*; so that his competitor, finding himself abandoned, fled into *Khorassân*, to his cousin *Shâh Râkâ*, where he soon after died, whether a natural death, or by poison, is not known².

¹ ARABSHAH, Cont. Hist. Tim. p. 94—103.
p. 103—108.

² Ibid.

A. D. 1405. MEAN time *Pir Mehemed* continued his march, and came at length to *Nakhsab* (G), where, soon after, *Kalil Soltân* advanced against him with all his forces; and, after a bloody battle, fought on the 2d of *Ramazân* 808, put him to flight, and took all his family prisoners. This victory got him a great reputation, and seemed to establish him on the throne; while *Jalâlo'ddawlet*, son of Soltân *Ahmed*, of *Bâghdâd*, who had been delivered out of prison by *Kalil*, laid hold of the juncture, and made his escape to *Irâk*, which, it was said, had thrown off the yoke of the *Jagatays*. On the other side, *Pir Mehemed*, being returned to *Kandahâr*, raised fresh forces; and, repassing the *Jihân*, resolved once more to try the force of arms. But his troops turned their backs almost as soon as the signal was given for battle; and he fled himself for safety to a neighbouring castle called *Shaduman* (H). As the enemy immediately invested the place, and he had not men enough to defend it, he caused the common people to mount the walls; who, being accoutred with sham armour, made for the occasion, were taken for soldiers by the besiegers. This artifice was of service for some time: but, being at length discovered, he found there was no way left for him but to ask quarter; which was granted: and both parties came to an agreement, under oath, to relinquish all claim to each other's territories, and live together in amity for the future.

Gives up
his claim.

His country-
tryusarp'd. *PIR Mehemed*, upon this, returned to his own dominions: but had not been there long, before *Pir Alitâza*, his wazir, who had been with him in both his expeditions, rebelled against him, and took the field with those of his party. *Pir Mehemed* marched against him with his troops; but was defeated, and taken prisoner. After which, the rebel wazir, to sound the great men of the state, told them in ambiguous terms, "that, the affairs of the world being in great confusion, there appeared manifest signs that the last day was at hand: this," says he, is the time of antichrists; the deceivers and impostors bear the sway. *Timâr* is gone, who was the lame deceiver. This is the time of the *Bald Impostor*; after whom, the blind deceiver will come. If the *Bald* must reign, I am He." As nobody returned an answer to his satisfaction, he summoned the governors of provinces, to see what he could do with them: but, altho' he applied to them in a very humble manner, they paid no regard to his suit; giving him to understand, that each of them thought himself as deserving of the sovereignty as he. The wazir, finding that

(G) Called also *Nafes*, and (H) *Khasr Shaduman*, or the castle of *Shaduman*.

he could not gain his point, without any more ado, repaired to the sultân of *Herât*: but *Shâh Rûkh*, instead of giving him a kind reception, punished him for his perfidy; and afterwards marched to conquer the country of *Kandahâr*, which submitted to him without making any opposition¹.

A. D.

1405.

It was in the same year that the *Tatars* of *Rûm*, who were Kara put into the hands of *Argûn Shâh* (I), took the field, and at- Tatars tempted to break their captivity. They crossed the *Jihûn* *revolt.* over the ice; and left *Karazm*, in order to return to their own country: but the inhabitants every-where opposing their flight, and being no better united among themselves than the troops of *Irâk* were before, the same fate happened to them; that is, they remained dispersed thro' the country.

AFTERWARDS *Idekas* (*), descending from the north with an army as numerous as the sands, entered the provinces of *Khowarazm* (or *Karazm*), of which *Mûsika* (K) was then governor. This man, affrighted at the approach of the *Tatars*, abandoned the country, and left it to the invader; who, then advancing with his cavalry towards *Bokhâra*, ravaged the neighbouring territory, and returned, after having chased the *Getes* (L), and put them in great fear. He gave the government of *Karazm* to one named *Ankas*; after which, these parts remained in peace.

WHILE *Kalil Soltân* was employed with his forces against *Kalil Pîr Mehemed*, *Khodadâd* and *Sheykh Nûro'ddîn*, taking ad- Soltân's vantage of his absence, approached *Samarkant*: but, not *succ. f.* daring to attack the city, which shut its gates against them, they ravaged the neighbouring lands, and then withdrew. *Kalil*, at his return, gave his troops a little rest; and then set forward, with a numerous army, to ravage their territories in his turn. On his arrival at the *Sihûn* (or *Sîr*), *Shâh Rûkhîya* and *Kojend* surrendered immediately. He then turned towards *Tâshkunt*; which, after a short siege, likewise submitted. These obstacles being removed, he marched in pursuit of his two enemies, who still fled before him, waiting for an opportunity to surprise him, which at length had like to have happened: for, one night, at a place called *Sarbekhân*, advancing alone before the baggage, they, on notice given by their spies, who were always in his army, sent out a troop to

¹ ARABSH. ubi sup. p. 109—119.

(I) These were the *Kara Tatars* spoken of before, p. 347.

(*) Or *Idekâ*, made khân of *Kipjâk* by *Timûr*. See p. 112.

(K) He was appointed governor by *Timûr* in 1391.

(L) By *Getes*, or *Jetab*, here are to be understood the forces under *Kalil Soltân*.

meet

A. D. 1405. meet and take him : but, luckily, a party of his cavalry, who were separated from the rest, coming up at the same time, he escaped that imminent danger ; after which, the enemy dispersing themselves thro' the deserts, he gave over the chace, and returned to his dominions¹.

Sheykh
Nûro'd-
dîn re-
turns.

MEAN time, as the friendship between *Khodadâd* and *Sheykh Nûro'ddîn* was not very solid, they fell at variance, each aspiring to the sole command. At length the latter, retiring toward *Sagnâk*, made himself master of it ; and soon after, sent to ask *Kalil Soltân's* pardon for his past fault, desiring to be restored to his favour. *Kalil* readily granted his demand ; and, to assure him of his good-will, sent him *Tumâna*, one of *Timûr's* wives ; after which, they continued in friendship during his reign. But, after *Shâh Rûkh* had established his power in *Samarkant*, *Shâh Mâlek* went to *Sagnâk*, under pretence of paying him a visit, and renewing their antient friendship. Mutual oaths of sincerity having been taken, *Sheykh Nûro'ddîn*, at the request of the other, came out of the castle on horseback, to give him an interview. After they had embraced, and talked awhile in an amicable manner, *Shâh Mâlek* retired to his troop ; where he staid till his men went and paid their respects to *Sheykh Nûro'ddîn*. Among the rest, there was one *Argudak*, a very big and strong man, whom *Shâh Mâlek* had engaged to perpetrate his design. When this person came up, he kissed *Nûro'ddîn's* hand ; but at the same time, seizing him by the neck, pulled him off his horse ; and, throwing him on the ground, cut off his head in sight of all his people. When *Shâh Rûkh* heard of this treacherous action, he was greatly grieved ; and cursed *Shâh Mâlek*, whom he reproached in bitter terms. As for *Argudak*, he ordered him to be bastonadoed severely in public ; and was a long time before he would see either of them.

Treache-
rously slain.

Termed
rebuilt.

Hej. 810.

A. D.

1407.

IN the month of *Safar* 810, *Kalil Soltân* sent a party of soldiers, under the command of *Allâhdâd*, and some other captains, to rebuild *Termed*, which had lain in ruins ever since the time of *Jenghîz Khân*. These commanders, dividing the work among them, not only raised the walls to a height not to be scaled ; but also built houses, and other places, fit for inhabitants, within the space of fifteen days. After this, they gave notice to the descendants of the antient possessors, to come and dwell in the new city (M) : but these people,

¹ ARABSHAH, ubi sup. p. 96. and 120—122.

(M) The old city was built on the neighbouring country, and an eminence which commanded the *Jilûn* ran at the foot of the rock,

people, having settled themselves in the gardens and plains of the old town, which was about a league distant, chose rather to continue where they were. Hereupon *Allâhdâd* caused proclamation to be made thro' the country, for peopling the city; granting the property of the houses to those who first should take possession of them: by which means, in a little time, *New Termed* was filled with inhabitants, and soon became a flourishing city.

A. D.
1407.

As soon as *Shâh Rûkh* heard of this proceeding, he sent a *Shâh* troop also under *Marzab*, brother of *Jehân Shâh*, with orders, *Rûkh's* in like manner, to rebuild the castle named the *Fort of the power. Indians*, which stood in the extreme end of *Khorassân*, on the *Jibân*, opposite to *Termed*. The fort was finished without any interruption from *Allâhdâd*, who always lived in peace and friendship with *Marzab*.

AFTER this, Soltân *Ahmed* and *Kara Yûsef* returned amicably to *Irâk Arabi*; and, while the former re-established himself at *Bâghdâd*, the latter made war upon the *Getes* (N): from whom he conquered the province of *Azerbejân*, after he had defeated their armies, and slain the *Mirza Mirân Shâh*, as will be set forth hereafter. As for *Persian Irâk*, it was at peace under the sovereignty of *Pîr Omar*: but one of his near relations, named *Eskânder*, rebelled against him, and seized the throne, after defeating, and taking him prisoner. Hereupon *Shâh Rûkh* marched to attack the usurper; whom, having seized, he put to death, and took possession of his dominions. By this conquest all *Ajem* (O) fell under the power of *Shâh Rûkh*, who enjoyed the whole without a rival; his father having, in his life-time, cut off all the princes of note in that large country, who might have given him any disturbance^m.

THERE seems to be some mistake in this account of *Arab-Affairs of Shâh*, with relation to the affairs of *Persian Irâk*; at least, it does not agree with the memoirs or extracts which we meet with from other authors. It has been observed in the reign of *Timûr Bek*, that he had invested his third son *Mirân Shâh* with the government of *Azerbejân*, *Rûm* (or *Anatolia*), with *Syria*, as far as *Egypt*: but, on that prince's losing his understanding by a fall, he, in 1404, transferred that grant to *Omar*

^m ARABSH. ubi sup. p. 122—128.

rock on which its walls were built: but the new city stood on a flat, and at a distance from the river. *Arabshâh*.

(N) So *Arabshâh* terms those whom others call *Jagatays*, that

is, the troops of *Timûr* and his descendants.

(O) That is, the country of the barbarians; so the *Arab* call *Irân*, or *Persia* at large.

A. D.
1407.

Mirza, second son of *Mirân Shâh*; with this farther authority, that the governments of *Persian Irâk* and *Pârs* (or *Proper Persia*), then in the hands of *Rustem*, and his brother *Pîr Mehemed*, should be subject to him. On *Timûr*'s death, while *Kalîl Soltân* and *Pîr Mehemed* were struggling for the succession, *Omar* attacked his elder brother *Abûbekr*, who, in 1403, had *Bâghdâd* and *Irâk Arabi* granted him; and, having surprised him at *Soltâniya*, in *Persian Irâk*, took him prisoner: but *Abûbekr* made his escape, and, gathering forces, obliged *Omar Mirza* to fly to *Shâh Rûkh*, in *Khorassân*. *Shâh Rûkh*, to make him amends for the loss of his dominions, gave him *Astarabâd* and *Mazânderân* for his support: but, being of a restless temper, *Shâh Rûkh* was constrained to bring him to reason by force of arms. *Omar* fled, designing to get to *Samarkant*: but, being pursued by the sultan's troops, he was overtaken at the river *Morgâb*, some leagues to the north of *Herât*, where he was slainⁿ. The *Pîr Omar* of *Arabshâh* is, doubtless, the *Omar Mirza* of the *Persian* historians. That author seems to have mistaken *Ali Eskânder*, son of *Omar Sheykh* (to whom, in 805, *Timûr* gave the government of *Hamadân*, and the adjacent territories^o), for *Abûbekr*, brother of *Omar Mirza*; and the death of *Eskânder* for that of *Omar*. Our extracts from the *Persian* historians do not say *Shâh Rûkh* seized *Omar*'s dominions, either on the flight or death of that prince; yet, as we find him in possession of *Persian Irâk*, at the time he took possession of the countries beyond the *Jihûn*, it may be presumed, that he became master of it one of those times.

Troubles
at Samar-
kant.

ABOUT this time all the strangers, who had for many years past flocked to *Samarkant*, began to abandon it, on account of the scarcity and dearness of provisions: Some retired, with leave, to their respective countries: others went away by stealth. At length, plenty returning, the inhabitants enjoyed the sweets of peace: but this tranquillity did not long subsist. *Kalîl Soltân* had married *Shâdi Malk*, the relict of *Amir Sayfo'ddîn* before-mentioned; and so doated on her, that he let her do whatever she pleased, and transacted nothing without her advice. This princess had an antient servant, named *Bâba Termes*, a person of mean descent, with squinting eyes, and a face full of pimples, rude and ill-bred. As, on her advancement, her domestics shared in her good fortune, *Bâba Termes*, who was the chief of them, became a great man.

ⁿ D'HERBEL. bibl. orient. p. 20. & 693. art. *Abubekr* & *Omar Mirza*. • See before, p. 357.

From

From the management of his mistress's affairs, he by degrees rose to the most important employments of the state; and at length disposed of all things at pleasure, without any regard either to *Allâhdâd* or *Argûn Shâh*, whose orders he often set aside.

A. D.

1407.

THESE two lords, enraged to be treated in such a manner *Soltân* by this upstart, on consulting how to remedy the evil, could Kalil think of no better expedient, than to make their case known *betrayed* to *Khodadâd*, and advise him to march his forces towards *Samarkant*; assuring him that he might do it, without the least danger. *Khodadâd* accordingly set forward, marching slowly till he came to *Ourataba*. As soon as *Kalil Soltân* heard of this movement, he assembled a numerous army, and sent it against the enemy, under the command of *Allâhdâd* and *Argûn Shâh*. These generals took the field: but, instead of fighting the rebels, they sent for more forces; and at length intreated *Kalil Soltân* to come himself in person, as the surest means to repulse the enemy. The deluded prince, suspecting no treachery, immediately set forward with his courtiers; of which *Allâhdâd* gave notice to *Khodadâd*: who thereupon, marching in the night, came up with *Kalil Soltân's* train, near *Soltâniya*, a little city built by *Timâr*; and surrounded them, before they were apprised of their danger.

THE prince and his attendants did not fail to make a valiant defence: but, as they were only a handful of men, they *Is taken prisoner* were soon defeated; and, after most of them had been slain, *Kalil Soltân* fell into the hands of his enemy, who carried him to his camp. When he was arrived there, *Khodadâd* protested, with the most solemn oaths, that he had no design to hurt him in the least; and that he would soon give him an incontestable proof of his sincerity. In the mean time he desired *Kalil Soltân* to send orders to *Allâhdâd*, and those he commanded to surrender, without making any resistance; which was accordingly done. *Khodadâd*, being by this means become master of all the forces of the country, began his march towards *Samarkant*, without taking notice of *Allâhdâd*, and those of his party; who now, too late, found that he was deceived in his hopes, and ruined beyond redress. This revolution happened in the year 812.

As soon as *Khodadâd* arrived at *Samarkant*, he turned every *Khoday*-thing upside down, and let nothing remain which had been *dâd usurps* established. He made his son, named *Allâhdâd*, to assume the

A. D. 1407. title of *Soltân* (P), before witnesses; and, in short, intirely changed the state of affairs. When this news was brought to *Shâh Râkh*, he was greatly moved; and, resolving to revenge the affront done to his father's house, issued orders for assembling all his forces. Mean time he detached *Shâh Mâlek*, with a powerful army, to stop the progress of the rebellion; and followed himself soon after, with the rest of his troops. *Khodadâd*, on advice of this formidable march, knowing himself not able to resist such a power, and fearing either to be deserted, or delivered up by his followers, thought it best to provide for his safety in time. Accordingly, after he had seized all the treasure he could find, and packed up as much rich furniture as he could conveniently carry off, he set out for *Andekân*; leaving *Allâhdâd*, *Argûn Shâh*, and *Bâba Termes*, shut up in the castle of *Samarkant*, not caring to embarrass himself with their company.

Flies from Samarkant, BUT, altho' he took *Kalîl Soltân* along with him, he left his dearly-beloved *Shâdi Mulk* behind, whom he had reduced from her state of grandeur to a very low condition. After his departure, the people, being left without a commander, took care of their own interests the best they could. *Allâhdâd* and *Argûn Shâh* were desirous to march out, and meet *Shâh Râkh*, who now approached the city: but *Abdo'lwâl*, followed by the rabble, would not permit them. This doctor had great authority among the populace; and, during the short interregnum, disposed of things at pleasure. He continually incensed the people against *Allâhdâd* and his associates, till such time as *Shâh Mâlek* and *Shâh Râkh* arrived. As soon as this prince drew near *Samarkant*, the citizens went out to meet him; and, with joyful acclamations, conducted him into the city, where he quickly set things in order. As to *Allâhdâd* and his colleagues, he caused them to be seized; and put to death, after they had undergone the most cruel torments: only *Bâba Termes* was respited for some time longer, that he might receive the punishment in this life due to his crimes. But he eluded their design: for one day, pretending that he had hidden treasure in a certain place, when he came to a deep pond, which lay in the road, he on a sudden wrested himself out of the hands of his guards, and jumped into the water, where he was drowned in their sight⁹.

⁹ ARABSH. ubi sup. p. 135—141..

(P) Perhaps it should be *khân*; succession of the line of *Jenghiz* for *Kalîl* had also made a *khân*, *Khân*, to keep up the appearance of a

WHEN things were a little settled, *Shâh Rûkh* went to visit the tomb of his father; where he caused all the funeral ceremonies to be performed as had been done before. After this, he ordered most part of the rich moveables, the arms, and other things of value, which were in the sepulchre, to be carried into the magazines; plundering the treasures, and searching the most secret places for hidden wealth. At length his officers seized on *Shâdi Mulk*, and made her suffer a thousand indignities: they tortured her, to discover her effects; and, when they had gotten all from her, led her in chains thro' the streets, shouting after her as an infamous woman. Mean time *Khodadâd*, being come to *Andekân*, entered into an agreement with *Kalil Soltân*, and promised never to do him any injury for the future; assuring him withal, that this disgrace had never happened to him, but thro' the perfidy of *Allâhdâd* and *Argûn Shâh*. He urged this discovery as a proof of his sincerity; and, tho' he put the prince in mind of his attempt to poison him, yet declared he was so far from revenging it, that he would do his utmost to re-establish him in his dominions.

AFTER this *Khodadâd* caused the kotbah to be made in Khoda- the name of *Kalil Soltân*, throughout *Turkestân*; and then; *dâd slain*. leaving him at *Andekân*, departed, in order to demand succours of the *Mungls* (Q) in his behalf. The *Mungls*, as hath been observed before, had, on the death of *Timûr*, come to an agreement with *Khodadâd*: they likewise sent ambassadors, with rich presents, to *Kalil Soltân*; who received them with great civility, and dismissed them loaded with favours. As this amity was strictly cultivated afterwards with the *Mungls*, as soon as *Khodadâd* arrived among them, they seized his person, and sent advice thereof to *Kalil Soltân*; acquainting him, "that they were ready to obey his commands, either in putting *Khodadâd* to death, as the author of his present misfortunes; or sending, by him, the succours which he had desired in his name." *Kalil Soltân*, in answer to this message of the *Mungls*, set forth the miserable condition to which that amir had reduced him; adding, "that he now placed him (the prince) as a buckler before him, to ward off the strokes of his own bad fortune." Then he told them, "that, as they knew better than he what designs *Khodadâd*

(Q) The *Persian* historians say, that *Khodadâd* called in *Shamâ Jebân*, king of the *Mungls*, to take possession of *Kalil Soltân's* dominions: but that the

Mungl prince punished the traitor, and sent his head to *Shâh Rûkh*. *D'Herbel. bibl. orient. p. 770. art. Schah Rokh.*

A. D. 1407. "had in view; he therefore left it to them, to act in the as-
fair as they should judge most expedient."

Kalil
Soltân
resigns.

ON the receipt of this answer, the *Mungls* immediately cut off that commander's head, and sent it to *Kalil Soltân*; who thenceforward continued on the frontiers of *Turkeftân*, amusing himself with composing elegies, in *Persian*, on the absence of his beloved *Shâdi Mulk*, in terms capable of moving the very rocks. At length, no longer able to support his uneasiness, he marched with his troops towards *Samarkant*, and put himself into the hands of his uncle. *Shâh Rûkh* received him with honour; and, without speaking of the evils that were past, delivered up to him the chief object of his affections. After this, leaving at *Samarkant* his son *Olugh Bek*, to govern that province, he returned to *Khorassân*; carrying with him *Kalil Soltân*, to whom he afterwards gave the command of the country dependant on *Ray* (R): but he did not enjoy that settlement long; for he soon after died, by means of a dose which his uncle caused to be given to him privately; and, by his death, put an end to the troubles in which the country had been involved. *Shâdi Mulk*, unable to bear this new affliction, thrust a poignard thro' her throat; and was buried at *Ray*, in the same tomb with her unfortunate consort.

CHAP. VII.

The Reign of Shâh Rûkh.

2. Shâh
Rûkh.

BY this conquest, or rather voluntary submission, of *Great Bukhâria*, *Shâh Rûkh* became peaceable possessor of the greater part of the empire of his father *Timûr*: for, besides that large region, he was master of *Karazm*, *Khorassân*, *Kazvabâr*, and part of *Hindûstân*, *Jorjân*, *Mazânderân*, *Persian Irâk*, *Pârs*, *Kermân*; and, in short, all the country of *Irân*, or *Persia* at large, as far as the province of *Azerbeijân*, which was then in subjection to *Kara Yusuf* the *Turkmân*¹. Hence it appears, that *Shâh Rûkh*, when *Kalil Soltân* resigned the succession to him, was not possessed of much above half of his father's empire to the south of the *Jihân*, or *Amû*: tho' it must be confessed, that the countries to the west of *Persian*

¹ ARABESQ. ubi sup. p. 141—145.

² Ibid. p. 146.

(R) The *Persian* historians say, that he gave him the provinces of *Persian Irâk* and *Azerbeijân* in exchange for the provinces to the north of the *Jihân*, with which he invested *Uluk Beg*, or *Oluk Bek*. D'Herbelot, bibl. orient. p. 770. art. Schah Rokh.

Irâk were not intirely subject to that conqueror; who, in 805, divided them among the three eldest sons of *Mirân Shâh*; *Abûbekr*, *Omar*, and *Kahl Soltân*, just now mentioned. To the first he gave *Arabian Irâk*; *Omar* was invested with *Azerbeïjan*, *Rûm* or *Anatolia*, and *Syria*, as set forth in the reign of *Kahl Soltân*; who had for his share *Armenia*, *Arrân*, *Georgia*, and *Trabizond*. It may be proper, therefore, in this place, to inquire how the dominions granted to these three princes came to be lost.

2. Shâh
Rûkh.
A. D.
1402.

WHEN *Timûr* made a grant of *Arabian Irâk* to *Abûbekr*, it ~~was~~ then in the hands of *Kara Yûsef*; who, on his return ~~from~~ *Irâk*: from *Syria*, whither he had fled from the arms of *Timûr*, had seized it, on some disgust against Soltân *Ahmed*, whom he drove out of the province^a: but *Abûbekr*, advancing with a superior force, obliged the *Turkmân* to abandon *Irâk*; and rebuilt *Bâghdâd*, according to his grandfather's directions. After *Timûr*'s death, *Omar Mîrza*, coveting to join his brother *Abûbekr*'s territories to his own, made war upon him; and, having surprised him in the city of *Soltânîya* (in *Persian Irâk*) took him prisoner. By this means *Irâk* fell into the hands of *Omar*, with the city of *Bâghdâd*, its capital^b. Soon after, Soltân *Ahmed*, whom, with *Kara Yûsef*, the soltân of *Egypt* had set at liberty, on receiving news of the death of *Timûr*, got privately into *Bâghdâd*, with some of his friends, in disguise; and, exciting a sedition against *Omar*'s governor, the people drove out the latter, and proclaimed *Ahmed* soltân.

MEAN time *Abûbekr*, escaping out of prison, raised forces, and drove *Omar* out of his dominions, which he soon became master of; and, while he was employed at the siege of *Ispâhân*, towards the end of the year 808, the Amîr *Ibrâhîm*, coming out of *Shîrwân* (A), seized the city of *Tauris*: but was soon obliged to quit it on the approach of Soltân *Ahmed*, who thus was re-established in all his dominions. However, *Ibrâhîm* having, in 809, reduced *Ispâhân* (B), soon obliged *Ahmed* to quit *Tauris*, and retire to *Bâghdâd*; and, *Omar*

Recovered
by Abû-
bekr.

A. D.
1405.

^a See Vol. VI, p. 103, & seq.
orient. p. 20. & 693. art. Aboubekr & Omar Mirza.

^b D'HERR. bibl.

(A) This seems to be *Sheykh Ibrâhîm*, king of *Shîrwân*, spoken of lower down: but indeed there is so great defectiveness and confusion either in the original authors, or those who have given us the abstracts, that 'tis scarce possible to make the hi-

story of any of these princes consistent either with that of the rest, or with itself.

(B) Perhaps *Ibrâhîm* is put here, by mistake, for *Abûbekr*; or was an assistant to the latter, who, we find, but a little before besieged the same city.

2. Sháh Rûkh. being soon after slain in *Khorassân*, by the troops of *Sháh Rûkh*, *Abûbekr*, by his death, remained in peaceable possession of *Tauris*. But this prince, though brave, was unfortunate, and did not long enjoy either his own or his brother *Omar*'s territories: for *Kara Yûsef* (who, as soon as he was freed from his *Egyptian* bondage, had, with his *Turkmâns*, seized great part of *Arabian Irâk*, and *Al Jazîreh*, or *Mesopotamia*), taking advantage of these divisions which reigned among those princes, entered *Azerbejân* with fresh and warlike troops, in order to conquer it. *Abûbekr* hereupon advanced with his forces to repel the invader; and, in 810, fought two battles with the *Turkmâns*, on the banks of the *Euphrates* (C): both which he lost; and, in the first, his father *Mirân Sháh*, who accompanied him in that expedition, was slain.

A. D.
1407.

Conquered
by Kara
Yûsef;

AFTER the last defeat, *Abûbekr* fled to the province of *Kermân*, and from thence to that of *Sajestân*, or *Sistân*; where having raised forces, he set out to return, with design to make head against the *Turkmâns*, and drive them out of *Azerbejân*: but, in his way back, he was killed (D). Mean time *Kara Yûsef* went on with his conquests; and, in two or three years, made himself master of that province. Then, leaving *Tauris* in a good posture of defence, he marched against *Kara Ozmân Bayandûri* (of the *White Sheep* dynasty), who was then possessed of *Diýarbekr*; which, on the other's approach, he abandoned^d. During his absence, Soltân *Ahmed*, not able to bear the loss of *Azerbejân*, which he considered as his patrimony, in 812 he set forwards; and, the next year, surprised *Tauris*, without meeting any resistance. *Kara Yûsef* no sooner received advice of this ill turn which the soltân had done him, than he marched against him with a puissant army, and overthrew him two leagues from *Tauris*; in such a manner, that

^c MIRKOND & KONDAMIR ap. D'Herbel. p. 20. & 150. art. Aboubekr and Avis; also TEXEIRA, p. 321. 324. ^d Ibid.

(C) Probably in the neighbourhood of *Bâghdâd*, or *Hella*: yet *Texeira* (from *Mirkond*) p. 324. mentions a battle fought near *Nakhshîwân* (near the river *Arrâs*), which *Abûbekr* lost; whereupon the city of *Tauris* fell into the hands of *Kara Yûsef*.

(D) This is according to *Texeira*, who has given an abstract of *Mirkond*'s history: but *D'Her-*

belot, who quotes both *Mirkond* and *Kondamir*, in the article of *Abûbekr*, says, he died in *Sajestân*, after having raised forces to no purpose: yet, in that of *Kara Yûsef*, relates, that the *Turkmân* first slew *Abûbekr* near *Nakhshîwân*, and afterwards his father *Mirân Sháh*. This disagreement must proceed from inadvertence in the extractor,

Abstract

Ahmed had scarce time to hide himself in a garden : where, ^{2. Shâh} being discovered, he was put to death, at the instigation of ^{Rûkh.} the lords of *Irâk*, who were incensed against him, in the same year 813.

AFTER this, in 815, *Kara Yûsef*, entering *Georgia*, slew with other *Constantine* the king ; and brought *Sheykh Ibrâhîm*, king of *Shîrwân*, prisoner to *Tauris* *. From what has been said, it appears, that this *Turkmân* made himself master of great part of the countries which *Timûr* had given to his grandchildren *Omar Mirza* and *Kalîl Soltân* ; who seems to have abandoned his, to secure the succession at *Samarkant*. And it may be presumed that the rest of them returned in subjection to their former lords ; as *Syria* to the sultan of *Egypt*, and *Rûm* (or *Anatolia*) to the *Othmân* emperors ; or else were seized by the neighbouring princes. However that was, *Kara Yûsef*, extending his conquests eastward, took *Soltânîya*, *Kasbîn*, and other cities in *Persian Irâk* : while *Shâh Rûkh*, tho' desirous to resent this injury, as well as revenge the death of his brother *Mirân Shâh* ; yet, being employed about other affairs, was not at leisure to oppose him, till the year 821 ; when he set out with a powerful army, to attack his dominions. As soon as this news was brought to *Kara Yûsef*, who was then marched toward *Antâb*, a city of *Syria*, near *Hâleph*, he desisted from that enterprise, and turned back to meet the sultan : but died on the way, at *Ojân*, or *Ujân*, near *Tauris* †. Others say, that he defeated the *Turkmân* in three battles ‡. After his death, in 824, *Amîr Eskânder*, son of *Kara Yûsef*, continued the war against *Shâh Rûkh* ; by whom being overthrown in *Diyârbekr*, he retired towards the *Euphrates*, while the victor marched to *Tauris* : but, being denied entrance by the inhabitants, and thinking his stay would be to no purpose, returned to *Khorassân* ; upon which *Eskânder* came back to his capital.

IN 828 this prince advanced to *Soltânîya*, and took it ; of which *Shâh Rûkh* being informed, he marched again to *Tauris*, where he routed *Eskânder*, who retired towards *Rûmestân* (or *Anatolia*). For all this, *Shâh Rûkh* could not make himself master of that city. Hereupon he returned to *Khorassân*, to recruit his army ; and then marched back to *Ray* in *Irâk*, which he took. There *Jehân Shâh*, brother of *Eskânder*, coming to wait on, was reconciled to, him, and received the investiture of *Azerbejân*, for which he became his tributary. On this grant, he armed against *Eskânder*, and defeated him ; who, flying to *Alenjâk*, was there killed by his own son in 841. Altho' the

Opposed by
Shâh
Rûkh.
A. D.
1418.

The sol-
tan's vic-
tories,
Hej. 828.
A. D.
1424.

A. D.
1437.

* D'HERBEL. p. 150, & seq. art. Avis.

† TEXEIRA,

F: 321.

‡ D'HERB. art. Shâh Rûkh, p. 770.

2. *Shâh Rûkh*. reign of *Shâh Rûkh* has been written in great detail by the oriental historians (E), and is full of great events; yet little more relating to that prince has yet come to our knowledge.

and other
acts. NOTWITHSTANDING *Pir Mehemed Jêhân Ghôr* was appointed *Timâr's* successor, and *Kalil Soltân* actually possessed the capital of his empire, with the provinces north of the *Jihân*, for four years together; yet *Shâh Rûkh* is by historians reckoned the immediate successor of that conqueror, and the beginning of his reign put in 807. The year after, he rebuilt the famous fortress or castle of *Herât*, where he then reigned, named *Ektiârô'ddin*, which his father had destroyed, and employed 7000 men about that work: he likewise re-edified the walls of the city itself, and those of *Marâ*, which had lain in ruins ever since the time of *Jenghiz Khân*.

Whence
named. THIS prince is called by historians *Mirza Shâh Rûkh*, or *Shâh Rûkh Mirza*; also *Shâh Rûkh Bahâdr*, or the valiant. He was named *Shâh Rûkh* by his father *Timâr*, because he received the news of the birth of this prince at the time when he was playing at chess; and had made the stroke which the *Persians* call *Shâh Rûkh*, that is, when the *Rûkh*, which we call the *Tower*, and some the *Knight*, has given *Chec* to the king.

His death, *SHAH Rûkh* died in the year 850, in the city of *Ray*, or
Hej. 850. *Rey* (in *Persian Irâk*), after he had lived seventy-one years, or thereabouts, and reigned forty. He had five sons; *Ulug Beg*,

A. D.
1446. who succeeded him, *Abû'l Fetâh Ibrâhîm*, *Baysankar*, *Soyûrgatmish*, and *Mohammed Jâki*. All these princes, excepting the eldest, died during the life-time of their father. *Abû'l Fetâh Ibrâhîm* governed *Pârs* (or *Proper Persia*), for the space of twenty years, and died in 838. This prince left in *Shîràz*, the capital, several monuments, which have preserved his memory: among others, a famous madrasah, or college, which bears the name of *Dâr al Sâfu*, that is, the house of joy and pleasure. There are extant several little poems, as well as inscriptions, of this prince's composing; and it was to him that *Shârfô'ddin Ali Yezdi*, who is reckoned the most elegant of all the *Persian* historians, dedicated the history of *Timâr*, intitled, *Dhâffer* or *Zâffer Nâme*, that is, the *Book of Victories*, which was written by his order, in the year 828, of which we have given the abstract.

(E) His history was written at large by *Shârfô'ddin Ali*, author of the history of *Timâr Bek*. (See Vol. II. p. 428.); also by *Abd olrazzak ebn Jalâlô'ddin Is-hâk al Samarkandi*; a translation

of which was expected from the hands of the late M. Galland, but never appeared. See *D'Herbel. bibl. orient.* p. 770. art. *Schah Rokh*.

MIRZA *Bayfankar*, or *Bayfanger*, who died the year before 2. *Shāh Rākh*.
 is brother *Ibrāhīm*, left three sons; *Mirza Alāo'ddawlet*, Sol-
 in *Mohammed Mirza*, father of *Radighiar*, and *Mirza Bāb*
Abū'l Kassēm. *Saydargatmish* commanded in the country of
Sāznāb and the *Indies*. He died before his two elder bro-
 hers, in the year 830.

MIRZA *Mohammed Jāki*, the fifth and last son of *Shāh Rākh*
 mentioned by historians, died in 848, two years only before
 the death of his father³.

The Reign of Ulug Beg, his Son Abdo'llatif, and *Sokhā*
 Abdo'llah,

UPON the death of *Shāh Rākh*, in 851, the empire of 3. *Ulug Beg*.
Timūr fell again into division: for his three grandchildren, the
 sons of *Bayfankar*, his third son, seized each a share. *Alāo'ddawlet*,
 the eldest, possessed himself of *Khorassān*; *Mohammed*, the second,
 kept *Persian Irāk* and *Pārs*, of which he was governor; and *Abū'l Kassēm Bāb*
 did the like by *Jorjān* and *Mazānderān*: so that nothing remained to *Mirza Moham-*
med Jāki, surnamed *Ulug Beg*, or the great lord, eldest son
 and successor of *Shāh Rākh*, excepting the countries to the
 north of the river *Jihān* (or *Amā*) and *Turkesthān*; which he
 had governed for near forty years before, that is, during the
 whole reign of his father in those countries.

As soon as *Alāo'ddawlet* heard of the death of his grandfa-
 ther, he seized on *Herāt*, the capital of *Khorassān*, under pre-
 tence of commanding there in behalf of his uncle *Ulug Beg*.
 He there found great treasures, which he plundered; and de-
 tained as prisoner the person of *Abdo'llatif*, *Ulug Beg's* eldest
 son, who was yet very young. Hereupon *Ulug Beg* sent am-
 bassadors to his nephew, to treat of peace, and get *Abdo'llatif*
 out of his hands. But this peace lasted but a short space: for
Ulug Beg, not being able to suffer *Alāo'ddawlet* to remain in
 possession of *Khorassān*, to which he had better pretensions
 himself, advanced the year following, with his two sons, *Ab-*
do'llatif and *Abdo'lazīz*, at the head of a powerful army, to
 attack him; and, meeting him at *Morgāb*, fourteen parasangs
 from *Herāt*, gave him battle. *Alāo'ddawlet*, not able to with-
 stand the shock of his uncle's arms, was defeated, and retired
 to his brother *Bāb*; while *Ulug Beg* entered triumphantly
 into *Herāt*, and ascended the throne of his father *Shāh Rākh*.

HOWEVER, he did not remain long in peace there: for the 2. Defeats
 two brothers, *Alāo'ddawlet* and *Bāb*, having assembled a con- the bro-
 thers.

3. *Ulug Beg.*

considerable army, resolved, if possible, to drive him out of *Khorassân*. *Ulug Beg*, on this advice, marched from *Herât* against them, and forced them to abandon *Astarabâd*, which they had already mastered; and obliged them to take shelter with their other brother, *Soltân Mohammed*, who reigned in *Persian Irâk*. *Ulug Beg*, content with having put them to flight, returned also to *Herât*, where his presence was very necessary: for, in his absence, the inhabitants of the suburbs of that great city had revolted, and placed at their head *Yâ Ali*, the *Turkmân*, son of *Eskânder*, and grandson of *Kara Yâsef*, mentioned in the reign of *Shâh Râkh*, with a design to make themselves masters of *Herât*: but the victorious prince returned time enough to chastise them for their rebellion, and gave the pillage of the suburbs to his troops. This was in the year 852; after which, he returned to his royal city of *Samarkant*.

Hcj. 852.
A. D.

1448.
Slain by
his son.

THE absence of *Ulug Beg* soon gave *Mirza Bâbr* an opportunity to come again to *Astarabâd*, and from thence to *Herât*; whose inhabitants, in resentment for the plundering of their suburbs, opened their gates to him. This misfortune was succeeded by a greater: for, not long after, *Abdo'llatif* rebelled against his father, and marched to reduce *Bâlk*. *Ulug Beg*, willing to bring his son to reason, advanced, with his troops, towards that city: but *Abdo'llatif*, instead of submitting himself, went, at the head of an army, to meet his father, and give him battle. *Ulug Beg* was defeated; and, being taken prisoner, was put into the hands of *Abbâs*, who, after some formal proceedings against him, at length put him to death, in the year 857.

A learned
prince.

THIS prince, whose end was so unhappy, was yet endowed with great qualities. For, besides being very courageous, he applied himself to study the sciences, and particularly astronomy. It is under his name and authority, that the tables, intituled, *Zij Ulug Beg*, were composed, at *Samarkant*, by *Ali Ebn Gayâtho'ddîn Mohammed Jamsbid*, surnamed *Al Kusbjî*, and by *Salâho'ddîn Kâzi Zâdeh al Râmi*, the greatest astronomers of their time. This latter, who had been *Ulug Beg's* master, dying before the work was finished, the whole burden fell upon the former. The work, intituled (A), *Mârifat al Tawârîk*, which makes a part of the astronomical tables, calls this prince *Soltân al Hind wa al Sind*, that is, *king of the two Indies* (B), and gives him forty-one years of reign; al-

(A) It has been published by *Mr. John Geaves*, with a Latin version, under the title of *Epochæ Calabrioreæ*.

(B) Rather, literally, of *Al Hind* and *Al Sind*; which are two different parts of *India*.

though

though he properly reigned no more than two years after the death of *Shâh Rûkh*. *Kondamîr*, *Al Jannâbi*, and *Ebn Yûsef*, qualify this prince with the surnames, or titles, of *Al Mâlek al Saïd*, *Kurkhân*, and *Sâheb Kerân*; all which *Timûr* bore, and left them as hereditary in his family ^a.

ULUG Beg was succeeded by his unnatural son *Abdo'llatîf*; who, to his parricide added fratricide; having also caused his brother *Abdo'lazîz* to be put to death, in order to secure himself on the throne: which yet he did not enjoy longer than six months; at the end whereof, his own soldiers shot him to death with their arrows ^b.

AFTER the death of *Abdo'llatîf*, *Abdo'llah*, son of *Ibrâhîm* (C), son of *Shâh Rûkh*, took possession of his dominions. This prince succeeded his father *Ibrâhîm* in the sovereignty of *Pârs*, or *Proper Persia*, in the year 1438, with the consent of his uncle *Shâh Rûkh*: but being, at length, driven out of his dominions, by his cousin-german *Mohammed Mirza*, son of *Bay Sangor*, son of *Shâh Rûkh*, he fled to his uncle *Ulug Beg*, at *Samarkant*; who received him very well, and gave him his daughter in marriage. He seems to have continued in that city during the remainder of the lives both of *Ulug Beg* and *Abdo'llatîf*; which gave him an opportunity, on the death of the latter, to seize the throne: but he possessed it no more than one year; for, being twice attacked by *Abûsaïd Mirza*, he was the last time overthrown in battle, and slain, in the year 855; as will be more distinctly set forth in the following reign ^c.

3. *Ulug Beg.*4. *Abdo'llatîf.*5. *Abdo'llah.*A. D.
1451.

C H A P. VIII.

The Reign of Abûsaïd Mirza.

ABUSAID Mirza, the son of *Mohammed* (A), the son of *Mîrân Shâh*, son of *Timûr*, was in the army of *Ulug Beg*, when he made war on his son *Abdo'llatîf*, on the banks of the

6. *Solîmân Abûsaïd Mirza.*

^a *TEXEIRA*, p. 317. *D'HERBEL*. p. 83. 414. art. *Alaeddin & Ulug Beg.* ^b *Id.* *ibid.* ^c *TEX.* p. 318. *D'HERBEL*. p. 8. art. *Abdallah.*

(C) He is elsewhere said to be the son of *Ulug Beg*. See *D'Herbelot*, art. *Abûsaïd Mirza*, p. 34; and *Texeira*, *hist. Pers.* p. 318.

(A) If he was the son of *Mîrân Shâh*, he must have been born after the death of *Timûr*:

for *Mîrân Shâh* had no son named *Mohammed* at that juncture. But the oriental historians commit frequent mistakes in giving the genealogies of princes, as has been observed with regard to *Abdo'llah*, the predecessor of *Abûsaïd*.

river

6. **Abûsaïd** river *Amû*, and seemed to be in very good understanding with **Mirza**. But, having an ambitious mind, and enterprising head, he took the occasion of that war, and the troubles which ensued in the city of *Samarkant*, to discover the design which he had, for a long time, nourished, of making himself the chief of a new party, and master of some provinces. With this view, he joined his forces to those of *Il Argûn*, one of the most powerful lords of the country, and marched with him to *Samarkant*; where *Abdo'lazîz*, another son of *Soltân Ulug Beg*, commanded for his father: but this latter, not thinking himself strong enough to oppose such considerable troops, abandoned the city, and retired to *Jahar*, or *Chaar Divar*, that is, *the four walls*; where he judged himself in more security.

Secures

Bokhâra.

As soon as *Ulug Beg* received this advice, he immediately quitted the *Amû*, to go and relieve his capital; and, by that means, left the way open to his rebel son *Abdo'llatif*, who did not fail to pass the river, and follow at his father's heels. That prince, having become master of *Samarkant*, after his parricide, in 854, *Abûsaïd* was no longer in a condition to undertake any thing; and therefore was obliged to retire to the camp of *Il Argûn*. But *Abdo'llatif*, considering him as a thorn in his foot, found means to draw him out of that post, and take him prisoner. However, his confinement did not continue long: for he made a shift, soon after, to escape to *Bokhâra*; where, being informed that *Abdo'llatif* was dead, and *Abdo'llah* had succeeded him, he managed matters so well, by his intrigues, that he made himself master of *Bokhâra*, and of the country belonging to it. After which, he began to declare war openly against *Abdo'llah*, and marched towards *Samarkant*: but, being met by the sultan, he was defeated, and constrained to fly at a great distance into *Turkestan*. This happened in the year 854.

A. D.

1450.

Ascends

the throne.

THE year following, *Abûsaïd*, strengthened by the powerful assistance of *Uzbek Khân* (of *Kipjak*), returned, to attack *Abdo'llah*, from whom he took several castles; and, at length, came to a bloody battle, in which the sultan being slain, *Abûsaïd* became the peaceable possessor of all the provinces to the north of the *Amû*, which belonged to *Ulug Beg*. However, this victory cost *Samarkant* very dear: for the *Uzbeks*, or soldiers of *Uzbek Khân*, having entered the city, treated the inhabitants very roughly, and behaved as masters. Hereupon *Abûsaïd* made use of artifice to drive them out: for going alone, and in a plain dress, to the gate, he there discovered himself to the burghers, (who guarded it), unknown to the *Uzbeks*; and entering the city, presently made himself master of the principal posts: which done, he obliged the unruly guests,

guests, partly by force, and partly by presents, to quit the place, and retire home with their leader ².

IN the year 862, Soltân Bâbr, one of *Timâr's* grandsons, who reigned in *Khorassân*, being dead, and his son *Mahmûd* on the throne; *Abûsaïd*, who had, for a long time, meditated the reduction not only of that province, but of all *Irân*, or *Persia* at large, without delay put himself in a condition to accomplish his design. He intrusted part of the execution to the care of *Sheykh Mîr Hâji*, governor of *Bâlk*, and advanced with his army towards *Herât*. *Ahmed Yessawî*, who commanded there in behalf of Soltân *Ibrâhîm Mirza*, having considered, for some time, whether he should defend the city, or retire into the citadel, called *Ektiârô'ddîn*, at length resolved on the latter. *Abûsaïd*, having thus become master of the city, and in vain summoned *Ahmed* to surrender, gave several assaults upon the castle; but was always repulsed, and made no progress in the siege.

AT this juncture, some evil-minded persons having informed *Niretû* him, that Soltân *Ibrâhîm Mirza* had sent couriers to the *Sol-fortress tâna Jaurshâd*, his mother, and held a secret correspondence with her; he, in a transport of anger, hastily gave orders to put her to death. Immediately after this, *Shîr* (or *Mîr*) *Hâji* arrived in the camp, having left one he confided in to guard the strong castle of *Niretû*. But there happened an accident in his absence, which made him repent the having quitted it: for a bold daring fellow coming one evening to the gate of this fortress, with a flock of sheep, so far gained upon the guard, by his talk, that they permitted him to enter, and lie that night in the place. But the first watch was no sooner past, than the man, who was furnished with ropes and hooks, enabled several of his associates to mount the walls. These soldiers immediately ran to attack the governor, whom they wounded in several places; and having, at the same time, seized on the guard-house, became, at length, masters of the castle.

ABUSAID having received this ill piece of news, and apprehending withal that the children of Soltân *Abdô'llattîf* were preparing for war, in order to recover their father's dominions, quitted, at length, the city of *Herât*, and took the road to *Bâlk*. He sent, however, one of his generals before him, with the best part of his army, to disperse the troops which those young princes had assembled in the neighbourhood of that city. As these princes, named *Ahmed* and *Jûghi*, were rash enough, with their new-raised troops, to hazard a battle against well

6. *Abûsaïd Mirza.*

A. D.

1456.

Enters *Khorassân.*Retires to *Bâlk.*

* D'HERBEL. p. 34, & seq. art. *Aboussaïd Mirza*.

6. *Abûsaïd* disciplined forces, they suffered for their ill conduct: for *Ab-Mirza*. *med* was killed in the action, and *Jûghi* had much ado to escape.

Turkmân ravages. THIS expedition being finished, *Abûsaïd* went to pass the winter at *Bâlk*. But he was not long there in repose: for *Alâ-ôddawlet*, and *Mirza Ibrâhîm*, his relations, cut out new work for him; and *Jehân Shâh*, the *Turkmân*, son of *Kara Yûsef*, advanced, from *Azerbejân*, into *Khorassân*, committing horrible ravages all the way he went. *Abûsaïd* was obliged, in those unlucky conjunctures, to quit *Herât*; which most of the inhabitants, not thinking themselves secure against the fury of the *Turkmâns*, had already abandoned, on the news of their approach. They had now encamped six months about that city, when *Abûsaïd*, having assembled all the forces of his dominions, marched to fall upon them at the river *Morgâb*. *Jehân Shâh*, surprised at this motion, sent *Pîr Budak*, the bravest of his sons, with a body of troops, to reconnoitre the sultan's army; but he was repulsed vigorously, to the very camp of his father. The *Turkmân*, having at the same time received news from *Azerbejân*, which made him very uneasy, resolved to return to that province. Accordingly, he sent away his heavy baggage before, and then dispatched Sayd *Asbûra* to the sultan, with proposals of peace ^b.

Makes peace.

ABUSAID insisted, at first, that *Jehân Shâh* should rest content with *Azerbejân*, and yield up to him all which he possessed in *Persian Irâk* and *Khorassân*: but, after several negotiations, it was agreed, that the *Turkmân* should remain master of *Irâk*, and not enter into *Khorassân*, beyond the city of *Semnân* (in *Komes*), which was to serve as a frontier to both dominions. After the conclusion of this treaty, made in 863, the enemy took their route for *Irâk*: but committed such cruel ravages where-ever they passed, that they scarce left a house standing. Upon their retreat, *Abûsaïd* made his entrance into *Herât*; where commerce was again restored, the want of which had caused a great scarcity in that city. To ease the inhabitants, therefore, both of that capital and the province, which had suffered extremely during the stay of the *Turkmâns*, he sent his army into *Great Bukhâria*, keeping with him no more than 2000 horse for his guard.

Defeats the princes. THE princes *Alâ-ôddawlet*, *Mirza Ibrâhîm*, and *Mirza San-jar*, his relations, who had territories bordering on his, the limits of which they were desirous to extend, seeing the sultan in a disarmed state, entered into a confederacy among themselves, to attack him. However, unprovided with troops as

^b D'HERBEL. p. 35. art. *Aboufaïd Mirza*.

he was; he made no difficulty to meet them, with the few men he had, between *Sarak* and *Marâ*. But his courage was luckily seconded by fortune: for, when he was upon the point of engaging, two of his commanders arrived, with fresh forces; and, by their assistances, the confederate princes were defeated, in so signal a manner, that some of the runaways never stopped till they got to *Samarkant*. *Sanjar* was taken prisoner, and put to death; the other two princes escaped; and *Abûsaïd* returned triumphantly to *Herât*: where, having no weighty affair upon his hands, he resolved to retake the strong castle of *Niretû*, which had been lost by surprise, as hath been before related; and this he very easily accomplished, by means of the intelligence which he had in the place.

ABOUT the same time, *Mirza Ibrâhîm*, who, after his defeat, had fled to *Damegân*, having gathered fresh troops, marched towards *Tûs* (or *Masbhâd*), in hopes to repair the loss he had lately sustained, and take that city by stealth: but death, which surprised him on the road, rendered all his designs abortive, and delivered the sultân from a competitor, who, for a long time, disputed with him the empire of *Timûr Bek*. In the same year, *Abûsaïd* had a son by his queen, the daughter of *Alâo'ddawlet*, whom he named *Shâh Rûkh*; and, towards the end of it, *Shâh Mahmûd*, son of Sultân *Bâhr*, whom the *Turkmâns* had obliged to fly into the province of *Sejestân*, was killed in a battle, which he fought in *Hindûstân* ^c.

IN 864, *Abûsaïd*, receiving advice, that Sultân *Hussayn*, son of *Manfûr*, son of *Baykâra*, son of *Omar Sheykh*, son of *Timûr Bek*, was advanced as far as *Sebzwar*, pillaging and ravaging all before him; sent a body of forces, under the conduct of the Amir *Ali Pârî* and *Hassan Sheykh*, towards *Mazânderân*, which belonged to *Hussayn*, and followed himself, with the rest of his army. In fine, a cruel battle was fought between these two monarchs, in which *Hussayn* having been intirely defeated, *Abûsaïd* was received into *Astarabâd*, capital of the country, and proclaimed sultân. This prince, after he had passed some time feasting in that city, gave the government to his son *Mahmûd*, and set out for his imperial residence of *Herât*: but, before he got thither, he met with a great alarm; for *Kalîl Hendîgha*, who commanded in *Sajestân*, in the time of Sultân *Bâhr*, took the occasion of the sultân's absence to present himself before *Herât*, which he imagined would yield to him, without striking a stroke: but the inhabitants putting the city in a posture of defence, formed a

^c D'HERBEL. p. 36. art. Aboufaïd Mirza.

6. *Abûsaïd* body of troops, with which they vigorously repulsed *Khakl*, *Mirza*. and made him return to his own country.

ABUSAID, who was informed, while in *Mazânderân*, of *Khakl*'s enterprize, made great marches, in order to relieve his capital: but finding the city in as good condition at his arrival, as when he left it, rewarded the fidelity of the inhabitants; and then marched towards the province of *Sajestân*, to punish the rashness of *Khakl*: who not having forces sufficient to resist so powerful an enemy, had recourse to his clemency; and, having sworn obedience to him, the sultan pardoned his offence, without taking from him his government: however, he made him dependant on *Shih Tabia*, who was

Hej. 865. descended from the antient kings of the country. In 865, A. D. *Mirza Alâ'oddawlet*, who, after losing the battle before-mentioned, had retired towards the coast of the *Caspian* sea, to *Mâlek Yansân*, died a natural death; and his corps was conveyed from thence to *Herât*, where it was interred in the college built by his mother the Soltâna *Jawherşâd*.

AT the same time, *Abûsaïd* being informed, that *Mirza Mohammed Jûghi*, son of Soltân *Abdo'llatif*, ravaged the plains of *Great Bukhâria*, he marched with his army, and passed the *Jihân* (or *Amû*), to reduce this young prince to his duty: but he was no sooner arrived at *Samarkant*, than *Jûghi*, unable to keep the field against him, went and shut himself up in the city of *Shâh Râkhîya* (B), where *Abûsaïd* proposed to besiege him; and must needs have forced him to surrender, if the war, which Soltân *Hûssayn* had declared in *Mazânderân*, had not obliged him to abandon his enterprize, and make peace with *Jûghi*. *Hûssayn* had taken the field a second time, and besieged *Ashar-abâd*, capital of *Jorjân* (C), where *Abûsaïd* had left his son *Mahmûd* governor. This prince sallied out of the city, with all his forces, and gave the enemy battle, which, although it cost *Hûssayn* much blood, was not fortunate to him; for he lost the victory, and was obliged to fly into *Khorassân*, from whence his father had already sent to his generals, to guard that frontier. Soltân *Hûssayn* entered triumphing into the city of *Ashar-abâd*, where, for a time, he enjoyed the fruits of his conquest in repose: but, imagining that the wars of *Great Bukhâria*, in which *Abûsaïd* was engaged, would afford him time enough to make himself master of *Khorassân*, he marched with his

(B) Our readers will find some farther account of this war, in the history of the *Uzbek Khâns*, inserted hereafter.

(C) 'Tis before said to be the capital of *Mazânderân*: so that it

must be considered as the chief city of *Mazânderân* in general, and of *Jorjân* in particular, which may be supposed a part of *Mazânderân* at that time.

army

army into that province, leaving *Abdo'rrahman Argûn* to go-6 *Abûsâid* vern *Mazânderân* and *Jorjân*, which then composed one *Mirza*. State^d.

THE generals of *Abûsâid*, on advice of this motion of the *Hûssayn* enemy, judging that they were not able to withstand him in attacks the field, resolved to fortify *Herât*, and defend that city. *Soltân Hûssayn* did not fail to appear before it with his army; but not with design to besiege it: for he did not believe that the inhabitants either would or could defend themselves. However, finding, after he had waited eleven days, encamped at *Bâghzagun*, that there was no likelihood of their surrendering, he laid siege to *Herât* in form. He then battered the walls, and attacked the place with his best troops, for twenty days: but was always repulsed, by the bravery of the garrison. Mean time, *Abûsâid* being on his way to relieve the city, *Hûssayn* was obliged to raise the siege, and marched to the river *Morgâb*, to dispute the *soltân's* passage. Yet, his troops being dispersed for sake of spoil, and his officers divided in their opinions, he did not think fit to wait there, but turned back for *Astarâbâd*, by the way of *Sarkas*, or *Sarakhs*.

THIS retreat, though made without any loss on the part of *Hûssayn*, proved a great victory to *Abûsâid*, who, driving his enemy continually before him, obliged him to quit *Astarâbâd*, to avoid being besieged; and, consequently, to abandon the provinces *Mazânderân* and *Jorjân*, whose inhabitants, already half revolted, went out to meet the victor. *Abûsâid*, having thus a second time become master of these provinces, put to death *Hendûgha*; and his sons, whose disloyalty he had often experienced; and committed the government of *Astarâbâd* to his son *Mahmûd*, whom *Hûssayn* had expelled. He returned afterwards to *Herât*, in 866; where he punished with death *Moezo'ddîn*, president of the diwân, or council of that city, who had not obeyed his orders during his absence.

AND now, having no enemy to divert him, he, in 867, set forward to reduce *Mohammed Jûghi*; who, during his absence, had fortified *Shâhrûkhiya* to such a degree, that it was looked on as impregnable. He passed the *Jibân*, after some stay at *Balk*; and, being arrived at *Samarkant*, made great preparations for the siege of *Shâhrûkhiya*; which resisted a whole year, against all his forces. At length, *Mohammed*, unable to hold out any longer, sent a person of great authority to the *soltân's* camp, to obtain honourable conditions for him: but *Abûsâid* obliged him to surrender at discretion, and sent him prisoner to *Ektiârê'ddîn*, the castle of *Herât*, where he remained till his

* D'HÉREL. art. Aboussâid.

6. **Abûsaïd's death.** The sultân entered *Shâhrûkhiya* in 868; and soon after *Mirza* returned to *Herât*, which suffered greatly by the plague that same year.

Hej. 868. HE had not been long in this city, before he received advice, that Sultân *Hussayn* had made a second irruption into *Khorassân*. Against this prince he sent a powerful army, under the conduct of his principal generals; but they were intirely defeated in battle: so that had not *Hussayn* been deserted by his best troops, and principal officers, who revolted from him, which obliged him to return to *Karazm*, he would have pursued his victory very far, and involved *Abûsaïd* in no small difficulties. But this unexpected retreat of his enemy restoring his affairs to a settled state, he, the next year, went to winter at *Marû*; and, finding himself in profound peace, in 870, he celebrated the circumcision of the princes his sons, with great magnificence, and diversions, which continued for five months.

Hej. 870. But the next year, while he passed the winter at *Marû*, he received advice of the death of *Jehân Shâh*, the *Turkmân*, which was the occasion of a new war: for this sultân, who was of the family of the *Black Sheep*, having been slain in battle against *Hassan Beg*, or *Uzun Hassan*, sultân of the dynasty of the *White Sheep*[†], his son *Hassan Ali*, who succeeded him, implored the assistance of *Abûsaïd*.

Abûsaïd THIS prince, led by ambition no less than generosity, *makes war* thought he ought not to lose so fair an opportunity of opening a way to the conquest of *Irâk* and *Azerbejdân*. However, being willing to consult *Nâfro'ddin Obeydo'llah*, who was reckoned the ablest man of his time for advising in great affairs, he sent for him from *Samarkant* to *Marû*, where he then was in winter quarters; and, after a conference with him, resolved to undertake the war against *Hassan Beg*. Pursuant to this

Hej. 872. resolution, he, in the year 872, decamped from before *Marû*, and marched to attack the provinces of *Irâk* and *Azerbejdân*.

A. D. 1467. When he arrived on the frontiers of this last province, as he had a very great army, he detached several bodies, who penetrating into *Irâk* and *Pârs*, made themselves masters of all the places through which they passed. Mean time, *Hassan Beg* sent several ambassadors, to demand peace of him: but although *Abûsaïd* received them with great civility, and dismissed them with presents for their master; yet his answer always was, that *Hassan Beg* should come himself to his camp, and that he then would let him know his intentions. At length he entered the country, resolving to pass the summer at *Kara-*

[†] D'HERBEL. p. 37. art. *Aboufaïd*. [†] See Vol. VI. p. 109.

bâgh (D): but the *Turkmân* prince knew so well how to cut off his provisions and forage, that his army began to dwindle in a short time. So that, fearing to be besieged all at once, he fled back, with a very few men; for the greater part of his troops were already dispersed, and the rest had gone over to the enemy. When *Hassan Beg*, who watched the sultan's motions, found he was gone, he sent two of his sons in pursuit of him, who took him prisoner, and brought him to their camp ².

6. Abûsaïd Mîrza.

HASSAN Beg received *Abûsaïd* with a great deal of humanity, and was disposed to save his life: but, having deliberated in his council what was proper to be done with him, all his officers, particularly the *kâdhi*, or *kâzi*, of *Shîrwân*, were for putting him to death; and the rather, as *Hassan Beg* had already acknowledged the *Mîrza Yadighiar*, son of *Mohammed*, son of *Baysankor*, for the lawful emperor and successor of *Timûr*, in the provinces to the south of the *Jihân*. Thus this powerful prince lost his life, in the year 873, through his own fault, and for refusing to make peace, so often sued for by the enemy. *Hassan Beg*, however, hindered his tent to be plundered, and preserved the honour of all the ladies of his faray; after which, he commanded the officers of *Khorassân* to acknowledge *Yadighiar* for their sovereign (E).

A. D.
1468.

ACCORDING to the *Nighiârîstân*, and *Al Jannâbi*, this prince extended his dominions, which, at first, consisted of *Khorassân*, and the countries to the north of the river *Jihân* (or *Great Bukhâria*), from *Kâsbgar* in the east, to *Tauris* in the west; and from *Kermân* in *Îrân*, and *Multân* in *Hindustân*, to *Karazm* on the east side of the *Caspian* sea. The same authors add, that he was surprised, and slain, in an ambuscade laid for him in the mountains of *Karabâgh*, near *Tauris*, after he had lived forty-two years, and reigned twenty ³. But according to *Mirkond*, he was put to death by *Yadighar*, to whom he was delivered up ¹.

SULTAN *Abûsaïd* left behind him eleven sons; and, as the fall of the empire of *Timûr* is ascribed to the time of his death, it will be expedient for our readers to know what became of such a numerous posterity. The names of these eleven princes

¹ D'HERBEL. p. 37. art. Aboufaïd.

² Ibid, p. 34—37.

³ TEX. p. 318.

(D) Called also *Karabâgh Arrân*, a delightful place, on the river *Arrâs*, in the province of *Arrân*.

in resentment of *Abûsaïd*'s assisting *Hassan Ali* against *Hassan Beg*; and this is, probably, what made *Abûsaïd* refuse to make peace with the *Turkmân*.

(E) This, possibly, was done

C c 3

were,

6. *Abuſaid* were, *Soltān Ahmed*, *Soltān Mahmūd*, *Mirza Mohammad*, *Mirza Mirza*. *Shāh Rukh*, *Mirza Ulug Beg*, *Mirza Omar Sheykh*, *Mirza Abubekr*, *Mirza Morād*, *Mirza Khaṭīl*, *Mirza Veleḍ*, *Mirza Omer*. It muſt be obſerved, that all theſe princes bore the title of ſoltān, although moſt of them did not reign as ſovereigns.

Mohamed and Shāh Rūkh. THE *Mirzas Mohammad* and *Shāh Rukh* fell into the hands of *Haffan Beg*, and remained a long time priſoners in *Irāk*; from whence at length eſcaping, they paſſed ſome years in the ſame province, in a miſerable ſtate. At the end of which, in 899 of the *Hejrah*, of Chriſt 1493, departing to go into *Khoraffan*, *Shāh Rukh* died, in the country of *Sāri*, and was interred at *Herāt*: but his brother *Mohammad* was taken priſoner by *Soltān Huſſayn*.

Soltān Ahmed. SOLTAN *Mahmūd*, when the *Turkmenſ* became maſters of *Abuſaid's* camp, made his eſcape to *Herāt*. But could not ſtay there long: for *Soltān Huſſayn*, ſon of *Manſūr*, having reduced *Khoraffan* under his obedience, in a ſhort ſpace of time, *Mahmūd* was obliged to take refuge with his brother *Ahmed*, who reigned at *Samarkant*, in *Great Bukhāria*. There he was very well received, and lived for a while in great harmony with his brother: till, by the ſolicitations of thoſe he converſed with, he went out one day, under pretence of hunting, and made all the haſte he could, with thoſe of his party, towards the ſprings of the *Jihūn* (or *Amū*); where he ſeized the province of *Badagſhān*, and the adjacent country.

Soltān Mahmūd. AHMED dying in the year 899, *Soltān Mahmūd* joined the dominions of his brother to his own: but he did not enjoy them long; for he died the ſame year, and left four ſons; viz, *Hiſ ſons*. *Maſſūd*, *Bayſankor*, *Ali*, and *Feis*.

Maſſūd. SOLTAN *Maſſūd* ſucceeded his father: but his brothers, *Bayſankor* (who was governor of *Samarkant*) and *Ali*, rebelling againſt him, he ſeized the latter, and cauſed a hot iron to be paſſed before his eyes: however, as the operation did not take away his ſight, he fled to *Bokhāra*, and, having gathered ſome troops, retired for ſhelter to *Soltān Huſſayn*, in *Khoraffan*. On the other ſide, *Bayſankor*, unable to hold out longer againſt *Maſſūd*, left *Samarkant* in diſguiſe, and fled to *Konduz*, a city on the *Jihūn*, and belonging to *Badagſhān*, accompanied by the *Amir Khoſrū Shāh*, who was one of *Soltān Maſſūd's* enemies. This prince, being thus delivered from his two brothers, enjoyed the ſovereignty of *Great Bukhāria* peaceably, at *Samarkant*, till the year 905.

Hej. 905. MEAN time, *Soltān Ali* continued at the court of *Soltān*
A. D. *Huſſayn*; who took ſo great an affection for him, that he gave
 1499: him his daughter in marriage, with a very conſiderable portion.
Ali. After this, he furniſhed him with an army, to diſpute the patrimony

patrimony of his ancestors with his brothers *Maffid* and *Buy-sankor*. *Ali* accordingly entered *Great Bukharia*, and made considerable advances: but, when he was on the point of succeeding in his enterprise, he unhappily gave ear to the envoys of *Khostrâ Shâh*: who, pretending to obey him in every thing, deluded him so much with his fair speeches, that he fell into the snare, which frustrated all his designs: so that he was obliged to return to his father-in-law *Soltân Hussayn*.

WHEN *Khostrâ Shâh* had ruined the affairs of *Soltân Ali*, by Bayfan's artifices, he determined to get rid of *Bayfan*, who continued at *Konduz*, by the snares which he laid for him also; and having at length compassed his design, he, by that prince's death, became master, not only of *Konduz*, but also of *Daklân*, *Heffar*, and the whole country of *Badakhshân*.

As for *Mirza Veis*, or *Weis*, fourth son of *Mahmûd*, he was *Veis*, all the while in *Turkesthân*; whither, to avoid these troubles, he had, from the beginning, retired to his relations by his mother's side.

ULUG Beg, the fifth son of *Abûsaïd*, obtained from his father the government of *Kâbul* and *Gâzan*, with the *Indies*; which provinces he was master of in *Hejrah* 899, A. D. 1493, finished his history.

OMAR Sheykh, sixth son of *Abûsaïd*, became, by his father's death, sovereign of the country of *Audekân*; which he possessed till the year 899, when he broke his neck, by a fall from the top of a pigeon-house. He reigned with the reputation of a very good prince; and was succeeded by his son *Bâbor*, or *Bâbr*, founder of the empire of the *Mungls*, who reign at present in *Hindûsthân*.

ABUBEKR, seventh son of *Abûsaïd*, had for his share, during his father's life, the country of *Badakhshân*; which he possessed also after his decease: till, falling out with *Soltân Hussayn*, he was taken prisoner, in a battle fought between them, and put to death, in the year 884 of the *Hejrah*, of Christ 1479*.

SOLTÂN Morâd, the eighth son, for some time governed the provinces of *Kermest* and *Kandakâr*; and, when his father *Abûsaïd* became master of *Irâk*, he advanced, by his order, to seize the province of *Kermân*: but, receiving advice on the road of his defeat, and death, he returned to his first government. After this, *Yûsef Tarkhân* revolted against him, he had recourse to the protection of *Soltân Hussayn*, who sent him, under a good escort, to his brother *Ahmed*, at *Samar-kant*. However, he did not stay long there: for, not meeting

* D'HERBEL. ubi sup. p. 38.

7. *Soltân Ahmed.* with a very favourable reception, he soon after returned to Soltân *Hussayn's* court, where he received all sorts of good treatment : but at length, in 880, he was accompanied by the officers of that prince to the castle of *Niretû* ; and from that time we have no account of him.

A. D. 1475. *Soltân Kalil.* MIRZA *Soltân Kalil*, the ninth son of *Abûsaïd Mirza*, remained at *Herât* during his father's unfortunate expedition against *Hassan Beg* : so that Soltân *Hussayn* having, with a great army, subdued *Khorassân*, he was obliged to put himself into the hands of that conqueror, not being in a condition to defend the city against his forces. *Hussayn* sent him into *Great Bukhâria*, where his brother *Ahmed* reigned : but, *Kalil* taking upon him to act as master as soon as he entered the country, *Ahmed* sent one of his generals, with some troops, to curb his insolence ; so that he was soon after slain in an engagement on this occasion.

Soltân Veled. SOLTAN *Veled*, tenth son of *Abûsaïd*, passed his days in a private condition, among the oriental *Turks* of the tribe of *Erlat* ; till he died at length of poison, infused by one of his domestics in his drink.

Omar Mirza. SOLTAN *Omar Mirza*, youngest son of *Abûsaïd*, was at *Samarkant* at the time of his father's death : but, *Ahmed* being obliged to banish him from his court, on account of some disturbances which he excited there, he retired to his brother *Abûbekr*, who was then encamped near *Marû*, at such time as Soltân *Hussayn* entered with his army into *Khorassân*. *Abûbekr* opposed the invader's progress : but having been defeated and slain, *Omar* retreated toward *Abiurd* or *Bawerd*, and *Nessa* ; where being taken by some of *Hussayn's* officers, he was sent prisoner to *Herât*, and shut up in the castle of *Ekti-âro'ddin* ; from whence, in 883, he was conveyed to the castle of *Niretû* ; after which, we hear no more of him^k.

The Reign of Soltân Ahmed.

7. *Soltân Ahmed.* AFTER the death of *Abûsaïd*, his eldest son Soltân *Ahmed*, of whom some account has been already given, succeeded him at *Samarkant*, in the country of *Mâwara'n-nâhr*, now called *Great Bukhâria*, and reigned twenty years ; at the end of which he died, in the year 899^l, of Christ 1493.

The Reign of Soltân Bâbr.

8. *Soltân Bâbr.* THE Mirza *Soltân Bâbr*, or *Bâbr*, was the son of *Omar Sheykh*, sixth son of *Abûsaïd Mirza*, according to *Kondamir* ; but, to others, the fourth. By the death of his fa-

^k D'HERBELOT, ubi supra, p. 39. ^l TEIXEIRA, p. 319. ther,

ther, in 894, as has been already related, he became sovereign of the country of *Andekhân*; and, on the death of Soltân *Abmed*, in 899, ascended the throne of *Great Bukhâria*: but five years after, viz. in 904, *Shay Beg Soltân*, invading that region with an army of *Uzbeks* from beyond the river *Sihân*, or *Sîr*, drove him out of his kingdom, and took possession of it; so that afterwards no prince of the race of *Timâr* reigned there. *Bâbr*, after his expulsion, retired to *Gaznen*, or *Gazna*, and thence into *Hindûstân*, where he made considerable conquests; over which he reigned till the year 937 of the *Hejrah*, of *Christ* 1530*. But, as we shall have occasion to speak of his actions more at large, when we come to treat of the race of *Timâr* who reigned in *India* under the name of *Jagatays* and *Great Mogols*, we shall say no more of them at present.

8. Soltân
Bâbr.

C H A P. IX.

Of the Princes descended from Timâr, who reigned in Khorassân, and other Parts of Irân, after the Death of Shâh Rûkh.

State of
Irân.

AS the empire fell into division and confusion after the death of *Timâr*, the like happened on that of his son *Shâh Rûkh*: so that, excepting the twelve years during which *Abûsaïd* held *Khorassân*, that province, with some neighbouring countries, was possessed by other princes descended from *Shâh Rûkh*, and not by those who were his immediate successors in *Great Bukhâria*.

BAYSANKER, son of *Shâh Rûkh*, dying in 837, during his father's life-time, left three sons; *Rokno'ddîn*, *Alâo'ddawlet*, Soltân *Mohammed*, and *Abû'l Kâsem Bâbr*; who all made a great noise in the world. *Shâh Rûkh*, on *Baysanker's* death, gave his father's employments to the eldest, and only pensions to the other two princes.

Alâo'd-
dawlet

As soon as *Alâo'ddawlet* heard of the death of his grandfather *Shâh Rûkh*, he seized on the city of *Herât*, capital of *Khorassân*; under pretence of commanding there in behalf of his uncle *Ulug Beg*, who reigned at *Samarkant*. He there found great treasures, which he plundered; and seized the person of *Abdallatif*, son of *Ulug Beg*, whom he kept prisoner for a considerable time: but *Ulug Beg*, having passed the *Amû* with a powerful army from *Great Bukhâria*, defeated, and obliged him to fly to his brother the *Mirza Bâbr*. These two princes joined their forces, and marched to oppose their uncle;

seizes
Herât.

* D'HÉRBELOT, p. 38. 163. art. *Abûsaïd Mirza* & *Miran Shah*.

who,

8. *Soltân* who, judging the match to be equal, left them in possession of *Herât*, and returned to *Bâk* *.

SHAH Râk being dead in 850, *Mirza Bâbr*, who then governed the province of *Jorjân*, entered that of *Khorassân*; where his brother *Alâo'ddawlet* had already seized *Herât*, and encamped with his forces near the city of *Tâs* (or *Masbâd*), near the sepulchre of the *Imâm Ali Rîza*. But, by the mediation of friends, hostilities were prevented between the two brothers; and the country of *Kabushân* appointed the boundary between their dominions, in 851: after which, *Bâbr* returned to *Astarabad*, the capital of *Jorjân*.

THE year following, *Bâbr*, having received advice that his uncle *Ulug Beg* was in arms on the borders of *Bastâm* and *Damagân*, and had already passed the bridge named *Pul Ibrîsbîm*, or the Bridge of Silk, to attack his brother *Alâo'ddawlet*, sent *Kalîl Hendûgha*, one of his generals, to follow the *soltân*; and marched himself, with his best troops, towards *Herât*, in order to intercept his passage to that city. As this march obliged *Ulug Beg* to quit *Khorassân*, *Bâbr* soon made himself master of *Herât*, which his brother *Alâo'ddawlet* had already abandoned; where he exercised great violences towards the inhabitants. But they were revenged on him some time after: for *Yâr Ali*, the *Turkman*, having advanced to besiege him, the citizens delivered one of their gates to his enemy, and obliged him to fly to the castle of *Ektîro'ddîn*; which he pilaged, and abandoned not long after. *Yâr Ali*, seeing himself master of such a potent city, imagined the war was indrely over, and thought of nothing but diverting himself: when the troops of *Bâbr*, which still hovered near *Herât*, found an opportunity, about three weeks after, to seize a gate; and surprising *Yâr Ali*, in the midst of his debauch, brought him before *Bâbr*, who ordered his head to be struck off in the public market-place.

Reduces
Herât.

Imprisons
Alâo'd-
dawlet.

BÂBR, being thus become master of *Khorassân*, gave the city of *Tân* to his brother *Alâo'ddawlet*, who had not appeared since his flight from *Ulug Beg*; but a while after, having conceived some jealousy of him, seized him, with his son *Ibrâhm*, and sent them prisoners to *Herât*. After this, giving himself up to pleasures, and neglecting affairs, his officers committed many disorders in the city: but the revolt of *Shâh Hussayn*, in the province of *Sajestân* (which depends on *Khorassân*), roused him out of his slothful humour; and, causing him to take arms, he marched against the rebel with such expedition, that, not being prepared to encounter him, he

* D'HERRLOT, p. 83. att. Alaeddowlet

submitted to pay an annual tribute. Mean time the Amîr *Hendûgha*, dissatisfied with the hasty temper of *Bâbr*, went at the head of several mal-contents, and seized the city of *Asterabad*. *Bâbr* immediately set forward with his forces, and gave him battle; which at first proved adverse, and fatal to Soltân *Abûsâid*, who commanded his army: but at length *Ali Bahadr*, his second general, slew *Hendûgha*, and obtained a complete victory^b.

8. Soltân
Bâbr.

AT this time *Alâ'oddawlet* escaped from prison, and fled to *Irâk*, to his brother *Mohammed*; who, on the death of their Moham-uncle *Shâh Râkh*, seized on that province, together with *Pârs* med. (or *Proper Persia*); and, still gaining ground every day, was advanced as far as the borders of *Khorassân*. *Bâbr* met him with a considerable army; but was intirely defeated by his two brothers, and obliged to take shelter in the castle of *Omâd*, while *Mohammed* entered into *Herât*, and delivered the *Mirza Ibrâhim* to his father *Alâ'oddawlet*. *Bâbr* some time after quitted *Omâd*; and, by the way of *Abiurd*, or *Barwerd*, marched towards *Asterabad*, knowing that the inhabitants were discontented with the Amîr *Hâji Janasbîrîn*, whom *Mohammed* had made governor. The latter met him at *Tûs*, and fought an obstinate battle, but lost it; and, being taken prisoner, with several officers, all were put to the sword. Soltân *Mohammed*, who had advice of this march, hastened to support his general; but hearing, by the way, that he was defeated, made such expedition with three hundred horse only, that he surprised *Bâbr* in his camp, and obliged him to fly back to the castle of *Omâd*.

THE victor, however, that the enemy might not perceive *Recovers* the fewness of his troops, retired also to his former camp; *Herât*. where he was astonished not to find one of his soldiers, who, on a false report of his defeat, had all dispersed themselves. At the same time he was informed, that his brother *Alâ'oddawlet*, whom he had sent to *Kermasîr* (in *Kermân*) before the battle, taking advantage of *Bâbr*'s second retreat to *Omâd*, had repaired to *Herât*, and been admitted by the inhabitants. This news much surprised *Mohammed*; who, seeing that all the advantages he had gained by the war, served only to exalt *Alâ'oddawlet*, quitted *Khorassân* in disgust, and returned to *Irâk*. *Bâbr* no sooner heard of his brother *Mohammed*'s retreat, than he left *Omâd*, and marched to attack *Herât*; which *Alâ'oddawlet* quitting on his approach, he for the second time entered that city: but, not content with this conquest, he marched to *Bâlk*, whither his brother had fled; and, driving

Flies again.

^b D'HÉRELLOT, p. 160, art. Babor.

8. *Soltân* him out of that city also, pursued him into the mountains of *Râbr*. *Badakshân*, till he was able to proceed no farther for the snow. Thus he became master of *Bâk*, *Konduz*, and *Baklân*; where having left governors, he returned to *Herât*: but was greatly surpris'd, at his arrival, to find that *Avis Beg*, whom he intrusted to guard the castle of *Ektiâro'ddîn*, had revolted.

Bâbr reco- As this fortress is so situated, that there is no entering the
vers He- city without passing through a corridor which communicates
rât. with it; the *soltân*, instead of undertaking to force a place which was capable of making great resistance, thought of a stratagem, which succeeded to his wish. For he sent an order to the governor, forbidding him to stir out of the castle when he should make his entrance into the city: then sending forward his whole band of music in the evening, he mixed with them some of his bravest officers. These men, being arrived near the city, gave out that the *soltân* was come. On this news, *Avis* immediately sent his son into the corridor, to receive him, and followed close himself, having left his brother in the fortress, which he kept shut up: but *Sheykh Mansûr*, one of the pretended musicians, fell first upon the son of *Avis Beg*, whom he stabbed, and his companions did the like by the father; after which, *Bâbr* found no difficulty to get the castle surrendered to him. At the same time being informed, that his brother *Alao'ddawlet* lay concealed in the tent of *Eskânder Beg*, which was in the rear of his camp, he had him taken from thence, and put under a strong guard.

Defeats In 855 *Soltân Bâbr* went to pass the winter at *Astarabad*,
Moham- and made some stay afterwards at *Bastâm*; where being in-
med. formed that his brother *Mohammed* prepared to make war
Hej. 855. upon him afresh, he sent an ambassador to obtain a peace at
A. D. any rate. *Soltân Mohammed* seemed not inclined to grant it
1451. him: for he pretended that part of *Khorassân* belonged to *Irâk*: that the money which was coined there ought to bear his impress; and that his name should be mentioned in the public prayers. However, *Bâbr* consented to all these demands, rather than incur a war; and, quitting *Bastâm*, went into the country of *Mazânderân*. Mean time *Mohammed*, dis-regarding the treaty which he had made with his brother, marched with his army towards *Khorassân*, and advanced as far as the city of *Esferayn*. *Bâbr* was extremely troubled at this violation of the treaty; and, gathering what troops he could in haste, marched towards his brother; who met him at *Kaburân*, where was fought one of the most bloody battles that ever was recorded. The two *soltâns* performed prodigies

of valour ; and victory for a long time seemed doubtful on which side to declare. But at length *Mohammed*, being carried too far by his courage, found himself on a sudden surrounded, and taken prisoner^d.

8. Soltân
Bâbr.

BÂBR, having by this means gained this important victory, caused *Mohammed* to be put to death without remorse : and, having thus gotten rid of his youngest brother, he ordered the eyes of *Alâo'ddawlet*, the eldest, whom he kept prisoner, to be put out : but the persons who were appointed to do that work, in pity to this prince, moved the hot iron before his eyes in such a manner, as not to deprive him of sight. After this, *Bâbr* believed he should have no more disturbance from his brothers ; and marched towards the province of *Pârs*, to take possession of it, as belonging to him by the death of *Mohammed*. The great lords of the country came to pay him homage ; and he entered triumphantly into the city of *Shirâz*. But he was scarce arrived, when he received advice that *Jehân Shâh*, the *Turkmân*, son of *Kura Yûsef*, had entered *Persian Irâk* with considerable forces, and already laid siege to the city of *Kom*. This news made him leave *Shirâz*, the government of which he gave to *Mirza Sanjar* (A), one of his relations, to discharge his fury on the *Turkmân*, when he was stopped by more unwelcome tidings from *Herât* ; viz. that his brother *Alâo'ddawlet*, assisted by the *Amir Yadighiar Shâh*, and several of his near relations, was in the field in quest of him.

Puts him
to death.

ON this advice, judging it of more importance to preserve *Khorassân* than *Irâk*, he returned to *Herât*, by the way of *Alao'd-Yezd*, where he left the *Mirza Kalîl*, son of *Jehân Ghîr*, to command : but, before he arrived, the *Amir Pîr Darwish*, and his other generals in *Khorassân*, had pacified the troubles, by obliging *Alâoddawlet* to retire to *Ray* (in *Kuhestân*, of *Persian Irâk*). *Bâbr*, having thus restored peace to his dominions, thought of nothing but taking his pleasure ; when, in 857 (B),

Defeats
Alao'd-
dawlet.

A. D.
1453.

^d D'HERBELOT, p. 161.

(A) We are told by D'Herbelot, in the article of *Sanjar Mirza*, that he was the son of *Ab-med*, son of *Baycra*, son of *Omar Sheykh* : but as *Baycra*, or *Baykara*, was the grandson of *Omar Sheykh*, by *Ali Efkânder*, possibly *Baycra* may be a mistake of the press for *Bayera*, who was the seventh son of *Omar Shreykh*.

(B) This same year, we are told that *Sheykh Babao'l Haquo'ddin Omar* died at the city of *Hafara*, in great reputation for sanctity ; and that *Bâbr* immediately went to visit his children, gave orders for his funeral, and even carried the coffin on his shoulders part of the way.

Sanjar

S. Soltân Bâbr. *Sanjar*, and the other lords whom he had left at *Shîrâz*, being put to flight by *Jehân Shâh*, arrived at *Herât*. Hereupon he set out to carry the war into *Irâk* and *Azerbeijân*, which the *Turkmâns* had made themselves masters of. Being come to *Astarahâd*, he staid the time of *Ramazân* fast: but, when he was ready to march forward, he received advice from *Bâk*, that Soltân *Abûsaid*, who reigned in *Great Bukhâria*, had passed the *Jihân*; and, having defeated and slain his generals, was encamped near that city.

Marches against Abûsaid. *BÂBR*, reflecting on this occasion, as he did before, that it was of more importance to preserve *Khorassân* than subdue *Irâk*, left the *Turkmâns* at liberty to pursue their conquests, and marched back to *Herât*.

WHEN he arrived at *Morgâb*, news was brought that *Abûsaid* had repassed the *Jihân*: but this did not hinder him to proceed towards *Great Bukhâria*; which he entered, by fording that river at *Kondéz* and *Baklân*. *Abûsaid*, finding himself thus pressed, sent ambassadors to him with proposals of peace: but, without hearing them, he continued his march till within a league of *Samarkant*; where several considerable persons waiting on him, to dispose him to an accommodation, he gave them no other answer, than that he had come too far to return so hastily. For all this, after losing a great number of officers as well as soldiers, without gaining any advantage in forty days siege, he hearkened to terms of peace: the chief conditions of which were, that the *Jihân* (or *Amû*) should separate the two dominions, and prisoners be exchanged.

Pacifies Sajeftân. AFTER this agreement, *Bâbr* returned to *Herât*, where he took his repose till 859; when finding that *Shâh Hussayn*, who had become his tributary, did not act well either by him, or the officers whom he sent into the province of *Sejeftân*, ordered the Amîr *Kalîl Hindûgha* to reduce that prince to reason. *Kalîl* ordered matters so well, that *Hussayn* was obliged to take flight, in which he lost his life by the snares which one of his own domestics laid for him; and thus *Kalîl* became master of all the country which bears the name of *Nimrûz*, that is, the South, as well as that of *Rostâm*, from the famous commander *Rostâm* (B), who was a native, and the governor thereof. At the same time *Bâbr* gave to the Mîrza *Sanjar* the government of *Marâ* and *Mukhân*. Soon after some lords of

(B) By the country of *Nimrûz*, is to be understood the provinces of *Sajeftân*, or *Sisîân*, and *Makrân*, which bear that name also; and, by the country of *Rostâm*, seems to be meant the

province of *Zablestân*, where *Rostâm* was born, and of which he was governor. He is the great champion of the *Persians*, in the times which they reckon fabulous.

Mazânderân, whom he had imprisoned in the castle of *Omâd*, slew the governor, and took the field: but were quickly reduced to obedience by *Jalâ'eddîn Mahmûd*, governor of *Tâs*.

IN 860 *Bâbr*, having recovered from a dangerous fit of sickness, retired to this last city for change of air; and went to visit the tomb of *Imâm Rîza*, from whom *Tâs* has taken the name of *Masbûd Mokâddes*, that is, the holy Sepulchre (C). Here he made presents worthy of a great prince; and, besides his devotion, spending whole days in the mosque, abstained from wine. But next year, 861, forgetting his resolution, he fell to drink wine, as formerly; so that, falling in a passion with an officer one day, while taking the air in a chair after a debauch, his health changed all on a sudden, and he died next morning in the apartment of his women. This prince was much regretted by all his subjects; and interred under a dome by the side of *Imâm Rîza*. The physicians, having examined his body, had some suspicion that poison had been given him: but good men judged that his death might have been caused by a particular miracle wrought by their imâm. They ascribe to this prince ten years of reign, from his beginning to bear sway in *Forjân*: but properly he reigned no more than seven years in *Khorassân*, *Mazânderân*, and *Tokharestân*.

HE was succeeded in his dominions by his son the *Mîrza Mahmûd Shah Mahmûd*; who (in 862), being obliged by the *Turk-Mîrza* *mân*s to fly into *Sajestân*, was the next year killed in a battle which he fought in *Hindowstân*, as hath been before related in the reign of *Abûsâid*; who by this means became master of *Khorassân*, which he held till his death.

THE race of *Bâbr* being thus extinct, as well as that of *Yadighiar Alâ'oddawlet*, there remained only the *Mîrza Yadighiar*, or *Yadighar*, son of their brother *Mohammed*, late sultan of *Persian Irâk* and *Pârs*. It does not appear where this prince retired to immediately on the death of his father: but, in 873, we find him at the court of *Nassan Beg*, or *Uzun Nassan*, prince of the dynasty of the *White Sheep*, who had the year before put an end to that of the *Black Sheep*, by the death of *Jehân Shâh*. *Hassan Ali*, son of *Jehân Shâh*, having prevailed on *Abûsâid* to make war in his favour against *Nassan Beg*, the sultan, in the year above-mentioned, marched towards Kara-

8. *Soltân Bâbr*.

Bâbr dies.
Hej. 860,
A. D.
1455.

Hej. 873,
A. D.
1468.

* D'HÉRBELOT, p. 162.

(C) Rather, the holy place of martyrdom; which *Masbûd* signifies, *Rîza* having been slain there.—We omit two or three superstitious passages related by the *Mohammedans*, who are no less visionaries than other people.

bâgh;

Yadighiar Mirza. *bāgh*; where being overthrown by the joint forces of the *Turk-mān* and *Yadighiar Mirza*, *Hassan Beg* caused the officers of *Khorassān*, who were in *Abūsaïd's* army, to acknowledge *Yadighiar* for the lawful emperor, and successor of *Timūr*, as he had himself done before, probably in resentment of *Abūsaïd's* assisting his rival *Hassan Ali*.

Reduces Khorassān. *YADIGHIAR*, after this, the same year, went and besieged *Astarabād*: but he was opposed in his enterprise by *Soltān Hussayn*, already possessed of *Khorassān*, who relieved that city, and defeated his troops. *Yadighiar*, on this repulse, retreated to *Hassan Beg* at *Tauris*, who the next year assisted him the second time, and gave him troops, with which he routed *Hussayn*, obliging him to fly towards *Fariāb* and *Bālk*. By this victory *Yadighiar* became master of *Khorassān*: but he gave himself up so intirely to his pleasures, that he quite neglected his affairs, and took no more precautions than if he had no competitor to his dominions. This insensibility furnished *Hussayn* with leisure to wait an opportunity to attack him unexpectedly; which he found soon after: for, surprizing him in the midst of his debauches, with only a thousand horse, he slew him in the year 875; and this prince was the last of the family of *Shāh Rūkh*^f, who reigned in *Khorassān*.

Soltān Hussayn. *HUSSAYN Mirza* was the son of *Mansūr*, or *Almansūr*, son of *Baykarah*, son of *Omar Sheykh*, second son of *Timūr*. He was surnamed *Abū'lghāzi*, on account of his victories: but we have little more to add concerning them, than what has been already related in the foregoing reigns. After the defeat and death of *Yadighiar Mirza*, his near relation, in 875, he ascended the throne of *Khorassān*, in its capital *Herāt*. But this conquest did not procure him a settled repose: for he was engaged in several wars with the *Uzbek Tatars*, who made frequent incursions upon his territories; and had already driven *Mirza Bābr* out of *Great Bukhāria*, of which they were become masters. Against these new-comers, he obtained some signal victories, and designed to have expelled them: but he died by the way at *Wadekis* (D), in 911, after a reign of thirty-six years over all *Khorassān*. This prince, who was a lover of virtue and the sciences, left several children behind him^g.

Hej. 911. *BADIO'ZZAMAN* (E) and *Mozaffer*, two of *Hussayn's*

^f D'HERBELOT, p. 470.
BELOT, p. 464.

^g TEIXEIRA, p. 320. D'HER-

(D) A mistake, perhaps, for *Badekis*.

is pronounced, *Badio'zzamān*, signifies the wonder of the age.

(E) *Badia al zamān*, or, as it

sons, reigned both together at *Herât*, after their father's death, but did not long enjoy his dominions : for, being invaded by *Shaybeg*, khân of the *Uzbeks*, and not able to oppose him, they abandoned the country to their enemy. *Bâdi'ozzamân* went first to *Kandahâr*, and thence to *Trushts* ; from whence he returned, with what forces he could gather, to attack the *Uzbeks*. But, being overthrown, he fled to *Shâh Ismael Sefi*, who then reigned in *Persia* ; who gave him lands about *Tauris* for his support, besides ten sharfins in gold every day for his table. *Bâdi* continued in this situation for seven years, till 920 ; when *Soltân Selîm*, emperor of the *Turks*, having taken *Tauris* from the shâh, he was carried to *Constantinople*, where he died, in 923^h. As for *Mozaffer*, he died in 915, in the mountains of *Khorassân*, whither he had fled for fear of *Shaybeg*ⁱ.

THERE still remained two of *Timâr's* posterity, *Abû'l Ma-* Abû'l
hân Mîrza and *Ghîl Mîrza*. These princes joined themselves Mâhan,
with *Dhu'l Nun Argân*, prince of *Kandahâr* ; who, marching against the *Uzbeks*, in support of their right to the empire of *Timâr*, carried them along with him : but he was slain in battle ; and the two princes being taken, and put to death, an end was thus given to the empire of *Timâr's* descendants in *Khorassân*, after they had reigned there for the space of four-score years^k.

B O O K VII.

The History of the Shâhs reigning in Persia.

I N T R O D U C T I O N.

Of the Sofian Family, and Origin of the Shâhs.

THE founder of this dynasty in *Persia* was *Ismael*, sur- Family of
named *Sâfi*, or *Sefi* ; of whose family, or descent, it *Ismael*.
will be proper to give some previous account. The
father of this remarkable person was *Sheykh Hayder*, or *Haydr*,
the son of *Soltân Juneyd*, the son of *Sheykh Ibrâhîm*, the son of
Sheykh Ali (A), the son of *Sheykh Mûsa*, or *Mûssa* (B), the
son of *Sheykh Sefi* (C), who was the thirteenth descendant in

^b *TEXEIRA*, p. 321. *D'HERE*, p. 464. ⁱ *AL JANNABI* ap.
Poc. Supp. ad hist. dynast. p. 57. ^k *Ibid.*

(A) He is called also *Kbo-* (B) Named also *Shâdro'dîn*.
wajeh or *Kbojeh Ali*. (C) Also *Sâfi'dîn*.

MOD. HIST. VOL. V.

D d

a right

Introduction. a right male line from *Ali* (D), the son-in-law of the prophet *Mohammed*; if the *Persians* may be believed, who have the greatest veneration for this family (E).

Sheykh Saff.

WHEN *Timūr Beg*, or *Tamerlan*, returned into *Persia*, after the victory obtained over *Ilderīm Bāyezid*, he carried with him a multitude of people out of *Karamania*, and other parts of *Anatolia*, all whom he intended to put to death on some remarkable occasion; and, with this resolution, he entered *Ardevīl*, or *Ardebil*, a city of *Azerbejdān*, about twenty-five miles to the east of *Tabriz*, or *Tauris*, where he continued for some days. At this time there dwelt in that city a person named *Sheykh Saff*, or *Sefi* (F), reputed by the inhabitants a saint, and, as such, much revered by them. The fame of *Saff's* holy life and virtue moved *Timūr* to covet his friendship; and, with that design, he visited him often in person. When he was about to depart from *Ardevīl*, he went to take leave of the sheykh; and, as a token of his esteem, offered to grant him whatever favour he should ask.

A glorious action.

SHEYKH Saff, who had been informed of the conqueror's design to put the captives to death, laying hold of this occasion, made it his request that he would spare the lives of those unfortunate men. *Timūr*, desirous to oblige him, not only granted their lives, but delivered them up to him, to dispose of as he thought fit. The sheykh, when he had them in his possession, made the best provision of clothes, and other necessities, that he was able, and then dismissed them, to return into their respective countries. This great instance of universal benevolence so far gained the hearts of those people, and their compatriots, that, in token of gratitude, they repaired in great numbers to see *Saff*, bringing him presents; and this so frequently, that few days passed on which he was not visited by many.

Soltān Jū-neyd.

NOR did this respect cease with the life of those who had received it from him: but their posterity continued to pay the same acknowledgement to the race of *Saff*, till the days of *Soltān*.

* *TEIXEIRA*, c. 48. p. 337. *D'HERBEL*, p. 503. art. *Ismail Schah*.

(D) By the branch of *Hafseyn*, second son of *Ali*; which is that of the twelve imāms, according to the *Persians*. *D'Herb.* art. *Haidar*.

(E) See, on this occasion, *Sir John Chardin's voyages to Per-*

sia, &c. tome ii. p. 227. We make use of the *Paris* quarto edition, in three volumes.

(F) *Saff*, or *Sefi*, signifies *chosen*: and hence *Mossafa* is derived. Some call it, from hence, the *Safevi* race, or family.

tân Juneyd (G), his third grandson; who lived in the days of *Jehân Shâh*, the son of *Kara Tâsef*, third prince of the *Kara Koyunlu* dynasty. This prince, growing jealous of the great authority which *Juneyd* was arrived at, by the vast number of such attendants, both horse and foot, who continually waited on him, ordered him not to receive the visits of such multitudes of people. *Juneyd* resented this injunction heinously; and, to avoid a second more disagreeable message, went away, with his devotees from *Ardebil* to *Diyârbekr*: where *Uzun Hassan Beg*, who then reigned there, received him very kindly; and gave him to wife his sister *Kadija Katân*, who bore him a son named *Hayder*, or *Haydr*.

JUNEYD was very serviceable to *Uzun Hassan* for several years, particularly in his incursion into *Gurjestân*, which he frequently made under pretence of religion; compelling those whom he made prisoners to embrace it. At length, entering the kingdom of *Trabizond*, and killing the king, he some years after placed his son *Haydr* on the throne, who held it after his father's death. *Juneyd*, having enriched himself with the plunder which he had taken, in his several expeditions, from the *Georgians* and *Armenians*, went and settled in the province of *Shîrwân*. But his great wealth, added to the number of his adherents, with whom he was fortified on all sides, gave the people of the country so great a distrust, that they formed a conspiracy against him, in which he perished, with most of his followers.

AFTER *Uzun Hassan* had slain *Jehân Shâh*, and possessed *Sheykh* himself of his dominions, *Haydr* (H) removed to *Ardebil*; where he married *Alemshâh* (I), the daughter of *Hassan*, his own cousin-german, by whom he had *Ali Pâshâh*, and *Ismael*, who was born in the year 892. The next year *Hassan* gave *Haydr* some forces to make war on *Ferokeâd*, or *Farrokyâzar*, king of *Shîrwân*, who had killed *Juneyd* in battle, by the

Introduc-
tion.

Conquers
Shîrwân.

Hej. 892.
A. D.
1486.

• TEIXEIRA, p. 338. D'HERB. p. 406. art. Giuneid.

(G) Called also *Abûl Kassef al Kawarîni*.

(H) *Hayder*, or *Haydr*, is one of the *Arab* names for a lion, and one of the surnames or titles of *Ali*; who is also called *Affad Allah*, or *the lion of God*. Hence the name of *Haydr* is frequently found among his descendants.

(I) The Christian travellers and historians say her name was

Martha; and that *Uzun Hassan* had her by *Despina*, daughter of *Kalo Joannes*, emperor of *Trebizond*, who gave her to him for a wife, as is hereafter related, Vol. VI. p. 113. *Kiempfer*, among others, says, that her name was *Martha*; but mentions not his authority. *Amazônites exoticæ*, p. 9.

D d 2

assistance

Introduc-
tion.

Slain in
battle.

assistance of *Yakûb Beg*, the *Turkmân's* general : but, in attempting to revenge his father's death, he lost his life ; and occasioned the destruction of almost the whole *Sofian* family (K), which was very numerous. All his sons were killed, excepting *Yâr Ali* and *Ismael*, who were taken. *Ali* was afterwards put to death by *Rostam Beg*, as elsewhere is related ; and *Ismael*, being set at liberty, fled to *Ghilân*, or *Khilân*, where he continued six years under the protection of the king (L), who was a friend to his father *Sheykh Haydr*^d : after which, leaving that country and his benefactor,* he began to appear in the world on the following occasion.

CH A P. I.

The Reign of Shâh Ismael Sofi.

1. Shâh
Ismael
Sofi.

THERE was at this time, among the *Mohammedans*, an infinite number of people dispersed over *Asia*, who publicly professed the sect of *Ali* ; and among these, a particular party who followed that of *Haydr*, which *Sheykh Sâfi*, one of his ancestors, had brought into great reputation. *Ismael*, who had assumed the surname of *Sofi* (A), finding *Persia* was all

* See Vol. VI. p. 115.

^d *TEXEIRA*, p. 339.
D'HERB. p. 421. art. *Haidar* ; & *Pocock* Suppl. p. 63.

(K) *Haydr* was called also *Al Sûfi*, and *Sheykh Sûfiyat* : hence his descendants, who assumed the name of *Sûfi*, were called *Sûfiyat* and *Haydariyat*, that is, *Sûfian* and *Haydarian*. The *Persians* say *Haydar* invented a new covering for the head, of a red colour, with twelve plaits round a cap, which he ordered his followers to wear. This is what is called in *Persia* the *Tâj*, or *Haydarian* crown ; on which account the *Persians* are called *Kezil-bâsh*, or *Red-beads*. See *D'Herb.* bibl. orient. art. *Haydar*, & *Pocock* Suppl. hist. dynast. p. 63. However, *Mirkond* says, *Ismael* instituted the *Tâj*, after he had taken *Tauris* from *Alwand* in 907 of the *Hejrah*, according both to *Texeira* and

D'Herbelot, in the life of *Ismael*, by which may be understood, that he brought it more generally in use among all his subjects.

(L) *Olearius* calls him *Pîr Khâlem*, l. vi. p. 343.

(A) *Sofi* signifies properly, in *Arabic*, a man clothed in woollen, from *Sof*, or *Sûf*, which signifies wool. But there is more reason to believe that the word comes from the *Greek Sofos* : for the *Musulmans* denote by it a sage, or philosopher, who lives separate and retired from the world, by a kind of religious profession. *Sofi*, therefore, signifies a religious *Mohammedan*, who is called also *Darwîsh*, or *Darwîsh*, both in *Turkish* and *Persian* ; and, in *Arabic*, *Fakir*. *Shâh Ismael*, from his

all in confusion, with the troubles occasioned by those of the *Ak Koyunlû* family; and hearing that there was a great number of the *Hayderian* sect in *Karamania*, a province of *Anatolia*, removed thither. There, having gathered 7000 of that party (B), all devoted to his family, in 906, when he was but fourteen years of age, he invaded *Shîrwân*; and engaging *Ferokzad*, whom he considered as his father's murderer, with that handful of men, overthrew, killed, and became master of his kingdom (C). Next year, marching from *Nakhshivân* with his army to *Tauris*, where *Atwand* resided, that prince abandoned the country, and fled.

A. D.

1498.

Subdues
Shîrwân,
Hej. 906.
A. D.
1500.
and *Azer-*
bejân,

AFTER this, *Ismael* went to *Arzenjân*, and marched his army into the kingdom of *Zulkâder* (D): but had no sooner turned his back, than *Atwand* returned to *Tauris*; to the relief whereof *Ismael* hastening, the other fled to *Bâghdâd*, and thence to *Diyârbekr*, where he died two years after, that is, in 908. *Ismael* staid at *Tauris*, but sent his forces into *Persia*, against *Morâd Beg*, the remaining *Turkmân* prince; who, being defeated, with the loss of 10,000 men, next year abandoned to him *Pârs* and *Kermân*. After this, *Ismael* went to pass the winter at *Kom*, in *Persian Irâk*; and from thence sent *Elias Beg* with an army against the city of *Ray*, or *Rey*, formerly its capital: but *Husséyn Beg Jelohi*, who lay in the way to meet him, coming to a battle, defeated and killed him. *Ismael*, on the news of this overthrow, set out immediately in quest of *Husséyn*, who thereupon retired to the strong fortress of *Firâzkâh*. This place the shâh besieged; and, by cutting off the water, which was conveyed from without by aqueducts, obliged the enemy to surrender within the space of one month.

also *Per-*
sian Irâk.

Hej. 908.

A. D.

1502.

THIS war being over, in which, tho' it lasted so short a *Conquest* while, above 30,000 men perished, *Ismael* set out for *Khoras-* *Pârs*, *sân*. But he had not advanced far, when *Reyys Mohammed Karrahi*, with some forces, possessed himself of *Yazd* in *Pârs*.

his ancestors, took the appellation of *Sofi*; whence many of our historians and travellers call the kings of *Persia* in general the *Sofi*, or *Great Sofi*. *D'Herb.* art. *Sofi*, p. 816. The *Turks*, in enmity and contempt, call him *Sheykh Ogli*, the *Sheykh's son*.

(B) These, according to *Teixeira's* extract, were the tribes of *Esfayalu*, *Shambu*, *Takalu*, *Ver-*

fatlu, *Rowbu*, *Zulkaderlu*, *Awkshâbr*, *Kayâr*, *Sâfiyah*, *Karayalak*, and many others.

(C) According to the *Persian* historians, after he had subdued *Azerbejân* and *Armenia*, he made war on the *Georgians*, whom he obliged to pay tribute. *Chard.* voy. en *Perse*, tome i. p. 125.

(D) Or *Dhulgâder* and *Alacdeulet*, in *Asia Minor*; 'tis part of *Kappadocia* and *Cilicia*.

- A. D. 1502. *Ismael* turned back upon him ; and, after a brave defence, took both the city and *Karrahi*, whom he caused to be burnt alive. This happened in the year 911 : after which, *Ismael*, marching to *Shîrâz*, ordered by proclamation, that every man, who had been in the war against his father *Haydr*, should be put to death : on which occasion, between 30 and 40,000 persons perished (*). In 914, while he wintered at *Turon*, Soltân *Husseyn Mîrza*, king of *Khorassân*, died ; and *Shaybek Khân*, the *Uzbek*, made himself master of his dominions, driving out his son *Bâdi Azzaman*, who fled to *Irâk* for protection.
- Bâghdâd, and Irâk. *ISMAEL*, after this, marched his army into the country of *Rûmestân*, or the *Turks* (E) ; and, having given the government of *Diyârbekr* to *Mohammad Khân Estayalu*, in 916 (F) advanced to *Bâghdâd*, where *Bâribeg* commanded ; who, on his approach, left the city, and fled along with *Morâd Beg*, the last of the *Ak Koyunlû Turkmâns*, into *Anatolia*, as elsewhere related *. Thus that capital of *Arabian Irâk* fell into the hands of *Ismael*, altho' he lost a great number of men in passing the *Tigris* (G). Hence turning towards the province of *Khûzestân*, he took the city of *Shuster*, which is the capital ; and, altho' it was the depth of winter, he afterwards marched his forces into *Shîrwân*, where he reduced the cities of *Bâkâ* and *Dârbend* (H).
- Defeats. At length, in the year 917, he marched into *Khorassân*, against *Shaybek Soltân Khân*, who, after the death of Soltân *Husseyn*, son of *Baykâra*, grandson of *Timûr*, had seized on that province. On his approach, the *Uzbek* retired to *Mârû*, or *Marwo* : but, being at last provoked to come to a battle, he therein lost it, with his life ; the consequence of which was, the possession of *Khorassân* and *Mâwara'n-nâhr*. Two years after was born his son *Tahmâsp* (or *Thamas*) ; and, in 920, *Selîm I.* soltân of the *Turks*, went and attacked *Arzen-jân* on the *Euphrates*. *Ismael*, who was then at *Isfâhân*, the capital of *Persian Irâk*, to stop the progress of the *Othmâns*, set forward with his forces ; and was met by *Selîm* in the plains
- Hej. 911. A. D. 1505. A. D. 1598.
- Hej. 916. A. D. 1510.
- Hej. 917. A. D. 1511.
- Hej. 920. A. D. 1514.

* Vol. VI. p. 117.

(*) Unjust and bloody monster, unlike his ancestor *Sheykh Sefi* !

(E) Because the *Turks* are now possessed of the country of the *Romans*, or *Roman empire*, which *Rûmestân* signifies.

(F) *D'Herbelot*, in the article *Bâghdâd*, says it was taken in 1508, which is two years earlier.

(G) According to *Texeira*, he lost 12,000 horse, out of 16,000, in swimming over the river ; and, with the remaining 4000, took the city. *Hist. Pers. part i. ch. 21. p. 85.*

(H) Both situate on the shore of the *Caspian sea* ; the last is commonly written *Derbent*.

of *Chalderon* (I) (near *Koy*): where *Ismael* being defeated, with the loss of 5000 men, retired to *Tauris*, and thence to *Kasbin*. *Selim*, pursuing his good fortune, made himself master of *Tauris*; where having staid a fortnight, he returned to *Amasia* in *Anatolia*. This year the *Kezilbâsh* slew *Morâd Beg* in *Diyârbekr*, and brought his head to *Shâb Ismael*. Next year *Selim* took the important fortrefs of *Kemâk* (K): he likewise subdued the country of *Alâedeulet* and *Zulkâder*, with the territories of *Hâlep*, or *Aleppo*, in *Syria*. In 922 the sultan possessed himself of *Diyârbekr* (L); after which, thinking the conquest of *Egypt* of more importance than that of *Per-sia*, he turned his arms on that side next year, and left *Ismael* in quiet: who, from the time of his defeat, never undertook any thing of consequence till his death, which happened in 930 (M); after he had lived thirty-eight years, and reigned twenty-four, reckoning from the defeat of *Ferozkâd*, king of *Shirwân*.

A. D.
1514.
Defeated
by Selim I.
who takes
Tauris,
A. D.
1515.
A. D.
1518.
and Di-
yârbekr.
Hej. 930.
A. D.
1523.

THIS prince was endowed with an unparalleled courage, and intrepid in the greatest dangers: terrible to his enemies, and a severe exacter of military discipline. Rather harsh and cruel, than mild of disposition. Ambitious to such excess, that he used often to say, *As there is but one God in heaven, so there ought to be but one king on earth*. As he took the name of *Sofi*, or *Religious* (N), so he was exceedingly honoured by his subjects, whose enthusiasm or frenzy made them think him something more than man: nay, his soldiers would have ascribed to him some sort of divinity; but, as haughty as he was, he always rejected it (O), of which he once gave a signal instance: for, after gaining an important victory, when some saluted him by the title of prophet, others of angel, and

Greatly re-
verenced.

(I) *D'Herbelot* has *Gialderan*. (that is *Jalderan*), which, says he, our authors name *Chalderon*.

(K) On the west side of the *Euphrates*, twenty-one miles south of *Arzenjân*, or *Arzengân*.

(L) For the particulars of this conquest, see the reign of *Selim I.* in the *Othmân* history.

(M) According to *Olearius*, he died at *Kâsbin*, and was buried at *Ardebil*.

(N) *D'Herbelot* says, he affected to be thought a prophet, and even divine; seemingly with design to throw an odium on him on account of his religion: yet

relates the story of the pit, bringing it in very incoherently. In which he seems to be less sincere than *Texteira*: who, being a *Romanist*, would doubtless have been as willing as the other to have told *Ismael's* impiety, had he seen any foundation for it in his author.

(O) *Olearius* says, that he was reputed to have been a great observer of justice; but to have made no difficulty to drink wine, and eat swines-flesh: nay, that, in derision of the *Turkish* religion, he kept a hog in his court, which he named *Bâyezid*.

A. D. 1523. others of God, finding he was not able to dissuade them from paying him such impious homage, he commanded a pit of great depth and extent to be dug; and, throwing one of his shoes into it, ordered the man who loved him best to go fetch it out. No sooner was the word spoken, than some thousands, to shew their zeal, leaped in; and, the moment they were down, all the earth which had been dug out of it, was thrown upon them, thus chastising their impious folly by burying them alive.

His sons.

ISMAEL had four sons; Shâh Tabmâsh, Aleas or Elias Mirzah, Sam Mîrza, and Bahrâm Mîrza^b. The European historians give a most confused and erroneous account (P) of the original of the family and empire of the shâhs. What they have written concerning *Ismael*, and his successors, taken from the travellers, is no less incorrect and imperfect; the latter having only related what they had observed themselves during their travels, or received from the natives, without consulting the *Persian* authors, at least sufficiently for the purpose, altho' some of them (Q) might have been capable of doing it. *Olearius* has given us a brief account of the shâhs, from their original, down to his own time; but it is so superficial and uncertain with regard to all of them, till Shâh Abbâs, as to be of very little service to us. Concerning *Ismael*, he informs us, that, after he had subdued some provinces of *Persia*, he marched into *Turky*, and defeated the sultan: that afterwards he conquered *Arabian Irâk*, *Kürdestân*, *Diyârbehk*, and *Armenia*, to the *Euphrates*: then, having secured his frontiers against the *Turks*, turned his arms eastward, and took *Kandahâr*, with the adjoining province, from the king of the *Indies*: that, after this, he went to *Kaswin* (or *Kasbin*) to be crowned: but, without staying longer than the ceremony required, proceeded to *Georgia*; and, having defeated the king, called *Simon Pâdishâh*, obliged him to pay yearly 100 bales of silk, by way of tribute.

Defect of authors.

^b TEXEIRA, D'HERBELOT, & POCCOCK, ubi supra.

(P) See *Byzarrus Rerum Persicarum Historia*; the editor of *Krusinsky's* late revolution in *Persia*, &c.

(Q) As *Della Valle*, *Herbert*, *Olearius*, *Thevenot*, *Tavernier*, *Chardin*, *Kämpfer*, and a few more.

C H A P.

C H A P. II.

The Reigns of Tahmâsp I. and Ismael II.

TAHMASP (A), the eldest son of *Ismael*, succeeded his father. He had several wars in *Khorassan* against the *Uzbeks*; who, having seized *Karazm* and *Great Bukhâria*, which bound *Persia* on the north, became very troublesome neighbours: but that which he carried on against *Soleyman*^a, the *Othmân* emperor, was more considerable. *Soleyman*, having advanced with his forces to attack him in 941, at such time as he had another war upon his hands in *Khorassan*, he was obliged to return with his army to oppose the *Turks*: however, he avoided coming to a battle, on account of the great artillery which *Soleyman* had brought along with him. The sultan, having entered *Persia*, laid siege to *Tauris*, and took it; but afterwards, without penetrating farther into the country, withdrew, and retired to *Kâra Amîd* (or *Diyârbekr*). 2. *Shâh Tahmâsp.*
Hej. 941.
A. D.
1543.

As soon as *Shâh Tahmâsp* was informed of this, he attacked his dunder, or rear-guard, consisting of 17,000 men, which had been left, according to the custom of the *Turks*, to prevent their being surprised. In effect, he defeated this body of troops, and retook *Tauris*: but, *Soleyman* having marched back upon this news, the shâh fled before him, and ruined his own country, to avoid being pursued^b. *Actions and death.*

TAHMASP began his reign in the year 930; and died in 983, after he had reigned fifty-three (B). He was poisoned by one of his wives, the mother of prince *Haydr*, out of an eager desire to set him on the throne after his father's death: but her design was frustrated by his sister, who bribed one of the officers belonging to the treasury to kill him, when he went to inquire what money his father had left behind him^c. Hej. 983.
A. D.
1575.

HE had two sons more, *Ismael* and *Mohammed*, who both reigned after him,

^a See, in a subsequent vol. the history of *Soleyman*.
Annals ap. D'Herbelot, p. 1016. art. *Thahamâsb*.
YUSEF. ap. Pocock. Suppl. ad Hist. Dynast. p. 65.

^b Turkish
^c EBN

(A) The *Persians* write *Tabmâsp*, and the *Arabs* *Tahmâsb*; which is corruptly named *Tamas*, and *Thamas*, in the *European* authors.

11th May 1576, in the sixty-eighth year of his age, and forty-second of his reign, which is eleven years short. *Minadoi* also says, he died the 11th of May

(B) *Olearius* says, he died 1576.

A. D. 1575. *Invaded by Soley-mân,*
subo re-treats. THIS is all the account, relating to Shâh *Tahmâsh*, which has been transmitted to us from the oriental authors (C). *Olearius* says, that Soltân *Soleymân*, taking advantage of the weakness of Shâh *Tahmâsh*, who did not inherit the virtues and great endowments of his father *Ismael*, recovered from the *Persians*, by his generals, all which they had taken from the *Turks*, excepting *Bâghdâd* and *Wân*: that, two years after, he entered *Persia* in person, took *Tauris*, and besieged *Soltâ-niyah*; while *Tahmâsh*, who was at *Kafwîn*, had not courage enough to attempt raising the siege, which yet, by accident, was effected: for, in *March*, some few days before their *New-râz*, or new-year's day, there fell such abundance of rain, accompanied with a violent storm, and the snow of the neighbouring mountains dissolving at the same time, all the valleys were overflowed, and the *Othmân* camp greatly incommoded thereby. This sudden inundation, joined to the colour of the water (which, probably, from the nature of the ground thro' which it passed, was reddish), so frightened *Soleymân*, that he forthwith broke up his camp, and returned home. In his retreat, he destroyed all before him: but, being engaged by the *Persians* near *Betlis*, or *Bedlis*, was absolutely defeated.

ACCORDING to the same author, the *Persians* spoke slightly both of his conduct and valour (D). They charge him with neglecting to administer justice to his subjects, and leaving the whole management of affairs to his ministers. They blame him for giving protection to *Humayân*, son of Soltân *Babr*, the *Mogol* of *Indyftân* (E), who was driven out of his kingdom; nor would deliver him up, when demanded by the usurper. But, in this, he did rather a commendable than blameable action^d.

4 OLEARIUS's Travels, l. 6. p. 345.

(C) *D'Herbelot* seems to have taken the whole article of *Tahmâsh* from *Gaudier's* translation of the *Turkish* annals, and *Dr. Pocock's* supplement to *Abûl-faraj*. Several of those relating to the *Turkmân* dynasties are in like manner transcribed from *Pocock* and *Texeira*; yet he could not have been without good originals, if he had consulted them.

(D) Yet *Chardin*, from the *Persian* historians, says, he was a prince of great courage and

success. *Voy. en Perse*, tom. i. p. 125.

(E) *Olearius* makes sad work here, saying, he was the son of *Selim*; and that he fled to avoid the attempts of his uncle *Jelâl-oddin Akbar*; whereas *Akbar* was his son, from whom he received no injury. He was driven out by the usurper *Sibir Khân*, the *Afghân*, or *Awgacân*, who was his wazîr, and restored by the help of *Tahmâsh*.

It has been already mentioned in the reign of *Ismael*, that *Georgia* was reduced to pay tribute by Shah *Ismael*. That country, besides the kingdoms of *Kaket* and *Karthuel* (or *Karduel*), was then divided among several feudatory princes, who were continually at war among themselves, which contributed most to the ruin of the whole. In the time of *Tahmâsp*, *Karduel* (or the *Eastern Georgia*) was possessed by *Luarzab* (F); who left two sons, *Simon* and *David*; between whom he divided his dominions: but, as neither was content with his share, they went to war together, and both craved assistance of *Tahmâsp*. The youngest happening to apply first, and its *Tahmâsp* answered, that he would give him all his father's territories, provided he would turn *Mohammedan*. *David* consents; and joins the *Persian* army, consisting of 30,000 horse, which had already entered the country. From thence he is sent to *Kasbîn*; and, as soon as *Tahmâsp* has him in his power, he makes the same offer to *Simon*; who, finding himself pressed by the *Persian* arms, surrenders himself, but without renouncing his faith. The shâh, being now master both of the princes and their country, sends the elder prisoner to *Jenghâ* (G), near the *Caspian* sea; and makes the other governor of *Georgia*, changing his name from *David* to *Dawd Khân*; at the same time he made him and the *Georgian* lords take an oath of fidelity, and send him their sons for hostages.

SHAH *Tahmâsp* had, by several wives, eleven sons (H) and *Haydr* three daughters. Among the sons, there were three who survived the rest; *Mohammed* (who, on account of his weak sight, had given up thoughts of governing, and embraced a devout life, was called *Khodâbandeh*, that is, *servant of God*), *Ismael*, and *Haydr*. As *Tahmâsp* had a particular affection for *Haydr*, it was his design to make him his successor; and, for that end, gave him a share in the government during his life. When the shâh was near his end, the great lords sent to *Mohammed*, whose right it was by birth, to accept of the crown:

• CHARDIN voy. en Perse, tom. i. p. 125. OLEARIUS, p. 345: MINADOI wars between Turks and Pers. p. 4.

(F) *Minadoi*, and, after him, gives the names; *Mabomet*, *Ismael*, *Ayder Cawn*, *Solyman*, *Eman-goly*, *Mamut Ally*, *Mustapha*, *Ally Cawn*, *Amet Cawn*, *Ebrahim*, *Hamze* and *Ixena Cawn*. *Herb.*

(G) *Minadoi* says, the castle of *Kabaka*, between *Kasbîn* and *Tauris*. *Minad.* wars between *Turks* and *Pers.* p. 4. Trav. p. 198.

(H) *Herbert* says twelve, and

and,

A. D. 1575. and, on his refusal, gave notice to *Ismael* (I), who was then a prisoner in the castle of *Kahak*, where he had been confined by his father, for having of his own head made incursions into the *Othman* dominions, altho' he professed the *Turkish*, and hated the *Persian* sect. Mean time *Haydr*, who was but seventeen years of age, impatient to get into the throne, had the presumption to put the crown on his head, and appear in that posture before his dying father.

Put to death.

MORE effectually to carry his point, during *Ismael's* absence, he solicited his sister *Peria-konkonna*, who was older than any of her brothers, to make use of the interest which she had with the grandees, in his behalf.

THE princefs had already declared herself in favour of the elder brother: yet, fearing *Haydr* should proceed to violences, which might prevent her securing the crown for *Ismael*, if she opposed his pretensions, suffered him to assume the title of king; and, as such, he was acknowledged all over the palace. However, she had all the avenues so well guarded, that it was impossible for *Haydr's* friends to carry any tidings of it to the city: so that the young prince, beginning to distrust his sister's carriage, and apprehending their design was to sacrifice him to his brother's resentment, concealed himself among the women; till *Shamal* (K), a *Georgian*, his uncle by the mother's side, discovered him, and cut off his head^f.

The Reign of Ismael II.

3. Shâh **ISMAEL**, being thus raised to the throne from a prison (where he had been confined for twenty-five years) by the management of his sister, to reward her for the favour, put her to death. However, he did not long survive his parricide; Hej. 985. for he died the 13th of *Ramazân*, in the year 985 (A), aged A. D. above fifty. His death was thought to be procured by poison 1577. infused in treacle, which he took often, and in great quantity.

^f OLEARIUS, ubi sup. HERBERT Travels, p. 198. MINAD. p. 6.

^f (I) *Minadoi*, p. 1. says, *Tab-masp* appointed *Ismael* for his successor, who had been imprisoned for the fierceness of his courage.

(K) *Herbert* calls him *Sabamal Kban*; and says, *Hayder* enjoyed the crown but four days: that *Peria-konkonna* was a mar-

tial lady, and encouraged him to ascend the throne; yet, on his death, invited *Ismael*. *Herbert Trav.* p. 198, & seq.

(A) *Olearius* puts his death on the 24th November 1577, which is near the mark; and postpones that of his sister to *Mohammed's* reign.

Others say, that he was slain by some of the great lords, who went in to him dressed in women's clothes^a. He reigned one year and ten months. A. D. 1577.

ISMAEL confirmed the proverb, that *the reign of a His great prince, who returns from exile, is always cruel and bloody*: for cruelty. he began his reign with the execution of all the kindred and friends of *Haydr* (B), as well as of those who had advised his father to imprison him; pursuing such as he could not get apprehended, even as far as the frontiers of *Turky*, the religion of which he openly professed. To find out how the *grandees* were affected towards him, he caused a report to be spread of his death: but he appeared again too soon for those who had been so imprudent as to discover an aversion to his government; for he took away the lives of all such as he had the least jealousy of; and exercised so great cruelty, that his sister *Peria-konkonna*, not thinking herself secure while he lived, took care to make away with him: but this was done so secretly, that, when our author was in *Persia*, it was not known in what manner the inhabitants came to get rid of such a tyrant^b. According to *Minadoi* and *Herbert*, his sister, and four lords (C) dressed in women's apparel, entered his apartment one night, as if on a party of gallantry, and strangled him with a silken cord, on the 24th of *November* 1577^c. He is slain.

C H A P. III.

The Reign of Mohammed Khodâbandeh, Hamzeh, and Ismael III.

ON the death of *Ismael*, *Mohammed Khodâbandeh* was sent 4. *Shâh* for from *Khorassân*, of which he was governor; and, *Moham-* coming to *Kaswîn*, there ascended the throne. Beside the med. appellation of *Khodâbandeh*, which he obtained on account of his devotion, as has been already mentioned, he had also that of *Alzarir*, or *the Blind*, given him, because he wanted his sight (A); and it was for this reason that *Ismael*, who put to death

^a Pocock. Suppl. p. 65. D'HERB. p. 505. art. Ismail ben Thahmasp.

^b OLEARIUS, ubi sup. HERBERT, p. 199. MINAD. p. 10.

^c MINAD. p. 12. HERBERT, ibid.

(B) *Herbert* says, he put to death eight of his brothers also. *Tâvels*, p. 199. *Minadoi* says the same; from whom both *Herbert* and *Olearius* seem to have taken their memoirs.

(C) *Khalil Khân*, *Amir Khân*, *Mohammed Khân*, and *Kurchi Khân*.

(A) But it is not to be understood that he was stone-blind, tho' he is commonly by authors reckoned

A. D. death all his other brothers, had spared him. *Ahmed ebn Yusef* says he reigned a good many years; *Texeira*, *Minadoi*, and *Olearius*, but seven^a.

Periakonkonna slain. ACCORDING to the two last authors, they had a good deal of difficulty to prevail on him to accept of the crown (B); till he was made sensible, that both his person, and the kingdom, would be exposed to great danger, in case it passed to a strange family. However, he resolved not to assume it, but on condition that, before he made his entrance into *Kasvin*, they brought him the head of *Peria-konkonna* (C); who, having imbrued her hands in the blood of two of his brothers, might otherwise have it in her power to dispose of the kingdom to another: for this princess had prostituted herself to several lords of the court, particularly to *Amir Khân*, whom she had filled with hopes of ascending the throne.

His character. As soon as *Mohammed* took on him the reins of government, which was in the year 1578, he seemed studious to imitate those of his predecessors who had contributed most to preserve and exalt the glory of the state. This is what *Bizarrus* says of him: but the *Persians* affirm, that never any prince managed a sceptre with greater negligence and pusillanimity; insomuch that, finding himself unfit for carrying on any military design, he spent all his time within the palace gaming, and diverting himself with the ladies: that his enemies, the *Turks* on one side, and *Uzbek Tatars* on the other, taking advantage of his effeminacy, invaded *Persia*; and possessed themselves of several provinces, which continued in their hands so long as he lived^b.

Defeats the Turks. For all this, at first the *Persians*, under this prince, gained some considerable advantages against the *Turks*. *Minadoi* relates, that, in the year above-mentioned, their general *Tokmak*, with only 20,000 men, in the *Kalderân* plains, defeated 100,000

^a POCOËK Suppl. p. 65. D'HERB. p. 613. art. *Mohammed Khod.* ^b OLEARIUS, l. vi. p. 346. HERBERT, p. 199. MINAD. p. 15.

reckoned so: for we do not find, that his eyes were put out; and it is only said before, that his sight was very weak or bad; which is confirmed by *Herbert*, in his *Travels*, p. 198, who calls him the purblind king of *Persia*.

(B) *Herbert* says, that, on the murder of his eight brothers, *Mohammed* began to stir to secure

himself, and the people to flock to him. *Ibid.*

(C) As this seems to be the same princess said to be slain by *Ismael*, there must be some mistake, or great uncertainty, in this particular, among the *Persian* historians. *Peria-konkonna* may not improperly be rendered the *Fairy Queen*.

Othmâns under *Mostafa Pâshâ*; and killed 30,000, with the loss of 8000 *Kizîlbâsh*, of whose heads he made a monument, to scare their countrymen. *Minadoi* says, three thousand of them were the heads of prisoners; and that, ordering them to be laid in a heap, he sat on it while he gave audience to a young *Georgian* lord, who paid him a visit. But this insult was retaliated on the *Turks* more severely still the same year; for, being met a second time by *Arez Beg* and *Imâm Kâlî Khân*, as they passed the *Konak* (in *Georgia*), 30,000 of them parted with their heads, to raise a higher monument to the *Persian* valour. After this, *Arez Beg*, with 10,000 men, surprising the *Tatars*, in their way from *Mazânderân*, where they had done great mischief, to join *Ozmân Pâshâ*, left by *Mostafa* (in *Shîrwân*), he attacked and routed a great part of their army. But *Abdo'l Gheray*, the *Tatar* general (D), with some select troops, coming unexpectedly upon the backs of the *Persians*, turned the fortune of the day: for the latter, who were already half-tired, taking them for the *Turks* under *Ozmân Pâshâ*, were presently defeated; and their general *Arez Beg*, being taken, was afterwards hanged at *Shamaktya*. A. D. 1578.

MOHAMMED Khodâbandeh, quickly informed of the shameful death inflicted on *Arez Beg*, orders his son *Amir Hamzeh Mirza* (the wonder of his age), to revenge the injury. The prince sets out forthwith from *Kasvin* with 12,000 men; and, in nineteen days, comes up with *Abdo'l Gheray*, and his *Tatars*, on whom he falls with such fury, that, in two hours, they are put to the rout. This done, he enters *Erez*, puts the garrison to the sword, and hangs *Kaytas Pâshâ*, to atone for *Arez Beg*. Here likewise he recovered 200 pieces of cannon, which his grandfather *Tahmâsp* had lost to *Soltân zeh Mir-Soleymân*. After this, hearing where the *Tatars* were encamped again, he comes on them suddenly with his nimble troops, cuts most of them in pieces; and, unhorsing *Abdo'l Gheray* himself, sends him prisoner to *Erez*, where the queen-mother lay; Mean time *Ozmân Pâshâ*, with his forces, enters *Shamaktya*; but the *Persian* prince hastes thither with such fury, that the amazed *Pâshâ* flies by night, and leaves the city to his mercy; vengeance, we should have termed it: for he set the houses on fire, and may be said to have quenched it with the blood of the inhabitants, to punish their treachery.^a His general taken.

* MINADOI, p. 31. HERBERT, p. 200.
p. 201.

^a HERBERT,

(D) A young man, and brother to the khân of *Krim*. *Herbert* relates of him the substance of what the reader will find in the reign of *Soltân Morâd*, emperor of the *Othmân Turks*.

A. D. 1578. *Affairs of Georgia.* THE Georgians shook off the Persian yoke after the death of *Tahmâsp*; as did most of the provinces of Persia during the reign of *Ismael II.* and the four first years of *Mohammed Khodâbandeh*, who sent an army into their country, to reduce it to his obedience. On the news of its approach, *David Khân* fled; and his brother *Simon*, who was in prison, taking that occasion to recover his possessions, turned *Mohammedan*, and was made governor of *Tiflis*, under the name of *Simon Khân*^c. This is the account given by the Persian historians, which is reconcileable enough with what *Minadoi* relates from report. According to this author, *Simon* was confined in the same prison with *Ismael*, who afterwards reigned the second of that name, where he continued for some time: but his reputation for courage and experience bringing him acquainted with *Ismael*, that prince, who afterwards contracted an intimacy with him, prevailed on him at last to change his faith; with a promise to get him released, and restored to his territories. Accordingly, on his ascending the throne, he released *Simon*: but was cut off before he had time^f to restore him. However, *Mohammed Khodâbandeh*, on *Simon's* application to him, made him khân of Georgia; and forthwith sent him into that country, accompanied by *Ali Kâli Khân*, and 5000 horse, to oppose the designs of the *Turks*, which he frustrated on many occasions^g.

Prince Simon released.

THE war with the *Turks* continued almost all the reign of *Mohammed*, who was much distressed for want of sufficient forces to encounter the enemy both in *Georgia* and *Persia*: so that, altho' his eldest son *Hamzeh Mirza* performed wonderful actions, defeating great armies of *Othmâns* with a handful of men, yet, prevailing by numbers, they gained many advantages; and at length, mastering *Tauris*, built a strong fortress in the middle of it, which was not recovered during this reign. But, as we have given the detail of these matters in the reign of *Morâd*, sultân of the *Othmân Turks*^h, we refer the reader thither for farther information.

The Reign of Hamzeh, or Hamza.

5. Shâh Hamzeh. *MOHAMMED Khodâbandeh* died in the year of the *Hejrah* 993, and of *Christ* 1584, leaving three sons; *Amîr Hamzeh*, *Ismael*, and *Abbâs*. *Hamzeh*, as being the eldest, was crowned king of *Persia*; yet *Ismael*, envying the advancement of his brother, had the address to prevail on the chief lords

^c CHARDIN, tom. i. p. 125.
OLEAR. p. 345.

^f MINADOI, l. iv. p. 135.
^g See the *Othmân* hist. ^h See a subseq. vol.

of the kingdom to conspire his death ; which was effected in the eighth month of his reign, in the following manner. He procured some assassins, who, dressed in women's cloaths, and covered with veils, according to the custom of the east, went one morning to the shâh's chamber-door ; and, pretending to the guards, that they were the wives of some khâns, whom the king had sent for, readily obtained admittance to the apartment, where they murdered (A) the unsuspecting prince : but his death was soon after revenged upon the contriver of it^a.

A. D.
1584.

ACCORDING to *Minadoi*, *Hamzeh* was assassinated during his father's life-time, and in another manner. He relates that this mirza, in July 1586, came to *Tauris* : but, instead of attacking the fort built there by the *Turks*, marched to *Sal-mâs*, against *Zeynel Bey*, the *Kârd*, whom he defeated, as he did presently after the pâshâ of *Rivân* : then, returning to *Tauris*, he gets together an army of 40,000 men, with design to attack the *Turks*, then advancing to the city ; but that, by the treachery of *Ali Kâli Khân*, the enemy got into *Tauris*, and reinforced the garrison : that, at the same time, prince *Hamzeh* being informed of a conspiracy of several sultâns to betray him into the hands of the *Othmân* general, he was obliged to abandon his design, in order to take care of his own safety : that, however, having driven *Ali Kâli Khân* out of the country about *Tauris*, he began to look upon himself pretty secure against his secret enemies ; and repaired to *Ganjeh*, a city of *Arrân*, of which *Imâm Kâli Khân*, his friend, was governor, designing to march from thence to intercept the *Turkish* forces in their way to *Teflûs* : but that, while he staid there to prepare for his expedition, he was stabbed by one of his eunuchs who guarded him, set on, as some supposed, by his brother *Abbâs Mirza*, governor of *Heri*, or *Herât*, in *Khorassân* ; others supposed by his father *Mohammed*. *Minadoi*, on several occasions, suggests the enmity and attempts of *Abbâs* against *Hamzeh*, by mistake, perhaps, for *Ismael*, whom he does not once mention : besides, as that author, tho' a very curious and intelligent historian, was not in *Persia* at the time of *Hamzeh's* death, his authority must give way to that of travellers who were in the country, and wrote after him.

*Is assassin-
ated.*

*Various
reports.*

^a OLEAR. Trav. l. vi. p. 347.
p. 380. 387.

^b MINADOI, l. 9.

(A) The *Turks* say, he was killed bravely fighting near *Sal-mâs*, in the year 993 of the *Hejrah*, which answers to 1585 of *Christ* : but this is contradicted by other historians. See hereafter, in the reign of *Morad III.* sultân of the *Othmâns*.

The Reign of Ismael III.

A. D.
1584.
6. Shâh
Ismael II.

WHILE *Ismael* was employed in this fratricide, *Abbâs Mirza*, who had the government of *Khorassân*, was set out from *Herât*, capital of that province, in order to visit his brother *Hamzeh*: but hearing, on the road, of his murder, thought it more advisable to return to his place of residence, than put himself in the power of the author of it. The year following, while *Ismael* was in the province of *Kârabâgh*, *Abbâs* advanced as far as *Kafwîn*; where the frequent disputes, which happened between the people belonging to the two brothers, heightened the distrust they had of each other. *Abbâs* had with him, at this time, *Murshâd Kâli Khân*, whom, for his prudence and courage, *Mohammed Khodabânde* had appointed that prince's tutor. *Murshâd*, knowing that *Ismael* would never pardon *Abbâs*, against whom he had spoken with great animosity, and that his own life depended on the safety of his master's, was resolved, if possible, to prevent the king, now actually on the march against his brother. To effect this, he drew over some of the great court-lords; who, in hopes of gaining the favour of *Abbâs*, bribed one of *Ismael's* barbers, named *Khâdi*, to cut his throat while he was shaving him. The lords, who were present when the fact was committed, to justify themselves, cut the assassin in pieces, and burnt him to ashes. Thus died Shâh *Ismael III.* after he had reigned eight months^c.

CHAPTER IV.

The Reign of Shâh Abbâs I. surnamed the Great.

7. Shâh
Abbâs I.

THE two preceding princes are, by some *European* historians and travellers, put in the number of the *Persian* kings; by others, not. The case may possibly be the same with the oriental historians; but the misfortune is, our extracts from them here fail us: for *Mirkond*, of whom *Teixeira* has given an abridgment, so far as relates to the *Persian* kings, does not reach so low down. *Ahmed ebn Yûsef*, made use of by *Dr. Pocock*, in his supplement to *Abû'lfaraj*, wrote in the time of Shâh *Abbâs* the first (A): and *D'Herbelot*, as if, in them, his sources for the history of the *Sofian* family had failed him, under the title of *Abbâs*, says only, that there

^c OLEAR. p. 347.

(A) Whom he made the immediate successor of *Mohammed Khodabânde*, according to *Dr. Pocock*.

were two kings in *Persia* of that name, both well known to *Europeans*, by the relations of modern travellers. So that we are turned over to them, as the funds from whence we are to draw our materials for the reigns of *Shâh Abbâs* and his successors.

A. D.

1584.

ABBAS had already, by his spirit and moderation, so far gained the affections of the *Persians*, that he ascended the throne with a general satisfaction. But the favour of *Murshîd Kâli Khân*, who had most contributed to his advancement, did not continue long: for, assuming the same authority over the king, as he had done before while only mirza, or prince, he created a resentment in *Abbâs*, which proved his ruin. One day, when the shâh was going to give his opinion with relation to an important affair, which had been proposed; that lord had the insolence to tell him, before all the council, that he was not fit to speak about points of such a nature, as being above the reach of his years and understanding. *Abbâs* dissembled his resentment at that time; but considering, that, if such liberties were borne with, it would bring him in contempt with his subjects, he resolved to rid his governor out of the way.

He disclosed his intention to three lords of his council, *Ma-hadi Kâli Khân*, *Mohammed Uftad Shâhi*, and *Ali Kâli Khân*: but as this was a matter of the greatest consequence to them, and they doubted even the reality of the shâh's design, they endeavoured to dissuade him from it. He told them, it was his will that *Murshîd Kâli Khân* should die by their hands; and that, if they scrupled to give him that testimony of their zeal for his service, he should find means to be obeyed. Those grandees finding it would be dangerous to stand out any longer, followed the king into his favourite's chamber; who lying asleep on his back, *Abbâs* gave him the first blow with his sword, across his mouth; and the others seconded it, with each a stab: but *Murshîd Kâli Khân*, who was a very stout man, rising off his bed, put himself in such a posture of defence, as made them all afraid; and, doubtless, would have dispatched some of his murderers, had it not been for one of his grooms, who, coming in at the noise, with a battle-ax in his hand, the shâh said to him: *I would have the life of Murshîd Kâli Khân, who is become my enemy; go, dispatch him, and I will make thee a khân.* The groom obeying the king's command, went up to his master, and killed him. Next day, *Abbâs* put to death all the relations and friends of the deceased, to prevent any disturbances which their discontent might have raised against him; and, besides rewarding the groom with the

A. D.
1584.dignity of khân, made him governor of *Herât*, the capital of *Khorassân*.Repulses
the Uz-
beks.

THIS happened in the first year of his reign. This monarch's first actions discovered his abilities for governing his kingdom, and that he had no occasion for a director. His thoughts were wholly bent on recovering the large provinces which the *Turks* and *Tatars* had taken from his predecessors. He began by declaring war against the latter, who had seized the finest part of *Khorassân* during his father's reign. Accordingly, having raised a powerful army, he entered that province, where he was met by *Abdallah*, khân of the *Uzbeks* (B); who, at first, obtained some advantage over him, by reason the plague, and bad weather, kept the shâh's forces from action. The two armies lay near six months in sight of each other: but, at last, *Abbâs* attacked *Abdallah Khân*, and forced him to retreat to *Masbhad*. The shâh continued three years in *Khorassân*; in all which time, the *Uzbek* was in no condition to disturb him in his conquests; and, when he attempted it, was so unfortunate as not only to be defeated, but taken, with his brother, and three sons, whose heads were all cut off (C), by the shâh's orders.

Removes to
Ispâhân.

ABBAS, on his return from *Khorassân*, went to *Ispâhân*, the capital of *Persian Irâk*, with whose pleasant situation, and fertile soil, he was so delighted, that he transferred the seat of his empire thither. His next expedition was against the *Othmân Turks*. Understanding, by his spies, that the garrison of *Tabris*, or *Tauris*, were under no apprehension of an attack, he privately assembled a few forces; and, in six days, marched thither from *Ispâhân*, though it is usually eighteen days journey of the karawâns. Being come to the pass of *Shibli*, within four leagues of *Tabris*, where the *Turks* kept a party of soldiers, rather to receive the customs on commodities, than hinder the entrance of the *Persians*, he, with some officers, left the army, and advanced as far as the turnpike. The secretary of the custom-house, imagining them to be merchants, addressed himself, for the duties, to Shâh *Abbâs*: who told him, that the person with the purse was coming behind; and calling to

* OLEAR. Trav. into Persia, l. vi. p. 347.

(B) Then possessed of *Great Bukhâria*, of which *Samarkant* is the capital, where *Abdallah* reigned. See Vol. VI. p. 127; and general collect. of voy. and trav. 4to. Vol. IV. p. 524.

for *Abdallah Khân* lived till the year 1597, subduing *Karazm*, after his expedition into *Khorassân* against Shâh *Abbâs*. See the places cited in the former note.

(C) This must be a mistake;

Dulfikar

Dulfikar Khân, bade him give the officer some money. But, while the secretary was telling it, he ordered one of his followers to dispatch him: then, obliging the soldiers who kept that post to submit, entered the país with his army. A. D. 1584.

ALI Pâshâ, governor of *Tauris*, on this news, gathered what troops he could in the time, and went to meet the shâh: but his forces, being much inferior to the *Persians*, were defeated, and himself taken. The citadel, built in the midst of the city by *Hassan Pâdshâh*, otherwise called *Uzun Hassân* (D), held out a month longer; and was then taken by some intelligence from within. From hence *Abbâs* proceeded to *Nakhchuan* (E), the garrison of which retired to *Irvân*, as soon as they heard of his being on the road: having demolished the citadel of that city, called *Kilbikalaban*, he followed them to *Irvân* (F), which he took, after a siege of nine months. This conquest facilitated the reduction of all the neighbouring cities and provinces, excepting *Orûmi* (G), which, being strongly situated on the point of a rock, he besieged eight months in vain. Finding therefore no hopes of becoming master of it by force, and that the *Kûrds* did him more injury than the *Turks* themselves, he sought the friendship of their chiefs by presents; and, among other advantages, promised them the plunder of the place, in case by their means it should be taken.

THE *Kûrds*, who were a free independent people, and lived solely by rapine, embracing the offer, went over to the shâh; and, by their assistance, the city was taken. *Abbâs*, having gained his ends, sent to invite them to dinner with him, with a design to cut them all off, fearing they might, another time, do the *Turks* the like piece of service they had done him. For this purpose, a tent was set up, whose entrance had several turnings; so that those who went foremost were soon out of sight of those who followed; and a little way within were placed two executioners, who dispatched the guests as fast as they entered.

FROM this fortress marching on, he became master of all *Shîrwân* the country between the rivers *Kûr* and *Arrâs* (H). Thence proceeding into *Shîrwân*, he reduced *Shamaktya*, its capital, in seven weeks, with the whole province; the government

(D) In *Olearius*, *Ussum Kafsan*.

(E) *Nakhchuan*, or *Nakshivan*, as others spell it.

(F) Called also *Irvan*, *Erivan*, *Revan*, and *Rivan*, a noted city of *Arrân*, near the river *Arrâs*.

(G) Called also *Ormîya*, a

city at the south-west end of the lake *Shâbi*, in *Azerbejân*, about sixty miles to the south-west of *Salmâs*, on the same lake.

(H) The antient *Cyrus* and *Araxis*. The intermediate country is called *Arrân*, or *Arrân*, a fine and fruitful province.

A. D.

1584.

1594.

whereof he bestowed on *Julfakar Khân*, his brother-in-law, people of *Dârbend*, on this news, killed the *Turkish* general and submitted to the conqueror. After this, he entered *lân* (I), and reduced the inhabitants, who, in the time of *Tahmâsh*, had thrown off their subjection: and, as near *kerân* there was a vast fen, or morass, which in a manner covered the whole province, and rendered the entrance very difficult; he ordered a road, or bank of sand, to be made thence, from that town, and built khâns, or inns, for the accommodation of travellers, in several parts (K) of the country.

Turks
enter Persia.

IT was the intention of Shâh *Abbâs* to sit still with acquisitions he had made: but, about a year after, arriving, that the *Turks* were hastening, with an army of 50,000 men, towards the *Persian* borders, he assembles all the troops he could at *Tabrîs*; and orders the inhabitants of the frontier to retire, with their cattle, into the walled towns, laying waste the country, that the enemy might find no subsistence. At the same time, the *Turks* having advanced, and encamped near *Abbâs* caused it to be published through his army, that all who were willing to serve as volunteers, should list themselves apart, and receive for every *Turk's* head they brought fifty crowns. On this encouragement, above 5000 *Persians* listed themselves, who every day made a prize of some booty which were presented him, as soon as he rose: among them a soldier, named *Bahrâm Tekel*, brought him one morning together; for which piece of service he was made a khân.

Are over-
thrown.

AT the end of three months, *Chakal Oglî*, the *Turkish* general, sent a kind of challenge to Shâh *Abbâs*, giving him to understand; that, if he had as much confidence in God, as the justice of his cause, as he would have the world to see, he should not be afraid of accepting a general engage-

^b OLEAR. Trav. into Persia, l. vi. p. 347.

(I) *Mazânderân* also, having combined with some parts of *Kilân*, or *Gheylân*, in 1593, rebelled against *Abbâs*, who, the next year, marched thither with 20,000 horse; and, in passing a river by swimming, lost 4000 men, and was in danger himself. Teixeira, p. 84. In his return from this conquest (which he soon effected, with the slaughter of 60,000 inhabitants), his general, by stratagem, drew *Mâlek Bahâman*, and his two sons, out of

their impregnable fortresses on a rock, in the most bounding that province, near a village called *Rîna berrî's* trav. p. 187.

(K) As *Baindura Khân* city of *Astâra*; *Mortûs*, *Klân*, at *Kesker*; *Hayder* at *Tunkabun*; *Vizir Klân*, *Rasht*, or *Resht*; *Adam* in the province of *Masân*, and *Husseyn Khân*, at *bâd*.

which he thereby offered him. *Abbâs*, scorning to be braved by his enemies, gave him battle; which having lasted the whole day, the *Turks*, who had lost a great number of men, retreated in the night. When word was brought of this next morning, *Abbâs*, judging it might be a stratagem of the enemy, kept his army on a continual duty, for three days together, without so much as entering his tent himself in all that time. At length, being satisfied by the scouts, that the *Turks* were retired towards the frontiers, he advanced to the mountain *Sahend*: where *Mohammed Khân Kafak*, *Shâbirâkh Khân*, *Esfkhar*, and *Yîskhân*, *Kurchibâsbi*, were all cut to pieces, for having given poison to the shâh; who yet received no harm, by means of an antidote, which he took immediately.

A. D.

1594.

Two years after this, the *Turks* made another invasion, with 300,000 men, and besieged the fortress of *Irvân*, in the province of the same name: but were forced to raise the siege, and retreat. About two years after that, they besieged and took *Tabris*, under the conduct of *Morâd Pâshâ*, and kept it four months: within which time, there happened five pitched battles between the two nations, with little advantage to the *Persians*: yet, at length, *Shâh Abbâs* defeated the enemy, and recovered the city. On his return from this expedition, at *Ardebil* he ordered *Julfâkar*, khân of *Shamâkhâ*, to be killed; and gave his government to *Yûsef Khân*, an *Armenian* slave, who had long served him as a footman.

AFTER this, *Persia* enjoyed peace for twenty years successively: at the end whereof, the *Turks* entered the country again, with a powerful army, under the command of *Khalîl Pâshâ*, who was joined by several parties of *Krim Tatars*. The shâh sent against them *Karchûkay Khân* (L), the most valiant and fortunate of all his generals, who wearied them out, and forced them to retreat, after several engagements; wherein he took prisoners, *Omerse Beg*, and *Shahin Keray Khân*, two *Tatar* princes, besides the pashâs of *Egypt*, *Hâlep*, *Arzerâm*, and *Wân*. The king, instead of treating them ill, not only presented each with a vest and excellent horse, but sent them back, without demanding any ransom.

THIS war being over, *Shâh Abbâs* went into *Georgia*, where *Tamûras Khân*, son of *Simon* (M), had the confidence to en-

^ OLEAR. Trav. into Persia, l. vi. p. 347.

(L) In the original, spelled *Kartx Schuckai Chan*. *Herbert* calls him *Kurchiki Carwn*.

take for *Alexander*; for so *Char-din* names his father, as will be seen lower down.

(M) This is, possibly, a mis-

A. D. 1594. ter the province of *Sagghen* (N), situate in the midst of that country, and give him battle: but was forced to retreat, with great loss. While he staid in those parts, which was nine months, he paid his army nine musters together; and hearing that his soldiers spent most of their money in tobacco, he forbade the use of it, with such severity, that he ordered the noses and lips of those to be cut off, who were found to disobey his prohibition. A merchant, who, ignorant of that order, had brought several bags of tobacco into the camp, to sell there, was, by his command, set upon a heap of faggots, with his bags about him, and consumed to ashes.

The Shāh's sons. AFTER the *Georgian* expedition, Shāh *Abbās* went into *Kilān*, where he put to death his eldest son, through jealousy, raised by a trifling occasion. Besides 4 or 500 concubines, he had three wives, by whom he had as many sons, *Safi*, or *Sefi Mirza*, *Khodabāndeh Mirza*, and *Imām Kuli Mirza*. The two latter had their eyes put out with fire (O), by his order, and were confined in the castle of *Alamūt* (P), thirty leagues from *Kasvin*. The eldest son, whose mother was a *Georgian*, having fallen in love with a beautiful *Chirkassian* maiden, presented to his father, by a *Shirwān* merchant, begged her for a wife, and had by her a son, named *Sain Mirza*, who afterwards reigned, by the name of Shāh *Safi*.

Safi Mirza. THE over-severe, or rather cruel and tyrannical, government of Shāh *Abbās*, was, by this time, grown so odious and insupportable to the grandees, that some of them had the boldness to cast a note into *Safi Mirza's* chamber, importing, that if he would consent to the design they had in hand, he might immediately ascend the throne. *Safi*, abhorring to be an accomplice in his father's death, carried the billet to him; at the same time protesting his detestation of the proposal, and absolute dependence on his will. The shāh, who dearly loved this son, expressed great satisfaction at the discovery, and commended his affection and piety: but he afterwards fell into such frights, as deprived him of all rest, and obliged him to change his bed-chamber twice or thrice a night. While his mind was possessed with such continual uneasiness, that he conceived he should never be free from it, so long as his son

(N) Perhaps the same with *Zaghen*, whose capital, situate to the north of *Teflis*, is of the same name.

(O) By drawing a red-hot ball on before them.

(P) Or *Al Mūt*, that is, the castle of death, in the province of *Mazānderān*. It formerly belonged to the assassin princes, who reigned there, as before-mentioned.

lived

lived (Q); his fears were heightened, when he was at *Resht* in *Kilân*, by the false suggestions of a flatterer, that the prince, in conjunction with several great lords, had formed a new conspiracy against him ^d. A. D. 1594.

ABBAS resolving, on this new alarm, to put his son to ^{put to} death, would have had his general *Karchûkay Khân* to under- ^{death.} take the execution: but that brave old man, falling at the king's feet, said, he chose rather to be put to death himself, than imbrue his hands in the royal blood. The shah hereupon proposed the same to *Bebût Beg*; who, not being so scrupulous as the other lord, went immediately, and, meeting the prince on a mule, just come from a bath, accompanied only by a single page, lays hold on the bridle, and saying, *Alight, Sâfi Mirza!* it is the pleasure of the king thy father, that thou shouldst die; thereupon throws him down. The unfortunate prince, joining his hands, and lifting his eyes, cries out, *O God! what have I done to deserve this disgrace? Cursed be the traitor who is the occasion of it. But, since 'tis God's pleasure thus to dispose of me, his will, and the king's, be done.* He had scarce time to utter the words, before *Bebût* gave him two stabs with a dagger, and laid him dead on the place. The body was dragged to a fen not far off, where it continued above four hours.

WHEN the news of this murder was brought to the city, *Disfrac-* the people ran in multitudes to the palace, threatening to force *tions there-* the gates, unless the authors of it are delivered to them. *upon.* The prince's mother, understanding that he had been slain by the shah's order, ran to his apartment; and, regardless of his furious disposition, not only reproached him, in severe terms, with inhumanity, but flew upon, and beat him with her fists. *Abbâs*, instead of being angry with her, was at a loss what to say for himself. But, at last, with tears in his eyes, spoke thus: *What would you have had me do? news was brought me, that he had a design upon my life. There is now no remedy: what is done cannot be recalled.* In effect, *Shâh Abbâs* himself had no sooner heard of the execution, than he repented of his

^d OLEAR. Trav. into Persia, l. vi. p. 351.

(Q) *Tavernier* calls this prince *Sâfi Mirza*; and says, that the people's love gave his father jealousy; which was augmented, by his drawing the first arrow at a boar; it being a capital crime to shoot before the king: that, being his only son, *Abbâs* concealed his displeasure; but that, as soon as he had a son by a slave, he ordered first his eyes to be put out, and then his head to be cut off; which he afterwards lamented. *Tavernier's Persian travels*, l. v. ch. 1.

A. D. 1594. rashness. He shut himself up for ten days, with a handkerchief over his eyes, that he might not see the light; lived a whole month on very spare diet; went in mourning a whole year; and ever after wore no clothes which might distinguish him from the meanest of his subjects (R). He likewise caused the place where the prince was killed to be made a sanctuary.

Lords poisoned.

THE first ten days of his mourning being over, he removed from *Resbt* to *Kasvin*; where he invited the khâns, whom he any ways suspected, to a feast, with the flatterer who had made him jealous of his son: and causing poison to be mixed with their wine, saw them all die in his presence (S). The action of *Bebût Beg* was indeed rewarded with the office of *Darûga* of *Kasvin*, and, some time after, with that of khân of *Kesker*; but the next journey which the shâh made to *Kasvin*, he ordered *Bebût* to cut off his own son's head, and bring it him. The khân was forced to obey; and coming back soon after, with his son's head in his hands, *Abbâs* asked him, How he did? *Alas! my lord*, answered *Bebût*, *I think I need not tell you: I have been forced to kill my only son, whom I loved above all things in the world; the grief of which, I fear, will bring me to my grave.* The shâh replied, *Go thy ways, Bebût, and consider how great must have been my affliction, when thou broughtest me the news of my son's death, whom I ordered thee to destroy. But comfort thyself, my son and thine are no more; and reflect, that, in this respect, thou art equal with the king thy master.*

Bebût murdered.

NOT long after this, *Bebût* ended his life, on the following occasion. It happened that one of his domestics giving him water to wash after dinner, according to custom, poured it on so hot, that it scalded his hands. This so incensed the new khân, that he threatened to have the offender cut in pieces. The slave, considering that he had no quarter to expect from a master, who had made no scruple to murder his prince, and his own son, conspired with some of his fellow-servants, and killed him, the night following, in his drink. Shâh *Abbâs* was not troubled at the loss of so hateful an object; and resolved

• OLEAR. ubi supra, p. 352.

(R) This agrees with what *Herbert* observes, that, in 1628, when he gave audience to the *English* ambassador; he was dressed in a plain red calico coat, quilted with cotton.

(S) *Chardin* mentions, that

being in a passion with *Ali Mirza Beg*, he slew him with his own hand, and confiscated his estate, giving his palace, which was a very fine one, to the *Dutch*. Voy. tom. III. p. 35.

not

not to have punished the murderers, had not the other lords represented, that, if they were not made examples of, none of them could think himself safe, after once giving his servants any threatening language^f. A. D. 1594.

HERBERT, who travelled into *Persia* in the reign of *Shâb Abbâs*, gives a different account of this affair. He says, that *Abbâs* had four sons, the eldest *Ismael*, *Sofi Mirza*, *Kodabânda Soltân*, and *Emangoli*. The two first born of *Gordina*, daughter of *Simon Khân*: the two latter of *Martha*, daughter of *Skander Mirza*, both *Georgian* Christians. *Ismael*, giving jealousy by his delighting in arms, was poisoned. *Sofi Mirza* (who is the *Safi*, or *Sefi*, of *Olearius*), although extolled, at first, for revealing a conspiracy, was at length thrown down, and crushed to death by a *kapiji*. *Emangoli* (or *Imâm Kâlî*), upon being told by a witch, that he should not live long, grew fearful of his father's temper, and died of melancholy. *Kodabânda Soltân*, surnamed *Sofi*, now the only son living, was a prince of great endowments; and had signalized himself so much in the wars, that his father doated on him, and the people admired him: but this popularity made *Abbâs* resolve to destroy him.

HE was then on an expedition against the *Arabs*; at what time, falling in love with a princess of the same nation, he married her, and had by her, in a few years, two children, *Soffi* and *Fâtima*. Now *Abbâs* contrives to put his design in execution against his son. He begins, by putting to death *Magar*, an *Arab*, the prince's tutor, under pretence that he infused ambitious notions into him. On this news, the prince, who was then at war against the *Uzbeks*, leaves the camp, to know his father's reason for this execution; and is surprised to hear him say, It was for thy rebellion. *Soffi* protests his innocence: but *Abbâs*, to provoke him, aggravates the accusation. The prince, in the heat of his disorder, imagines he saw *Magar* strangling; and, drawing his sword, vows to rescue him. His father, then seeming to relent, bids him lay aside his weapon, and walks him into another apartment; where, after a while, pretending to be indisposed, he leaves him. with

ABBAS was no sooner gone, than seven men, with bow-strings, enter the room, by a trap-door, and attempt to seize him. But the prince, though unarmed, kills three of them; when, being out of breath, they fasten on him, and fit the string to his neck. At this juncture the *shâh* coming in, ordered them to bind him, and, before he could recover his

^f *OLEAR.* ubi supra, p. 353.

A. D.
1594
Poisons
himself.

senses, deprive him of sight, by drawing a red-hot iron before his eyes. All degrees of people were highly enraged at this act of cruelty. The prince himself grows desperate; and, not knowing how to be revenged on the author of his misery, choaks his own daughter *Fatima*, at a visit she made him in prison; thinking that way to afflict his father, who he knew doated on her. The princess his wife, who was present, imagined he had killed his child, through mistake, for somebody else, till she perceived him groping for young *Soffi*, in order, by destroying him also, to deprive his father of a successor: but the mother got him out of the way. The prince continued furious for two days; and the third, being no longer able to bear his misfortune, he put an end to it, with his life, by a dose of poison ².

WE have been the more particular in this article of history, to let our readers see, that natural affection sways not more with the *Persian* than *Turkish* princes; and how little certainty there is in the accounts which are brought from foreign countries by travellers. However, let which will be in the right of the two here cited on this occasion, 'tis certain that *Sain Mirza*, afterwards called *Safi* (whence *Herbert's Soffi*), was the grandson of Shāh *Abbās*, and succeeded him. To return therefore to *Olearius*:

The shāh's
jealousy.

ALTHOUGH the shāh gave so many proofs of sorrow for his son's death, yet the prince's widow could not but believe he had a design to make away with her son *Sain Mirza*. So that, for a long time, she kept him concealed, and would not suffer him to be brought to court, although his grandfather designed him as his successor; as the eyes of his two younger sons being out, they could not ascend the throne. The shāh was reported to have had a great affection for the young prince; and yet, lest the vivacity of his spirit should revive in the people the affection for him which they had for his father, he ordered opium, about the quantity of a pea, to be given him every morning, to dull his senses; but that, instead thereof, his mother made him frequently take treacle, and other antidotes against the poison, which she suspected might be given him ³.

Lār sub-
dued.

ABOUT this time was conquered the kingdom of *Lār*, comprising a considerable part of the province of *Pārs*, or *Proper Persia*, which had been erected into a sovereignty, in the year of the Hejrah 500, by the *Kürds*. These took it from the *Arabs*, and held it till the year 1612, when it was subdued by *Abbās* ⁴; who having seized the king, put him to death, for

² HERBERT'S Travels, p. 173, & seqq.
supra. ³ D'HERBEL. p. 511, art. *Lār*.

⁴ OLEAR. ubi

offering violence to, and robbing, the karawâns which passed that way^k.

A. D.
1594.

WHILE *Shâh Abbâs* was in *Kilân*, *Tamûras Khân*, taking advantage of his absence, entered again with an army into *Georgia*, and recovered all those places out of which he had been forced. Against him were sent *Ali Kûli Khân*, *Mohammed Khân Kafak*, *Mortûsa Kûli*, khân of *Talîsh*, and several other khâns; who brought word back, they found the enemy so advantageously posted, that they durst not set upon him. The shâh punished their pretended prudence with death; and, next year, marched thither in person: protesting, at his departure, that, if he came back victorious, he would sell the *Georgians* at an abbâs, or fifteen pence, a head. Accordingly, having met with success, and brought off a great number of prisoners, at his return, a soldier went to him, with two abbâs's in his hand, and demanded two handsome young maids for them, which the king delivered to him. About this time, many *Georgian* Christians left their country, to settle in *Isfâhân*^l.

CHARDIN gives a more particular account of this expedition of *Abbâs* into *Georgia*, and the causes of it, from the *Persian* historians. The king of *Kaket* (T), named *Alexander*, famous for his courage, and misfortunes, under the name of *Taymûraz* (U) *Khân*, given him by the *Persians*, was an hostage at the court of *Persia*, and educated along with *Abbâs the Great*, who was nearly of the same age. As soon as *Alexander* was dead, his widow, a wife and beautiful princess, named by the *Georgians* *Ketavâna*, and *Mariâna* in the histories of *Persia*, wrote to *Mohammed Kodabânde*, desiring him to send *Taymûraz*, to succeed his father, and accept of his brother, as hostage in his room. *Taymûraz* was accordingly dispatched for *Georgia*, after taking an oath of vassalage.

SIMON, king of *Karthuel* (or *Karduel*), died at the beginning of the reign of *Abbâs*, leaving the crown to *Luarzab*, his eldest son, a minor, under the tuition of his first minister, named *Mehrû* by the *Gregorians*, and by the *Persians* *Merâd*; who one day surprising the king in private with his beautiful daughter, on signifying his concern, *Luarzab* swore

^k *TEXEIRA*, Hist. Pers. part ii. c. 48.

^l *OLEARIUS*, ubi supra.

[T] *Kaket*, as hath been observed before, is one of the two great provinces into which *Georgia* is divided, and *Karduel*, or *Karthuel*, the other.

[U] *Chardin* writes *Taimuras Khân*. In this prince's letters to the pope, inserted in the *Histoire Arménie* of *Galenus*, it is spelled *Theimuraz*.

A. D.
1594.

he would never have any other wife but her. However, the marriage was prevented, by the queen, and ladies of the country, who declared they would never pay the submission of subjects to a person of a mean family, as *Mehrû's* daughter was. The king alleged this as a reason to the father for not marrying her : but, as the *Georgians* are very vindictive, he was advised to make away with *Mehrû*, to prevent his revenge. The design was to poison him, at a banquet ; which being discovered by the page who gave him the cup, he rose up, under pretence of going to the vault, and made his escape to Shâh *Abbâs*, who was then at *Isfâhân*, on his return from the conquest of *Shirwân*.

provokes
Abbâs.

MEHRU told the shâh his case, and demanded justice of him, who, he said, was the true sovereign of *Georgia*. As a still surer way to be revenged of *Luarzab*, he used all his art to inflame *Abbâs* with love for that prince's sister, named *Darejân*, celebrated for her beauty by the *Persian* poets, under that of *Pehri*. *Abbâs* sent ambassadors to demand her. Answer was returned, that she had been promised to *Taymûraz*, king of *Kaket*. The shâh, more inflamed by this refusal, sends a third ambassador ; to renew the demand, writing, at the same time, to *Taymûraz*, not to espouse *Luarzab's* sister, and to come to court. *Luarzab*, provoked at these repeated and haughty instances, abused the ambassador, and dismissed him, without further answer. This was about the year 1610 ; at what time *Abbâs*, not being in a condition to execute his design against *Georgia*, dissembled his resentment ; and as he was then sending a *Carmelite* missionary into *Europe*, to excite the Christian princes against the *Turks*, with whom he was at war, he ordered that frier to pass through *Georgia*, and exhort *Taymûraz* not to join with, or, in any sort, assist his enemies.

A. D.
1610.

The shâh's
policy.

A. D.
1613.

TAYMURAZ, either through credulity or fear, did as he was desired ; and soon repented of it. For, in 1613, *Abbâs* left *Isfâhân*, with a design to invade *Georgia* : but, as he was full of artifice, he treated this war as an amorous intrigue. He said, that *Luarzab's* sister loved him, and had written letters to him : that she had even been promised to him : and that her brother was perfidious. At the same time, he had many *Georgians* among his troops ; gave pensions to several of the great lords of the country ; and corrupted others every day, by means of *Mehrû*. Some of the chief princes of the blood had turned *Mohammedans*, for sake of governments and places. He had in hostage two sons of *Taymûraz*, and a brother and sister of *Luarzab*. All things concurred to render the conquest of *Georgia* easy. He judged it would not be difficult,

ficult, as matters were circumstanced, to sow divisions among the people, and make the kings jealous of each other. With this view, he wrote to *Taymûraz*, that *Luarzab* was ungrateful, a rebel, and a fool: that he was resolved to take the crown from him: and that if he (*Taymûraz*) would either seize or kill him, he should have the kingdom. He wrote in the same strain to *Luarzab*, against *Taymûraz*; and, at the same time, ordered his general *Lalla Beg* to enter *Georgia*, with 30,000 horse, and lay the country waste ^m.

A. D.
1613.

THE two kings finding, on an interview, that their ruin was determined, made a strict league; and, to cement it the stronger, *Luarzab*, in earnest, gave the admirable *Darejan* to *Taymûraz*: at which news *Abbâs* was so enraged, that he swore he would kill his hostages; and hastened his march, to be revenged on the kings who had offended him. *Taymûraz*, seeing the *Persian* general approach, and that part of his nobles were inclined to submit, sent his mother *Ketavânch*, or *Mariâna*, to *Abbâs*, who was still at *Isfâhân*, to ask pardon for her son. As this princess was still handsome, though not young, *Abbâs* fell in love with her, or pretended to do so, at first sight, and offered to marry her, if she would turn *Mohammedan*. On her refusal, he imprisoned her, in a private house (X), and made eunuchs of her two grandsons, after forcing them to change their religion. This done, he departed for *Georgia*.

ABBAS being entered the country with his army, which *Luarzab* daily increased, by the accession of *Georgians*, through hope or fear; *Luarzab* resolved to oppose him, hoping to inclose the *Persians* in the woods, and there destroy them. In effect, the *shâh* having marched twenty-five leagues forward, *Luarzab* divides his troops in two bodies, and shuts up the passage with heaps of wood, in such sort, that the *Persian* army could neither get forward nor backward. *Mehrâ*, the general, perceiving the king greatly surprised, as if he thought himself betrayed, promised, in three days, to deliver him out of the embarrass, on forfeiture of his head. Accordingly, he ordered a road to be cut through the wood; and leaving the camp, which was blocked up by the *Georgians*, took only the cavalry. *Abbâs* would lead them himself; and, having crossed the wood, fell on the kingdom of *Kaket*: where he committed

^m CHARD. Voy. en Perse, tom. I. p. 125, & seq.

(X) She continued in confinement several years, and was then removed to *Shirâz*; where, in 1624, she died, as 'tis said, under torments, to oblige her to turn *Mohammedan*, by order of *Shâh Abbâs*.

great

A. D.
1613.

Ensured
by pro-
mises,

is impri-
soned.

Tay-
mūraz
re-esta-
blished.

great cruelties, so far as to destroy the trees which nourished the silkworms; a damage not to be retrieved.

LUARZAB, on this news, thinking all lost, fled into *Mingrelia*: but *Abbās*, knowing his conquest could not be thoroughly secure, while the kings were at liberty, wrote him a soothing letter; in which he told him, that he had no reason to fly, since his resentment was against the perfidious, the rebel *Taymuraz*; and that, if he would come to his camp, he would confirm him in the possession of *Georgia*; threatening otherwise to destroy it intirely, with fire and sword. *Luarzab*, to prevent this ruin, in love to his people, repairs to *Abbās*; who loads him with favours, and sets him on the throne, with the greatest solemnity. This was to deceive the *Georgians*, and allure them to submit without fighting. Among the presents he made the king, one was a plume of precious stones, which he desired him always to wear on his head, as an ensign of royalty.

THE day on which *Abbās* left *Tiflis*, he asked *Luarzab* to accompany him to the first encampment. *Luarzab*, who mistrusted no harm, went; and going to see the shah, without his plume, *Abbās*, who had ordered one of his guards to steal it from him, asked him, where it was? the king answered, Somebody had stolen it. *Abbās*, seeming provoked that he should say it was stolen in his camp, ordered him to be arrested; but durst not put him to death, for fear of exciting a revolt in *Georgia*. However, he sent him to *Mazānderān*, in hopes the bad air would carry him off. That not having the effect, he was removed to *Shirāz*. At length *Abbās*, hearing that an ambassador from the czar of *Russia*, at the instigation of the princes of *Luarzab*'s party, was arrived on the frontiers, to solicit his deliverance; to avoid either setting the king at liberty, or denying the czar's request, ordered the governor of *Shirāz* to make away with *Luarzab*, as if his death came by accident. It was pretended that he fell into the water, when a fishing; and *Abbās*, in reporting this affair to the ambassador, seemed much concerned at that king's death.

THE brother of *Luarzab*, called *Bagrat Mīrza*, or the prince royal, who had before turned *Mohammedan*, was made governor of *Georgia* in his room; and an army left to oppose *Taymūraz*. This prince, having for a time carried on the war, by means of some small succours from the *Turks*, and neighbouring Christian princes, at length went to *Constantinople*, to solicit more powerful aid, which he obtained. A great army was sent into *Georgia*, which gave the *Persians* several defeats, and re-established *Taymūraz* in his kingdom of
Kakhet.

Kaket. But he did not long remain there (Y): for, as soon as the *Othman* forces were withdrawn, *Abbâs* returned to *Georgia*, and changed the face of affairs. He built fortresses through the country, which he filled with *Persians*; and carried away above fourscore thousand families, most of whom he transplanted into the provinces of *Mazânderân*, *Armenia*, *Azerbejân*, and *Pârs*, or *Proper Persia*; settling in their room *Persians* and *Armenians*. However, to reconcile these people, if possible, by lenitives, he came to an agreement with them, on oath, for him and his successors, *That the country should not be charged with taxes; nor their religion changed: that their churches should not be demolished, nor meskés built there: that their viceroy should be a Georgian, of the race of their kings, but a Mohammedan; and that one of his sons, such as would change his religion, should have the post of governor and grand provôts of Ispahân, till such time as he succeeded his father.* After this, the *Georgians* were quiet during the reign of *Abbâs* ^u.

A. D.
1613.
Driven
out again.

MUCH about the same juncture, *Abbâs* received letters from *Bâghdâd* *Bikirkeha* (Z), commander of the garrison of *Bâghdâd*, who, taken dissatisfied with the *Othmân* court, for refusing him the government of that city, on the death of the pâshâ, whose lieutenant he was, proffered to deliver it up to the shâh. *Abbâs*, on this proposal, immediately marched that way, with a good army: but, before he arrived thither, *Bikirkeha*, having changed his mind, sent him word, that he had only powder and ball at his service. The shâh was so provoked at the affront, that he vowed not to return without taking *Bâghdâd*, though it should cost him his life. Accordingly, having passed the ditch, after a siege of six months, and sprung a mine, at which work the *Persians* are very expert, he caused an assault to be given, and took the city by storm. *Bikirkeha*, being found among the prisoners, was sewn up in a raw ox-hide, and placed near the highway, till the hide shrinking with the heat of the sun, put him to a painful death. But

▪ CHARD. ubi supra, p. 127, & seqq.

(Y) In *Galanus* his *Historia Armenæ*, we have letters from *Theimuraz*, or *Taymuras*, to the pope; in one of which he says, that his country had been under the *Persian* tyranny, grievously harrassed from 1614 to 1628. *Hist. Armen.* p. 142. And the

missioner *Avitabilis* says, he at length gave Shâh *Abbâs* his daughter in marriage, and submitted to pay tribute. *Ibid.* p. 168.

(Z) Perhaps *Bikir*, or *Bekr Kyebaya*.

A. D. 1613. his son, making it appear that he was not concerned in his father's offence, had the government of *Shîrâz* bestowed upon him.

The Turks baffled. THE year following, the *Othmân*. emperor ordered *Hafis Ahmed Pâshâ* to lay siege to *Bâghdâd*: but *Abbâs* forced him to raise it, and continued eight months in sight of the *Turkish* army; till, being much diminished by sickness, as not so able to endure the heats as the *Persians*, *Hafis* was obliged to retreat to *Constantinople*. The shâh, at his return from this expedition, began to build *Ferabâd*, in the province of *Mazân-derân*, on occasion of a village named *Tahona*, situated on a pleasant river, which, not far from thence, falls into the *Caspian* sea.

A great over-brow. THE above-mentioned victory procured the shâh only two years rest: for the sultân, desirous to recover *Bâghdâd*, sent *Khalîl Pâshâ*, with an army of 500,000 men, to subdue it. *Abbâs* ordered *Karchugay Khân* to march to the relief of the place, with a small but chosen brigade, while he followed himself with the rest of his forces. The *Persian* general, advancing to meet the *Turks*, harrassed them with continual skirmishes for six months together; and, when he had sufficiently tired them, at last gave *Khalîl* battle; and, defeating, forced him to fly as far as *Neched*. On the first news of this victory, *Shâh Abbâs* left *Bâghdâd*, to meet *Karchugay Khân*; and, when near, alighting, said to him, *My dearest aga*, by which name he always called him, *I have, by thy care and conduct, obtained so noble a victory, that I would not have desired a greater of God: come, get upon my horse; 'tis fit I should be thy lackey*. The general was so surpris'd at this discourse, that he threw himself at his feet, intreating his majesty to look on him as his slave; and not expose him to the derision of every body, by doing him an honour which he could not possibly deserve. However, he was forced to mount, the king and the khâns following on foot only seven paces.

SHAH Abbâs had many other wars against the *Turks*: but the most signal victory he ever obtained over his enemies, was the reduction of the city of *Ormûz*, which he took from the *Portuguese* six years before his death.

Isle of Ormûz, THE kingdom of *Ormûz*, or rather *Hormûz*, was formerly a dominion of pretty large extent, situate on the coast of *Kerman* and *Pârs*, where it first began, some time after the year of Christ 1000; and continued under a race of kings for about 600 years, of whom we shall give the history in the next volume: but, by degrees, it fell to decay; so that its

bounds were reduced to those of the island of *Ormûs*, and some other isles adjacent to it, in 1507, when it was taken from its king by the *Portugueses*; from whom *Shâh Abbâs* took it in 1622, by the assistance of the *Englisb*, who joined them, on the following occasion.

A. D.
1621.

THE *Portugueses*, who had always disturbed the *Englisb* taken from trade in the *East Indies* from the time they first sailed thither; the *Portugueses*, were resolved also to obstruct their commerce in the *Persian* gulf; whither some ships arriving in 1621, they were attacked by *Ruy Frera de Andrada*, and forced to return to *India* with the loss of their chief commander *Andrew Shilling*. There having augmented their naval force, from two ships to nine, they set out again for the *Persian* gulf; and, being come to *Kustak*, are informed by their factor, that the king of *Persia* was at war with the *Portugueses*: that his forces had been seven months besieging a castle, which *Ruy Frera*, on hearing of the shâh's design against *Ormûs*, had built on the isle of *Kisbmeh*, or *Kisbom*, to secure the water with which *Ormûs* was supplied from thence; and that the *Persian* general required the assistance of the *Englisb* against the *Portugueses*, as their common enemy, in case they expected to trade in *Persia*.

THE captains *Waddel*, *Blyth*, and *Woodcock*, finding themselves at this dilemma, and that they could have no safe commerce in the gulf while the *Portuguese* had the dominion there, repaired to the camp of *Imâm Kâli Khân*, viceroy of *Shîrâz*, the chief commander in the expedition; and, having obtained very advantageous conditions for the *Englisb* nation (A), in *January* 1622 sailed to *Kisbmeh*; where, besieging the castle by sea, and lending some aid on shore, it was surrendered in six days by *Ruy Frera*, who was sent prisoner to *Surât*, along with three of the fleet. The other six ships went to *Ormûs*, where the *Persians* landed the 9th of *February*, and, with small loss, got possession of the town; while the *Englisb* fleet and *Eng-* battered the *Portuguese* galleons, five of which they sank during lish ships. the siege, which lasted ten weeks. The 17th of *March*, a breach being made, by blowing up part of the castle-wall, the *Persians* made an attack; but were repulsed, with considerable

- (A) 1. The castle of *Ormûs*, powder, &c. 5. The *Englisb* to with all the ordnance and ammunition, to go to the *Englisb*. be custom-free for ever in *Baq-*
2. The *Persians* to build another der *Gomrûn*. But the *Persians* did not keep their agreement
3. The spoil to be equally divided. with the *Englisb*, who had no
4. The *Persians* to be at half more than 20,000 pounds al-
charges for wages, provision, lowed for their service.

A. D. 1629. Iofs (B). After this, three breaches more being made by mines, on the 18th of April the general gave an assault with all his forces, and gained part of the castle: so that the *Portugueses*, being hard pressed, surrendered the place, with themselves, to the *Englisb* on the 21st; in all, 2600 men; the cannon, in number an hundred and fourteen, 53 pieces mounted, and 92 of brass unmounted, were left to the *Persians*; excepting 10 of the latter, which the *Englisb* took to supply those which were damaged in the expedition. The king of *Ormûs*, Seyd *Mohammed Shâh*, an Arab of *Masât*, whom the *Portugueses* had lately raised to that poor dignity, with a pension of 140,000 rials, was delivered up, with all the *Mohammedans*, to the *Persians* ^P.

Abbâs
falls sick,

ABOUT the end of the year 1629 (rather 1628) *Abbâs* took a journey to *Ferabâd*, in the province of *Mazânderân*, which was the place he most delighted in: but he there fell so ill, that, sending for four of the chief lords of his council (C) to his bed-side, he told them, that it was his will that his grandson *Sain Mirza* should succeed him in the throne, and assume his father's name. When they mentioned the prediction of the astrologers, that he should reign but eight months at most; the shâh made answer, *Let him reign as long as he can, though it was but three days: it will be some satisfaction to me, to be assured that he shall one day have on his head the crown which was due to the prince his father.*

and dies.

As it was conceived that some poison had been given him, his physician ordered him the hot bath for eight days together, and a bath of cows milk for four days more: but these remedies availing nothing, he prepared for death, and appointed where he would be interred; yet, that the people should not know it, he ordered his funeral ceremonies to be performed at three different places at once; viz. *Ardebîl*, *Masbâd*, and *Bâghlâd* (D). The general opinion in our author's time was, that his body was conveyed to the last city, and thence to the *Nechef* of *Kûfa*, near the sepulchre of *Ali*:

^P PURCH. pilgr. vol. ii. p. 1785. HERBERT Trav. p. 115.

(B) *Monoxe*, the *Englisb* agent, whose account of the *Ormûs* affair is given by *Purchas*, vol. ii. p. 1793, represents the *Persians* at that time as wretched soldiers, without either courage, discipline, or the least notion of the art of war.

(C) *Viz. Isâ Khân*, *kurchi-bâshi*; *Seyol Khân*, *tushmal*, or counsellor of state; *Temûr Beg*,

Quwogli, the lord high-steward; and *Yusef Aga*, the chief chamberlain.

(D) *Herbert* says, it was reported that his heart, bowels, and body, were separated, and buried at *Masjed Ali*, near *Kûfa*, *Kasbîn*, and *Ardevîl*; or, as others said, at *Kom*, for that few knew the certainty. *Travels*, p. 206.

for

For that, going to *Kûfa*, after the reduction of *Bâghdâd*, and looking at the *Neches*, he said, he had never seen a more delightful place, and that he should wish to be there interred. He ordered that his death should be concealed till his grandchild was secured of the succession: and, the better to effect it, directed that his body should be exposed every day in the hall of justice, seated in a chair of state, with the eyes open, and back to the hangings; behind which stood *Yusef Aga*, who from time to time lift up his arm with a silken string, by way of answer to the matters proposed by *Temâr Beg*, on behalf of those who were at the other end of the hall. By this artifice, his death was concealed for the space of six weeks. According to *Herbert*, *Shâh Abbâs* died at *Kashân*, in the year 1628, just at his departure from the court; after he had lived seventy years, and reigned forty-three (E) over *Persia*, and fifty as king of *Heri* (or *Herât*, capital of *Khorassân*).

A. D.
1629.

THE *Persians* have a high veneration for *Shâh Abbâs*, and speak of him as the greatest prince their country has had for many ages past: nor can this be denied, if such instances of cruelty, as we have mentioned, were struck out of his character. He was wise and valiant, famous for great victories, and extending his dominions on all sides towards the *Indians*, *Turks*, and *Tatars*. He had a great sense of the miseries of the poor, and took a particular care for their subsistence. On this occasion, it was usual with him, after leaving any city, to return *incognito*; and, going to the market, examine their weights, the goodness of the bread, and other provisions, severely punishing fraudulent dealers. At *Ardebil* he ordered a rich baker to be put alive in a red-hot oven, for refusing to sell bread to the poor; under pretence that he was obliged to keep it for *Abbâs* and his soldiers, who, as he said, could never be satisfied.

HE commanded a butcher (F) to be fastened by the back to the hooks on which he hung his meat, for using false weights.

He

⁹ OLEAR. p. 354.

⁷ HERBERT, p. 206, 177.

(E) *Olearius* says, he died in 169, when he had lived sixty-three years, and reigned forty-five. But that *Herbert* is right, as to the years of his reign, appears from the chronology; and the year of his death is confirmed by *Chardin*, and others.

(F) *Tavernier* says, that, hav-

ing bought six pounds of roast meat at a cook's, and finding it wanted forty-three drams of the weight, he ordered him to be roasted on a spit, in the market, near the oven in which the baker was baked, whose six pound of bread wanted 57 drams. He was going to put to death

F f 3

the

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He took a pleasure in bestowing in alms the sums which arose from public places; because he believed disposing in that manner of the money taken from the people, was not ^{any} acceptable to the Deity. He could not endure those judges who took bribes; and severely punished such as were guilty of injustice or oppression. Coming to understand that a kâzi of *Isfâhân*, after he had taken presents with both his hands, to the value of about seventy pounds from each party, would have advised them to accommodate the matter between themselves; he ordered the offender to be set on an ass, with his face to the tail, which served him for a bridle, and his robe to be garnished with the intrails of a sheep newly killed; and, in that equipage, to take several turns round the meydan, while an officer cried before him, that such was to be the punishment of a corrupt judge.

Severe
justice.

ABBÂS was too severe; but generally his executions were the punishments of injustice and oppression. The grand master of the ordnance was a person jealous even to fury: for, if any one in the neighbourhood appeared on the terrace of his house, as is customary during the hot days, that officer's eunuchs, who seemed to be on the watch in all parts of the garden, slew him with a musket, under pretence that he might, from his terrace, look in the women's apartment of their master's palace. Complaints being made of this to the shah, he bade the grand master take care what he did, and to keep his wives locked up in their chambers in the night as well as day, if he was afraid the eyes of his neighbours would discover them: but this advice was not regarded by the grand master.

The innocent
punished.

One of the king's officers, who unfortunately lodged near this jealous fury, happening at night to take the air on the terrace, was killed in the manner above-mentioned. His family, upon this, go in a body to Shâh *Abbâs*, to demand justice; and, representing that there were witnesses at his palace-gate, who could prove that more than twenty people in the neighbourhood had been murdered in the same manner, the king was exceedingly enraged; and said to some who were in waiting, *Go, kill that mad dog, his wives, children, and domestics; let not one soul of that accursed brood remain alive.* Which sen-

* OLEAR. *ubi supra*, p. 356. See also TAVERN. Trav. l. v. c. 2. p. 203.

the governor of the city, and three or four officers more, for suffering such oppressors of the

poor; and indeed that would have been the effectual way to prevent such evils.

tence

tence was executed that instant, and all the bodies buried in a ditch at one end of the garden[†].

To put to death so many innocents for the crimes of one guilty person, was certainly both cruel and unjust: but nobody, we presume, will think ill of the example which he made of a certain infamous wretch, who used to kidnap boys, in order to prostitute them. His practice was, to ply all day long at a certain stone which was set in the ground; and, when he saw any lad whom he liked, carried him off with a great deal of dexterity. Having kept the boy all night, next morning, at break of day, he carried him back, and left him in some bye-place, that he might not discover where he had been lodged. *Abbâs*, being informed of this disorder, and that neither the admonitions nor threats of the people in the neighbourhood were able to put a stop to it; sent some of his officers to seize the villain, and cut him to pieces on the same stone whereat he watched for his prey: which stone is still to be seen at the entrance of the magnificent karawân-seray built by that *shâh* at *Ispâhân*[‡].

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*A sodomite
executed.*

SCARCE any punishment could be too great for such a monster: but that which follows may seem too cruel, for a much worse occasion. The ladies of the *harâm* never go abroad but at night: they are usually carried in a sort of long hampers, or cradles, called *kajaveh*, which is about two feet wide, and three deep, with an arched canopy over it, covered with cloth. A camel carries two of them, one on each side: the eunuchs help the ladies to get in; and then, drawing the curtains round about, give the camels to the guides, who fasten them by the tail, one to the other, seven in a file, and leads the first by the halter. It happened one dark night, while the court was in *Mazânderân*, that *Abbâs*, who travelled with his *harâm*, took it in his head to go before. In his passage, he met with a string of camels stopped a little out of the road, and a *kajaveh* leaning on one side; when, coming up to set it right again, he found the camel-driver in it, with the lady: at which being enraged as well as surprised, he commanded them both to be buried alive on the spot. Since this time, the ladies of the palace, who were allowed to see the public spectacles without being seen themselves, have been deprived of that privilege[¶].

Lady buried alive.

SHAH Abbâs studied all ways imaginable to establish wealth and good government in his dominions. As he was a prince of great genius, and very enterprising, in consideration that

*Attempts
of Abbâs*

[†] CHARD, tom. iii. p. 39.

[‡] Ibid. p. 45.

[¶] Ibid.

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1629.

Persia was a barren country, where there was little trade, and consequently little money, he resolved to send his subjects into *Europe* with raw silks, to see what profit might arise from that commodity. His design was, to buy up all which was produced in his dominions, and dispose of it by his factors: at the same time he thought it necessary to engage the *European* princes in an alliance with him against the *Turks*. He first sent to *Henry IV. of France*: but he died before the ambassador arrived. Three or four years after, he sent another to the king of *Spain*, accompanied with a *Persian* merchant, putting into their hands a considerable quantity of silk. The merchant would have sold the silk, as was the shâh's order, and bought a present for the king: but the ambassador, over-ruled by a *Portuguese* Austin frier, who was sent with them to be their guide and interpreter, resolved to present him with the bales of silk. The king of *Spain* thereupon asked him, *If his master took him for a woman, and had sent him so much silk to spin?* And Shâh *Abbâs*; on his return, in reward for the ill success of his negotiation, ordered his belly to be ripped up in the public market-place.

to promote
commerce.

ABOUT fifteen years after, he trusted a considerable quantity of silk with a merchant's son, of *Ispâhân*, and sent him to *Venice*. When he came there, he took a stately lodging, and lived at a profuse rate. At length the senate, getting information who he was, thought fit to seize both him and the goods, before all were consumed, and sent notice to the king of *Persia*; who returned a most obliging answer of thanks, with a merchant to receive what silk was left. Shâh *Abbâs*, perceiving, by these trials, the little inclination of his subjects to trade, cast his eyes on the *Armenians* (G), who are sober, frugal, and patient to endure long journeys; who likewise, being Christians, were more fit to deal among Christians. Of these, he chose the most judicious; and intrusted with each a good many bales of silk, for which they were to pay, at their return, a reasonable rate, imposed by the shâh, who allowed them the surplus-gains for their trouble and expences. These people, in a short time, became so expert in all branches of commerce, that at present they make voyages to *Tong-king*, *Java*, the *Philippine Isles*, and all parts of the east, except *China* and *Japan*.*

* TAVERN, Trav. l. iv. c. 6. p. 158.

(G) Chiefly of *Julfa*, near *Ispâhân*, whither he had transplanted them from *Julfa* in *Armenia*, on the *Arrâs*. This was reckoned an act of cruelty in

Abbâs; but our author says the charge is unjust, for that they were then only poor labouring men; but that the king enriched them by commerce.

THIS

THIS prince would not suffer any *Indian*, or *Banyan*, to live as a trader in his dominions; and with very good reason: for they are worse usurers than the *Jews*; their custom being to take up money at nine or ten *per cent.* for the year, and lend it out again on pledges at two and half *per cent.* a month. However, they crept in during the reigns of *Sefi I.* and *Abbâs II.*; and, since then, all the money of the kingdom is commonly in the hands of these pawnbrokers, which before was in possession of the *Armenians* of *Julfa*. This shâh was not only desirous that all the commerce should be lodged in the hands of his subjects, in order to enrich them, and draw money into the kingdom; but would not suffer it to be transported thence, when it was in. He saw that the annual pilgrimages of his subjects to *Mekka* carried out abundance of his gold ducats; and therefore endeavoured to divert them from it, by establishing one at home at *Tûs*, where is the tomb of *Imâm Ridha*, or *Riza*, the last of the twelve imâms, who was murdered there; from whence the place has the name of *Masb-hâd*, or the place of martyrdom. This was the more easy to be done, as the *Persians* had always a great veneration for *Riza*; and frequently resorted to *Masb-hâd*, to pay their devotions at his sepulchre; over which hangs one of the legs of *Mohammed's* camel, esteemed a great relick. *Abbâs*, to effect his purpose, made the pilgrimage to *Tûs* himself, accompanied by his nobles; and, at his return, caused reports to be spread of great miracles wrought at the imâm's tomb: ever since which time, *Mekka* has been less visited by the *Persians* than it was formerly.¹

THIS prince, besides building *Ferhabâd* in *Mazânderân*, as *Public* hath been already mentioned, adorned several of his other cities with magnificent structures. Among other noble works at *Isfâhân*, he built the royal mosk and palace. He likewise caused the mountains, thirty leagues from thence, to be cut through at an incredible expence, in order to augment the *Zenderûdh*, which runs thro' that city, by turning the stream of another river into it.²

WHEN *Abbâs* ascended the throne, *Persia* was divided among more than twenty princes, who had usurped their territories, and whom he was obliged to reduce. This shâh, to prevent the like division of the kingdom for the future, by degrees destroyed all the antient families; and, to render himself thoroughly absolute, and free from all restraint, reformed the troops, who were a check upon former kings, more than the

A. D.
1629.Suppresses
pawnbro-
kers,and so-
reign pil-
grimages.

His policy.

¹ TAVERN. Trav. l. v. c. 2. p. 202.
tom. iii. p. 4. 20. 22.

² CHARDIN,

A. D. 1629. janizaries are at present in *Turky*. These families, as well as the troops, were all of the race of the *Kurchi*, who are those *Turkmâns*, or *Tatars*, so famous for their great invasions and conquests; and who were linked together, for their mutual preservation, in such a manner, that they might be said to have been masters of the kingdom (H). The method he took to destroy their power, was, to fill his court and army with those people inhabiting *Georgia*, and other countries on the north-west end of *Persia*; so that, as their power increased, that of the *Kurchi* diminished. But he did not put the finishing stroke to his design, by cutting off all the considerable men of that stock, because he stood in need of their assistance in his wars: that work was reserved for his successor *Safi*, who, during his whole reign, made torrents of blood flow from the chief men both in the government and the army^a.

His person. SHAH *Abbâs*, according to *Herbert*, who saw him at an audience at *Ferhabâd*, was of a low stature, but a giant in policy: his aspect quick, his eyes small and flaming. He had a low forehead, and brows without hair; a high and hawked nose, a sharp chin, and, after the mode of *Persia*, beardless: but his mustachios were exceeding long and thick, turning downwards b.

CHAP. V.

The Reign of Safi or Sefi I.

Shâh
Safi I.

WHILE the death of *Abbâs* was concealed at *Ferhabâd*, by exposing his body in the court of justice, *Zeynel Khân* made haste to *Isfâhân*; and, taking with him *Khosrew Mirza Daruga*, of that city, went to the apartment of the princess, mother of *Sain Mirza* (A), called *Taberik Kala*; and, after notifying to her the death of the shâh, intreated her to put the young prince (B) into their hands. The mother, who had still the death of her husband before her eyes, believing it was only a contrivance, and that they had an order from his grandfather to murder her son, locked herself up in her chamber;

^a CHARDIN, tom. i. p. 210. 217.

^b HERB. p. 206.

(H) These were the men, however, to whom his family owed their advancement to the throne of *Persia*; and who, for their services, were honoured with the red cap, whence they had the name of *Kexil bâsh*.

(A) Rather *Shabîn Mirza*, according to *D'Herbelot*, in his biblioth. orient. art. *Safi*. *Shabîn* signifies *Royal*.

(B) Then about sixteen years of age.

and made all the passages so secure, that the two lords, being afraid to lose the opportunity of executing the king's will, after they had lain three days at the door, sent the prince's word, that, unless she gave them access, they should be forced to break it open. Upon this message, she yielded; and delivered to them the prince, with these words, *Go, child, to the same place where thy father is; here are the murderers ready to dispatch thee.* But, when she saw those lords prostrate themselves, and kissing the prince's feet (C), her fright was changed into raptures of joy^a.

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1629.

FROM hence the lords conducted the young prince to the royal palace, where they seated him in the divân khâneh, on a stone table, on which were as many carpets as there had been kings of *Persia* of his family: for every king, at his coming to the crown, has one of these carpets (called kalitfe adalet, or *carpets of justice*) made for him; and, having sent for all the lords who were about *Ispâhân*, they crowned him, kissed his feet, and wished him a long and happy reign. Immediately after his inauguration, he took his father's name of *Safi*, according to the desire of *Shâh Abbâs*; and bestowed on *Khesrew Mirza* the dignity of khân, with the name of *Rustam*, which is that of one of the *Persian* heroes celebrated in their histories and romances.

IT is reported that *Shâh Sefi* (D) came into the world with his hands bloody; and that his grandfather *Abbâs* should say on the occasion, that this prince would often bathe his hands in blood. Accordingly, says *Olearius*, till the time of our embassy, his reign had been so sanguine, that *Persia* had not for many ages before seen so many executions: for, immediately on his coming to the crown, he followed the counsel of the chancellor, and made away with *Rustam Khân*, whom he had made generalissimo of the armies of *Persia*, and governor of *Teflis*, with several other lords. He likewise slew with his own hands, or ordered to be killed, all his relations, and other persons whom he had any suspicion of. By this means, he so accustomed himself to killing people, that he made it his practice, on the slightest occasions, to take away

^a OLEAR. Trav. l. vi. p. 356. TAYERN. l. 5. c. 1. p. 197.

(C) At the same time they took off his clothes, and tore them, which is a mark of mourning in *Persia*; and, according to custom, put on him another plain garment, which he wore till midnight; when, putting on his

royal robes, they set him on the throne, and did him homage. *Tavernier.*

(D) He should have been named *Saffah*, which signifies bloody in *Arabia*, instead of *Safi*, or *Sefi*, the chosen.

their

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1629.

Destroys
brothers.

their lives. He began his cruelties by an only brother, tho' by a different mother, whose eyes he caused to be put out. *Khodabânde* and *Imâm Kâli Mirza*, his uncles (younger brothers to *Sefi Mirza*), whom their father *Shâh Abbâs* had deprived of sight, and imprisoned in the castle of *Almât*, as before related, were, by *Sefi's* order, cast headlong from a high rock; for this reason, he said, *that, having lost the benefit of seeing, they were of no use in the world.* The next instance of his barbarity was in the person of his uncle *Isha Khân*, and his three sons, on the following occasion:

Puts to
death

ISA KHÂN was so much in favour with *Shâh Abbâs*, that, to demonstrate his esteem for him, he bestowed on him his daughter, by whom he had the three sons in question. This princess was very handsome; and so agreeable in her conversation, that her nephew, *Shâh Safi*, was extremely taken with her company. Being one day with the king, she took the freedom to tell him, "she wondered that he, who was so young and vigorous, and had so many great beauties to command, could get no children; whereas she had three already by her husband." *Safi* made answer, "that, having many years to reign, he hoped, as he was but young, he should have time enough to get heirs to inherit the crown after him." His aunt, desirous to carry on the jest, replied, "that ground, not well cultivated, rarely brought forth any thing;" imprudently adding, "You speak very well, my liege; but I fear me, that, after your death, the *Persians* will be glad to pitch upon one of my sons to succeed you." The shâh was extremely nettled with the boldness and poignancy of the repartee; yet made a shift to dissemble it, and get from the room without the princess perceiving that he was incensed against her.

his ne-
phews and
uncle.

BUT next day opened a dreadful scene to her view: for *Sefi* commanded her three sons to be brought to him, the eldest twenty-two years of age, the second fifteen, and the third nine; and, having conveyed them into a garden, ordered their heads to be cut off. Not content with this butchery, at dinner-time he disposed the heads into one of the covered pots in which victuals are served up; and, sending for the mother, ordered them to be taken out one after another by the nose, and said to her, *See the children of a woman who bragged so much of her fertility! Go, thou art young enough to bear more of them.* The princess was so astonished at this horrid spectacle, that, for a while, she was not able to speak: at last, fearing his indignation, which was still in his eyes, might fall also on herself, she fell at his feet, kissed them, and said, *All is well, all is well; God grant the king a long and happy life!*

This

This forced submission saved her own: but, as soon as she had left the room, *Sefi* sent for her husband *Isa Khân*; and, pointing to the heads of his children, asked him, *What he thought of that pleasant spectacle?* The khân, who knew whom he had to deal with, smothering the tenderness of paternal affection, made answer, *That he was so far from being displeased at what was done, that, if his majesty had commanded him to bring the heads of his sons, he would have been the executioner himself; and that he would have no children at all, in case it was the king's pleasure that it should be so.* This abject flattery saved the brutish father's life at that time: but *Sefi*, reflecting that, after such treatment, *Isa Khân* could neither love nor be faithful to him, gave order for his head likewise to be taken off.

'Tis the greatest crime to be faithful to tyrants; for they hate their benefactors most. *Zeynel Khân*, who had contri- buted no less than *Isa Khân* to this monster's advancement, in the year 1632 performed an act of fidelity, for which perfidy to the public he deserved the death he suffered. The shâh, having forced the *Turks* to raise the siege which they had laid to *Bâghdâd* in that year, encamped with his army near *Hamadân*. (E). At this place, several lords, who were met together, reflecting on the executions with which the king had commenced his reign, said among themselves, "that since, in his tenderer age, he could commit so many cruelties, it was to be feared that he would in time extirpate all the grandees of *Persia*." *Zeynel Khân*, who was present at this discourse, went immediately to the shâh, and gave him an account of what had passed in that plot; advising him to rid himself of those who had most credit among them, and so secure his own life.

SEFI, having received an information to which probably he owed his life, made this answer to the bringer of it: "Thyng a plot, advice, *Zeynel Khân*, is so good, that I will immediately follow it, and begin with thee; for thou art the person of greatest age, and most authority, among them; consequently must needs be of the conspiracy: in that also I shall follow the example of the king my grandfather, whose reign was neither safe nor happy till he had executed the person who had the same post of *Kurehi-basbi*, which thou now enjoyest." *Zeynel Khân*, who, on hearing this ungrateful

^a OLEARIUS, ubi supra, p. 357.

(E) The ancient *Ametha* and *Ecbatana*, one of the capital cities of *Persian Irâk*.

speech,

A. D. 1632. *speech*, it may be presumed, deeply repented of his officious zeal; replied, "that his majesty might reward him, for this proof of his fidelity, just as he thought fit: that, for his part, being arrived at the greatest age man could attain to, it would not trouble him much to have his life shortened by a few days; but that possibly his majesty might one day be troubled, for having put to death one of his most faithful servants, when he came to reflect on the importance of the discovery, and the zeal he had shewn for his safety."

slain for it. THIS answer respited his execution, which had been resolved on by the king, who immediately went to his mother's tent (for, according to antient custom, she, and the other ladies of the harâm, followed him in his expedition), to acquaint her with what had been told him. Next morning that prince sent for *Zeynel Khân* to her tent-door, to hear from him all the circumstances of the conspiracy: but, as soon as *Sefi* came to understand that the khân had spoken to his mother, he was so incensed, that he went and killed him with his own hand in her presence. *Zeynel Khân* was certainly one of the most eminent men in all Persia, who owed his fortune to his good conduct, and the fidelity with which he had served Shâh Abbâs in several affairs of great importance; one of which it may not be amiss to mention.

An instance of ABBAS, being to send a solemn embassy to *Lahôr*, to adjust the differences between him and the *Great Mogul*, about the frontiers of *Kandahâr*, employed *Zeynel Khân*, as the person he reposed most confidence in: at his departure, recommending to him the most tender concern for his interest; and that he should take care to do nothing which might be prejudicial either to his reputation or service. *Zeynel* promised to observe his commands; and was as good as his word: for, at his audience, he refused to do Shâh *Jehân* reverence, by putting both hands first to the ground, and then upon his head; but entered the hall with a grave pace, and only saluted the king with his *Sala Mâlek*. The *Mogul* was so concerned at this behaviour, that he sent to intreat him to alter it, and pay him the same respects which former ambassadors from his court had done; backing his request with the offer of considerable presents: but finding *Zeynel Khân* inflexible, he ordered a door to be made in the hall of audience, opposite to the throne, so low, that the ambassador could not enter without stooping, and thus be obliged to do him reverence. However, *Zeynel Khân* eluded this artifice, by going in backwards, so that his posteriors made the first appearance: which piece of disrespect

so provoked *Shâh Jehân*, that he not only forbore making him the usual presents, which are of great value, but also forbade that he should be supplied with provisions at his expence. By this means *Zeynel Khân* was reduced to such extremities, that he was forced to sell his plate, and even what gold and silver there was on the furniture of his horses, in order to buy necessities for subsistence. The *Great Mogul* sent likewise to complain of *Zeynel Khân's* behaviour, to *Shâh Abbâs*; who indeed pretended to disapprove of his ambassador's conduct, but, not long after, shewed his satisfaction, by honouring him with the title of *khân*, and bestowing on him the government of *Hamadân*, *Terkisin*, *Kulpajân*, and other cities.

To return to his barbarous murder: the queen-mother, struck *The queen's* with horror at the action of her son, represented to him how concern. much he was to blame for treating in such a manner one of his grandfather's most antient servants, and who had been a chief instrument in setting him on the throne. *Sefi*, for the present, seemed to be troubled for what he had done: but, if he had in reality any compunction at all, her lecture made no very lasting impression; since, not many days after, the chancellor, the lord high steward, and even his own mother, according to circumstances, found no better treatment from him.

ONE day, during the aforesaid expedition, when *Sefi* was encamped at the mountain *Sehend*, within a league of *Tauris*, the lord high steward, named *Ugurlu Khân*, being to command the guard about the king, at which the chiefs are obliged to be personally present whenever the shâh is in the field, he happened to go and sup with *Tabâb Khân*, the high chancellor; who had also invited the *Dawâtter*, that is, the *Secretary of the Closet*, named *Hassan Beg*, and a certain poet. Towards Execution the end of supper, the *Kisbâji Bâsbi*, or captain of the guard, of whose name was *Mortûza Kâli Khân*, came to give *Ugurlu Khân* notice, that it was time to come to the king's tent: but the chancellor, unwilling to dismiss his guests, told the *Kisbâji Bâsbi*, that there was no necessity for *Ugurlu Khân's* personal appearance; and that the king, being but a child, would take no notice of his absence. The captain insisted that the guard could not be set without the high steward, and repeated his instances for him to come away; saying, otherwise he should be obliged to complain to the shâh. The chancellor, offended with this sort of language, commanded his domestics to thrust *Mortûza Kâli Khân* out of doors; which they did, but so roughly, that he was hurt in the face^d.

^d OLBARTUS, p. 359.

A. D.
1632.

*the great
chancellor,*

MORTUZA, incensed at this treatment, went, all bloody as he was, to the king, and gave him an account of what had passed at the chancellor's. *Sefi* ordered him to say nothing of it: but next day, being at dinner with the king, sitting in his usual place, the shah ordered him to approach; and said to him, *What does he deserve, who, eating the king's bread, and living by the pure favour of his master, is so far from paying the respect due to him, that he slights him?* The chancellor made answer, *He deserves death.* The king replied, *Thou hast pronounced thy own sentence: thou art the person, who, living solely by my favour, and eating at my table, hast had the insolence to treat me as a child, in the discourse which passed yesterday betwixt thee and Mortúza Kúli Khán.* *Tabúb Khán* would have spoken in his own defence: but *Sefi*, not giving him time to say a word, ran him into the belly with his simitar. The chancellor, as he fell, only cried out, *Ha Padisháh Aymayn.* At the same time the king commanded his rika (F) to cut his head into little bits. *Sefi*, perceiving one of the pages, who, struck with horror, turned aside, not able to behold such an act of cruelty, said to him, *Since thy sight is so tender, it will be of no use to thee* (G); and commanded his eyes to be put out immediately.

*lord high
steward,*

THE execution of *Tabúb Khán* was soon followed by that of *Ugúrlu Khán*; whose head the shah ordered *Ali Káli Khán*, the *Diwán Beg*; or *President of the Council*, to bring to him. *Ugúrlu Khán* had just stepped out of the bath, and was going to put on his clothes; when, seeing *Ali Káli* come in, attended by two servants, he was startled, tho' the other's intimate, and said, *Woe is me! dear friend, I fear thou bringest me no good news.* *Ali Káli Khán* made answer, *Thy fears are but too true, dear brother: for the king hath commanded me to fetch him thy head; the only way is, to submit.* Hereupon,

(F) They are part of the shah's guards, who carry pole-axes, and often do the office of executioners: for, properly speaking, they have no executioners in Persia, at least at court, where any lord, or other person about the king at the time, is sent on the office.

(G) *Tavernier* says, the words were, *What! art thou afraid to punish the wicked?* on seeing the domestic turn his head when the executioner began to prick the eyes of the lord with the point

of a pen-knife. Trav. l. v. c. 4. p. 207. *Abbás I.* observing the Portuguese ambassadors turn away their eyes from a malefactor, whose belly he had ordered to be ripped open in his presence, said (by way of apology), that certainly those executions would be too horrible to be practised among Christians, who were rational people; but that they were absolutely necessary among the Persians, who were beasts. *Thev.* Trav. part 2. ch. 11. p. 107.

without farther ceremony, he closed with him, cut off his head, made a hole in one of the cheeks, thrust his finger thro' it, and so carried it to *Safi*: who, looking on it, touched it with a little wand, and said, *It must be confessed, thou wert a stout man: it troubles me to see thee in that condition; but it was thine own fault: 'tis pity, if it was only for that goodly beard of thine.* This he said by reason his mustachios were so long, that, going about his head, they met again at his mouth; which is reckoned a great ornament in *Persia*: his post was conferred on *Mortûza Kûli Khân*. *Hassan Beg*, who had also been at the chancellor's entertainment, received the like treatment: but the unhappy poet fared worst of all; for, being some time after falsely accused of putting these executions in verse, and singing them in the meydân, he was carried to that place, where they cut off his nose, ears, tongue, feet, and hands, whereof he died some few days after. and others.

Not long after, *Safi* sent for the sons of those lords, and said to them: *You see, I have destroyed your fathers; what say you to it?* The son of *Ugûrlu Khân* answered, without hesitation, *What does a father signify to me? I have no other parent but the Shâh.* This unnatural reply restored him to the estate of the deceased (H), which otherwise would have been confiscated: but the chancellor's son was reduced to great misery, and had not any thing allowed him of all his father had possessed; because he expressed more concern for his death, than satisfaction at what the king had done.

When *Safi* was returned to *Kasvin*, he summoned all the Ali Merd lords and governors of provinces to court. They all obeyed this order, excepting *Ali Merdan Khân*, governor of *Kandahâr* (I), and *Dawud Khân*, governor of *Kenjeh* (K); who thought it enough to assure the shâh of their fidelity, by sending up one of their wives and children as hostages: but *Safi* did not look on that submission sufficient. Hereupon *Ali Merdan Khân* revolts.

• OLEARIUS, p. 359.

(H) *Thevenot*, in his *Travels*, part ii. ch. 11. p. 98. mentions an instance of a son, who, at the command of this cruel prince, cut off the ears, nose, and then the head, of the aged lord his father; for which parricide the king gave him his estate. Perhaps this is the same fact, told from a different report.

account of his vast riches, which came to him by inheritance, as being descended from the ancient kings of *Kandahâr*, who were originally *Tartars*. His plate was all gold, and his palace as magnificently furnished as the king's. *Tavern. Trav.* l. v. c. 1. p. 198.

(K) *Ganjenh*, or *Ganja*, a city of *Arrân*.

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G g

revolted,

A. D. 132. ^{revolted} and delivered up the fortress to the *Great Mogul*. *Dawd Khân*, understanding by the *akhta*, or groom of the king's chamber, who had been sent to him, that it was dangerous for him to repair to court, resolved to retire into the *Turkish* dominions. The better to effect this design, he thought proper to try how his servants stood affected; and, finding that fifteen of them were unwilling to follow him, he caused them to be cut to pieces in his presence. Then wrote a very reproachful letter to *Safi*; and went away with all his wealth to *Taymâruz Khân*, a prince of *Georgia*, his brother-in-law: from whence he removed into *Turky*, where he was received with great friendship by *Soltân Ibrâhim*. The king, to be revenged of both, sent their wives to the public stews; and exposed the son of *Dawd Khân* to the brutality of the grooms about court: reserving *Ali Merdan's* son, who was very beautiful, for his own use.

Imâm Kûli Khân, SOME time after this, *Safi* sent orders to *Imâm (L) Kûli Khân*, governor of *Shîrâz*, and brother to *Dawd Khân*, to come to court. The khân had notice sent him of the king's intention to put him to death: but he made answer, "that he could not be persuaded he should be so ill requited, after having done such considerable services for the crown (M); yet that, whatever might happen, he would rather lose his life, than be out of favour with his prince, and become a criminal by his disobedience." Pursuant to this imprudent resolution, he repaired to *Kafsh*, where the court then was: but was no sooner arrived, than his head was ordered to be taken off. This bloody tyrant, however, did not intend to take away the lives of *Imâm Kûli Khân's* children: but, while his eldest son, about eighteen years of age, was prostrate at the king's feet, which submission his friends had advised him to, a wicked flatterer told *Safi*, that the youth was not the son of the khân, but of *Shâh Abbâs*, who, after getting one of his women with child, had bestowed her on the father.

and sons,
Bain.

THIS suggestion occasioned the death not only of the young lord, but also of fourteen of his brothers; who, being conducted to the meydân, were all beheaded near their father's body. The mother made a shift to get away, with the six-

(L) His name is commonly written *Iman Culi Kan*. Our *Frier* is the only traveller who has best expressed it, according to the true pronunciation; he writes *Imaum Cooly Caun*. *Herbert*, *Emangoly Chawn*.

(M) He conquered the greater

part of the kingdom of *Lâr*, and the kingdom of *Ormûs*, in the reign of *Abbâs I.* with all the coast of the *Persian* gulf, from cape *Jasques* to *Balsara* (or *Baf-rab*). *Tavern.* Trav. l. v. c. 3. p. 204.

teenth,

teenth, into *Arabia*, to the prince her father, who resided at *Helbisa*, three days journey from *Bastrah*, or *Balsara*. The bodies of *Imâm Kûli Khân*, and his children, remained three days exposed in the meydân to public view; till *Safi*, fearing that the lamentation, which the khân's mother made there day and night, would occasion an insurrection, commanded them to be taken away^f.

A. D.
1632.

THIS affair is related somewhat more particularly by a subsequent traveller; who informs us, that *Shâh Abbâs* gave one of his own wives, whom he loved extremely, to *Imâm Kûli Khân*; and that, when she left the harâm, it was thought she was three months gone with child: for, six months after she was bedded by the khân, she lay-in of a son, of whom the king was the reputed father; and who, being born before *Shâh Safi*, pretended a right before him to the throne. By virtue of this claim, contrary to the will of *Shâh Abbâs* in favour of *Safi*, this ambitious lord, who only passed for the khân's eldest son, but was of a daring resolution, earnestly solicited his father to seize on the shâh, and make himself king, at least to open a way for him to the throne: particularly one day, being a hunting with the young king, near *Shîrâz*, he rode up to his father, and said, *See now the opportunity, sir, that offers you the throne: for I will go instantly, and bring you Shâh Safi's head.* But the khân, holding him by the arm, declared *he would suffer any thing, rather than consent to such a crime: that Safi was appointed by Abbâs to succeed him, as being his son Safi's child, and consequently his lawful heir: that he had sworn to support the right of Safi, who had been recommended to his care; and that he would die, sooner than commit a breach of trust.*

The khân's fidelity.

THIS generous resolution of the khân broke the young lord's design upon the king's person. However, the queen-mother, being not ignorant of the train which was laid for him, thought it the wisest way to prevent the blow, by getting rid of such as had conspired his death. Two other of the khân's sons took part with him they called their brother: and altho' the khân himself was loyal, yet his power, wealth, and reputation among the soldiery, as well as the affection borne him by the people, concurred to render him an object of jealousy. The queen-mother, therefore, in concert with *Mirza Takeh*, the prime minister, representing to the king, that he was not safe so long as *Imâm Kûli Khân*, and his three eldest sons, lived, he readily consented to their destruction. And as at this time *Morâd IV.* sultân of the *Turks*, had taken

His popularity.

^f OLEARIUS, p. 360, & seq.

A. D.
1632.His resolu-
tion,

Erivân, and ruined *Tauris* (N, that invasion afforded a good pretence for summoning all the khâns and governors to attend the shah with troops under their command.

IMAM Kûli Khân obeyed the order among the rest : but, as he was on his march to *Kashân* with his three sons, the eldest, suspecting the worst, said to him, Sir, *we are making haste to the king, that our heads may the sooner fall at his feet.* To this the khân replied, *Perhaps, my son, thou mayest speak the truth : but, as to this day I have punctually obeyed the king's commands, so, whatever may happen, I will persevere to do my duty till death.* The khân was received by Shâh Sâfi with great appearance of favour ; and, three days after, was, with the other lords then assembled at *Kashân*, invited to a great feast. His three sons went to the banquet : but, the khân desiring to be excused on account of his great age, the king sent word, that the khân of *Shirâs* was at liberty to do as he thought fit. The third day of the feast, Sâfi rose from his seat ; and going out of the hall, half an hour after, three executioners, attended by others, entered with their simeters drawn, seized on the khân's three sons, and cut off their heads.

and death. THE three heads, being put in a gold bafon, were presented to the king ; who ordered the executioners to carry them to their father, and, as soon as he had seen them, to take off his head also. The khân, who was at prayers when they came, only desired time to say them out ; and then, without changing countenance, or uttering more words than *Let the king's will be done*, he submitted to a death which he might easily have avoided. The four heads were brought back to the king, to be sent into the hâram to his mother ; and a courier was dispatched to the khân's lieutenant, to put to death all the rest of his children, only two excepted, who were at nurse, and never could be discovered. The *Persians* for a long time bewailed

§ TAVERN. l. v. c. 3. p. 204. & seq.

(N) News coming to Sâfi, that the sultân had burnt *Tauris*, and was marching farther into the country with 100,000 men ; *Let him come*, said he, *without any opposition : I know how to make the Turks pay for their invasion, without any great trouble.* They were then not above fifteen days march from *Isfâhân*, when he turned the course of all the streams both before and be-

hind, which are only cut from certain springs, and brought by canals into the inland parts of *Persia*, where there are no rivers ; by which means the whole army perished for want of water. *Tavern. Trav. p. 20.—Morâd IV.* was at *Tauris* in 1635 ; but the *Turkish* historians do not mention this loss of his army. See his reign among the *Othmân* sultâns,

the

the death of *Imâm Kûli Khân*, on account of his liberality. A. D. 1632. He was the son of *Allawerdi Khân*, who, at his own charge, built the bridge of *Ispâhân*; and was as much esteemed as any lord of his time, for the noble actions he had performed in the wars^b.

THIS khân was prodigiously rich (O); and so very magnificent, that his expences almost equalled those of the king: which occasioned *Shâh Abbâs I.* who talked with him one day on that subject, to tell him, *that he desired him to spend one penny less than he every day, that there might be some difference between the expences of a shâh and a khân.* *Imâm Kûli Khân's* noble qualities had gained him the affections of all people: for he was liberal as well as magnificent, highly recompensed brave soldiers and learned men: loved strangers, and took a peculiar care to encourage arts and sciences. For this end, he built a fair college at *Shîrâz*, for the instruction of youth; and several inns, as well in the city as on the road, for the benefit of travellers. He caused mountains to be cut through, in order to shorten the way; and joined others by bridges, of so bold a structure, that it is difficult to conjecture how such prodigious arches could be turned over such vast precipices and torrents^c.

THIS tyrant's cruelty favoured the ladies no more than the men: for, about the same time, he killed one with his own hand (P), and committed several other murders. When he intended any execution, he usually dressed in scarlet, or some red stuff; so that all trembled when he put on any thing of that colour. As these unheard-of cruelties frightened every body, some persons undertook to shorten his days by poison: but, the dose which they gave him not proving strong enough, he overcame it, after a sickness of two months. When he recovered, he ordered a strict inquiry to be made; and it was discovered, by a servant who had been ill treated by her mistress, that the poison had been prepared in the apartment of the women; and given him by the direction of his aunt, *Isa Khân's* widow. He revenged himself sufficiently the night fol-

^b OLEARIUS, l. vi. p. 361.

^c TAVERN. ubi sup.

(O) It must be observed, that the revenue of *Shîrâz*, *Lâr*, *Ormûs*, and the coasts of the *Persian* gulf, was solely at his disposal, and none of it returned into the king's coffers: instead of that, the khân was obliged to send him money to pay the army.

This was one thing which incensed the queen-mother and first minister against him. *Tavern.* Trav. l. v. c. 3. p. 204.

(P) Perhaps this was his *Georgian* queen, as related lower down.

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lowing: for the palace was filled with dreadful shrieks; and it was found the next day, that he had ordered a great pit to be made in the garden, wherein he had buried forty women alive; some of them ladies of the saray, and others their attendants. Much about the same time a rumour was spread, that his mother had died of the plague; but it is more likely, says our author, that she bore the ladies company who had been buried alive^k.

Apology
for Safi's

TAVERNIER seems to excuse the cruel executions of Shâh Safi, by laying the blame or cause of them on the queen-mother, and the etemâd addawlet (Q), or prime minister, named Mirza Tâkeh, who paid her four hundred gold duckets every day, to dispose of as she thought fit. These two governed the kingdom between them; and held a private council in her haram, where he had free admission, as being ^{imuching} close cut (R): and here they overthrew in the night whatever the lords concluded in the day, by changing at pleasure the king's mind, over which they had the ascendant. It was thought that Shâh Abbâs had left a private order with these two, to rid themselves of *Imâm Kûli Khân*, and seven other great lords, at the head of whom was *Jâni Khân*, as soon as Safi should be settled in the throne; and fill all places with governors in whom the king might confide. Accordingly the king, by their advice, began at *Kâstîn* with *Imâm Kûli Khân*. After this, the other lords, getting some information of the design against them; and judging, on the king's return to *Ispâhân*, that the time for their execution drew near, resolved to prevent the etemâd addawlet (S). With this view, they met

Laying the
lords:

^k OLEARIUS, l. vi. p. 361, & seq.

(Q) That is, *the trust and support of the state*. The contraction is memâd dawlet: this word is corruptly written in our travellers, athemadaulat. He is the first minister, or wazîr ajem, in *Persia*, who has in his hands the direction of all affairs.

(R) When governor of *Ghîlân*, in the reign of Shâh Abbâs, missing a page whom he had abused, and suspecting he was gone to complain to the king, in order to divert the storm, he deprived himself of the instruments of his crime; and, taking a bye-

road, went in a litter, with his surgeon, to court, where he presented the marks of his repentance in a plate of gold to the king: who thereupon sent him back to his government; and recalled the page, whom he had sent to take his employment, and send him the offender's head.

(S) Both the occasion and manner of this minister's death is very differently, and at large, related by *Chardin*, who calls him *Sarût ki*. Voy. en Perse, tome iii. p. 10, & seq.

one morning before the palace-gate; and, having killed the porter, entered that minister's bedchamber, and stabbed him before he could rise. As soon as they had effected the business, they went to the king; and *Jâni Khân* told him what they had done. *Safi*, dissembling his anger at so bold an attempt, answered, *that they had done very well, and had only prevented the order which he intended to have given himself.* But a few days after, while those lords were sitting in council, an eunuch entered, which was the signal for the king to withdraw; and, as soon as he was gone, the chamber was filled with eunuchs, who fell upon and slew them. Their bodies were exposed in the meydân; where the people, kicking the heads, said, *These are the heads of those dogs who have opposed the will of the king*: for, generally speaking, in *Persia*, whatever the king does is thought to be right¹.

BUT, for all this traveller makes these executions rather the act of others than of *Safi*, yet he owns that he was very severe, and his punishments often amounted to acts of cruelty. One day, when hunting, a poor peasant appeared from behind a rock, with a paper in his hand, having been deputed by the village to make some complaint to him: but, while the poor man cried for justice, *Safi*, without making any answer, shot two arrows into his body, and killed him. That which moved him to this act of cruelty, was, the rigorous custom which takes place with regard to his women, some of whom were along with him; for, on such occasions, there is no mercy shewn to those who happen to be in the way when they pass by. There is a custom no less tyrannical, and of pernicious consequence to the subject, touching the person of the king; which is, that if any man points at him as he passes along the street, or upon the road, he must lose his hand. One day that *Shâh Safi* was in the country, two merchants of *Constantinople* meeting him with his train upon the road, they stopped to see him; when one of them innocently lifting up his hand, to shew him to the other, who had never seen him, by pointing to the heron feathers by which his cap was distinguished from those of the lords who followed him, two horsemen immediately rode up to him, and cut off his hand with a simeter.

THE *Persians*, both men and women, are so addicted to take tobacco, that, should it be prohibited for any long time, the revenue would suffer considerably. However, *Safi* once, in a humour, having forbidden the use of it thro' his dominions, two rich *Banyan* merchants were found smoking in the *Indian* inn at *Isfâhân*; and, being forthwith carried bound before

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the shâh, he ordered melted lead to be poured down their throats in the public meydân. The people imagined that the king pronounced the sentence only to terrify them; and that he would have reprieved them at the place of execution. Mean time four other merchants went to the etemâd addawlet, and offered 2000 tomâns to save the lives of their friends; but, on the chief minister's signifying the same to *Safi*, he fell into a passion; and, asking *whether those Indian dogs thought that a king of Persia would sell justice?* sent a second order for executing the unhappy smokers without delay^m.

*A Swift in
favour*

To the foregoing passages we may add the execution of *Ralf Sadler*, a protestant; which, if not to be reckoned as an instance of his cruelty, may well pass for one of his inconstant temper, and want of resolution. This person was a watch-maker of *Zurich*, about thirty-eight years of age; who, putting himself into the service of the emperor's resident at *Constantinople*, was carried by our author *Tavernier* to *Isfâhân*. There he made a small repeating watch, about the bigness of half a crown; which being a neat piece of work, the *English* bought it, at the rate of 200 crowns, to give to *Imâm Kâli Khân*. The khân made a present of it to the king; who was so pleased with it, that he carried it hanging about his neck, under his clothes, in a gold chain. One day, happening to break the fusil, by turning the key the wrong way, he sent for *Sadler* to *Kâstîn*; who presently set it in order again. Hereupon the king ordered him a pension of thirty tomâns, with diet for him and a man, and provision for two horses; for which he was obliged every morning to wait on the king at his rising, in order to wind up his watch.

*Kills a
Persian.*

THIS brought him into so great favour with *Saff*, that the *Holstein* ambassadors endeavoured to gain his friendship, and often invited him to entertainments. One night, going from them to his lodging, he found a young *Persian* with a *Nestorian* girl, whom he kept. The young man being brother to one of the king's porters, *Sadler* complained to him of the injury, and desired him to warn his brother to come no more: but a few nights after, *Ralf*, finding him again with his mistress, by help of his slaves, bound him to a tree in the court, and went to-bed. As soon as their master was withdrawn, one of the slaves began to make game with the prisoner; who, having his feet at liberty, killed him with a kick in the belly. *Sadler*, awakened by the cries of the rest, got up; and, taking a pistol in his hand, went and shot the *Persian*

^m TAVERNIER. l. v. c. 3, 4. p. 206, & seq.

through

through the head (T). Next morning, the king asking him what news, he told him plainly what he had done, and the reason why. The king, on his report, told him that he had done well, according to the custom of the country. But the prime minister, who hated *Sadler* on account of an old grudge (U), pretending to the king, that *Sadler* had represented the matter very differently from what it was, *Safi* sent for him; and told him, that he must either turn *Mohammedan*, or die. On *Sadler's* refusing to renounce his faith, the king ordered him to prison. However, as he had a great affection for him, he sent for him twice or thrice; and made him very large offers, if he would change his religion. But the *Swiss* rejected them all; nay, refused to conform but for a while, and in appearance: so that he was delivered up to the brother of the deceased *Persian*; who put him to death in the meydân, with a poniard, in October 1637ⁿ.

A. D.
1637.Constancy,
and death.

It is commonly observed that cruel men are cowards: but *Safi's* *vi-*
Shâh Safi expressed courage enough when occasion required it; *Stories.*
and it is certain that the beginning of his reign was remarkable for the great victories which he gained over his enemies. He defeated *Karib Shâh*, in the province of *Kilân*: he forced the *Turks* to raise the siege of *Bâghdâd*; and took by assault the fortress of *Ervân* (*Rivân*, or *Irivân*). Altho', to speak impartially, says *Olearius*, the glory of these successes was owing to the valour and conduct of his generals, and to fortune, rather than his prudence: for he discovered not much in any of his actions, which were for the most part rash, and not of a piece; of which his behaviour at *Ervân* is a proof. *Safi*, *Conduct at*
finding the siege but little advanced in four months, grew *Ervân.*
so impatient, that he would needs assault the place in person; saying, he would rather die in the attempt, than rise from before a town which the *Turks* had formerly taken in three days. He had already put on the clothes of one of his

ⁿ TAVERN. p. 267. & OLEAR. l. v. p. 280.

(T) *Olearius*, who, in several particulars, tells the story differently, says, he was a house-breaker, who came to rob him: that *Sadler*, after beating, and turning him out of the house, repenting he had let him go, followed him, and shot him with a pistol.

(U) The minister *Mirza Takh* having, by way of gratifying *Sadler* for above thirty watches

which he had mended for him, sent him fifteen or twenty camels load of straw and barley for his horses, as knowing he kept seven or eight, besides four or five servants. *Ralf*, slighting such a present, said to the servant, *Tell thy master that I am neither horse nor ass, and therefore let him eat his present himself.*

A. D. 1637. footmen, to prevent being distinguished, and had given orders for a general storm. His mother, set on by the lords, who durst not contradict him, urged the impossibility of taking a place before a breach was made; and that he was only going to destroy himself, and the whole army: but all the answer she got, was a sound box in the ear. In short, he was fully bent to pursue his resolution, and had taken a poll-ax in his hand, in order to lead them on; when the principal lords, finding a necessity to interpose, fell at his feet, and intreated him to grant them but one day more to try their efforts. This request they obtained; and then ordering the whole army, even to the boys, to make an assault, carried the place by storm (X): but they lost in the action 50,000 men.

Did one
good action.

THE good success which, till then, attended his designs, soon failed him, after he had put so many great persons to death; of which the taking of *Bâghdâd* (Y) by the *Turks*, after twenty-six years loss, is a remarkable instance. The only good action which he did during his reign, was that of sending back, to their respective countries, those poor people whom Shâh *Abbâs* removed from *Ervân*, *Nakhshivân*, *Khalej*, and *Georgia*, to *Ferhabâd* in *Mazânderân*; where they were employed in great buildings, and lived in miserable slavery: yet but a few of them reaped the advantages of that good order; for, out of 7000, only 300 got home, the rest having perished by hunger and want.

His wives.

SAFI took great pleasure in drinking wine; and was very kind to those who bore him company. But his chief recreations were women and hunting; not much troubling himself about the affairs of government, or the administration of justice to his subjects. He had three wives. One was the daughter of a colonel, whose first employment was to drive the mules which brought water to the king's kitchen; and came to be known to Shâh *Abbâs*, by helping him to some fair water, one sultry day, while he was hunting, when none else could meet with any. This service was requited by the king bestowing on him the village where he was born; and made him known at court, where he found means to get an office: which is no difficult matter in *Persia*, for such as have money. Some time after, he procured a post in the army, where he proved so fortunate as to obtain the command of a regiment of 1000 men. *Abbâs* thought his daughter so handsome,

(X) It was recovered, not long after, by *Morâd IV.* sultân of the *Turks*, in 1634. See his reign, in a subsequent volume. But

Sâfi took *Vân* also, in the year 1636.

(Y) This was by Sultân *Morâd IV.* in the year 1638.

that

that he made a present of her to the widow of *Safi Mirza*, appointing her to be brought up, in order for a marriage with his son *Sain*; who, at his coming to the crown, accordingly married her. A. D. 1637.

His second wife was a *Georgian*, the daughter of *Taymûraz Khân*, often mentioned in the reign of *Abbâs*, whose peace with that prince was confirmed by means of this marriage.

ONE day, returning from the kalenter of *Jâlfa's* house, where *Kills his* he had drank to excess, he gave order that this queen (Z) *queen.* should come to him. As she understood that he was in liquor, she made no great haste; so that he fell asleep. But, awaking soon after, and not seeing her, he called for her a second time; on notice of which, she immediately went to him. When she entered the chamber, she found the king fallen asleep again; and, in expectation of his awaking, hid herself in a niche behind the hangings, where generally the mattresses and coverlets are laid by. *Safi* presently after coming out of his slumber, and not yet perceiving the queen, in a great haste demanded the reason of her stay. The queen-mother, who was a *Georgian* slave, and hated the young queen, because she was a king's daughter, took the occasion to put her out of favour; and, having first spoken ill of her, gave the shâh to understand, by a sign, that she was hidden in such a place. On this, *Safi*, rising in a fury, stabbed her four or five times in the belly, with a dagger; and, scarce knowing what he had done, went to bed again. Next day, forgetful of the fact, he called for the queen: but when they told him what had happened the night before, he became extremely afflicted, and sent an express mandate through his dominions, that no man should drink wine; with an order, that the governors should stave all the casks, and spill the liquor, where-ever they found them.

THE third queen was a *Chirkassian* lady, daughter of *Bika*, *An odd* and sister to prince *Mussal*. The mother brought her as far *letter.* as the river *Bustrow* (A), in 1637; and wrote to Shâh *Safi*, "That she sent him her daughter, not as a concubine, or slave, but as his lawful wife: that it was her hope he would look on her as such: and that she should find from him an affection equal to that which she herself had expressed towards the princess his mother; who, though she was then her slave, and had undressed her, even to her stockens, had been treated by her like her own child: that,

* OLEAR. p. 362, & seq. P. TAVERN. l. v. c. 1, p. 196.

(Z) She was the mother of (A) Near *Tarki*, between Shâh *Abbâs II.* *Tavern.* p. 172. *Asfrakhân* and *Derbend*, in *Shirwân*.

A. D. 1642. "as to her daughter, who was now on the way to him, she had rather see her drowned in the river *Bufterow*, with all the misfortunes which might happen to her, than that she should be ill-used by him."

His other women. BESIDES these wives, he had 300 women in his *haray*; for the handsomest virgins all over *Persia* were brought thither. The greatest lords themselves presented him with the maidens whom either they or their relations had brought up. While our author was in *Persia*, the kalenter of *Shamakhiya*, capital of *Shirwân*, having had some ill offices done him at court, recovered the king's favour; by presenting him with his own niece, one of the greatest beauties in the country, and a sum of money sent to the chancellor. The *Armenians*, to prevent the searches which are often made among them for maids of twelve years old, dispose of them in marriage, if handsome, before that age. By reason of this great number of women, it happens that the king lies but once with some of them; and then bestows them on those lords of the court who are most in his favour.

His death. SHAH *Safi*, or *Sefi*, died in the year 1642, in the twelfth year of his reign, or, to speak more properly, of his tyranny. It was thought his life was shortened by poison (B), as the only remedy to deliver the *Persians* from his cruelties.

His person. As to his person, there was nothing of his bloody disposition to be read in his countenance. On the contrary, his aspect was mild and amiable; and his complexion so good, that none who saw him could imagine he possessed such a barbarous heart. He was of a middle stature, and very well shaped.

His cruel order. HE left a son, named *Abbâs*, who succeeded him, in May the same year, being then but thirteen years of age¹. His father, it seems, for what reason none could ever discover, had given orders that he should be deprived of sight with the hot iron: but the eunuch charged with that office, in compassion to the young prince, only moved a cold iron before his eyes, teaching him to counterfeit blindness. When his father was in his last sickness, he became deeply afflicted for having so treated his heir: which the eunuch perceiving, promised to restore the prince to sight; and accordingly, soon after, brought him, with

¹ OLEAR. l. vi. p. 363, & seq.

(B) *Tavernier* says, he died in 1642, of a surfeit, occasioned by excess of drinking, after he had reigned fourteen years. Trav. v. c. i. p. 199.—He was buried at the city of *Kom*, in the

northern road to *Ispâhân*; where he has a magnificent sepulchre, of which *Chardin* has given the view, in his *Voy. en Persé*, tom. ii. p. 211.

the use of his eyes, to the king's bed-side. The joy which *Safi* A. D. 1642. conceived, on this occasion, prolonged his life till next day; and gave him time to command all the grandees to acknowledge him as his rightful successor.

ON this occasion, it may be observed, as a farther proof of relating to the bloody-mindedness of this shâh, that, before the time of *blinding*. *Safi*, they were content to blind the royal issue by moving a red-hot iron to and fro before their eyes: but this cruel prince, perceiving that his command had been negligently executed, and that the poor unhappy princes had some sight left them, ordered their eyes to be dug out (C) of their heads.

C H A P. VI.

The Reign of Abbâs II.

SHAAH *Abbâs II.* ascended the throne, at *Kasbin*, with the usual ceremonies, at the end of the year 1642; and made his entry into *Isfâhân* the beginning of the next. On the day of the solemnity, all the citizens were ordered to be in arms, and march out of the city; where they were filed off on each side of the road. In the same manner were all the horse and foot ranged, for five leagues together. All the road, for two leagues from the city, was covered with tissues of gold and silver, silk, carpets, and other rich stuffs. All this is done at the expence of the inhabitants, who are taxed for the purpose, by the shâh bander, an officer like our mayor. The *English* and *Dutch* also, among whom was our author *Tavernier*, went to meet the shâh. When they drew near, they alighted; and the king being informed by *Jâni Khân*, general of the horse, held his leg stretched out of the stirrup, for them to kiss his

* TAVERN. l. v. c. 9. p. 219.

(C) *Chardin*, tom. ii. p. 214, ascribes this cruel order to *Abbâs II.* but we often find one prince put for another. Thus, in the same place, *Cha Ismael Codabendé* is put instead of *Cha Mohammed Codabendé*. And, tom. iii. p. 11, 12. the plot of *Jâni Khân* is placed in the reign of the same *Abbâs*, although said to be in the year 1645, which can agree only with the reign of *Safi I.* in which *Tavernier* has rightly inserted it.

According to *Chardin*, only the pupils of the eyes. But *Thevenot* says, in his *Travels*, part. ii. ch. 11, p. 98. that the eyes are taken out whole, with the point of a kanjar, or dagger, and carried to the king, in a bason. He adds, that, as the king sends whom he pleases to do that cruel office, some princes are so butchered by unskilful hands, that it costs them their lives.

boot.

A. D. 1642. boot. None but the king rode over the tissues, which were laid single, length-ways. On his left was the etemâd ad-dawlet, or prime minister; and on his right, the general of the cavalry: yet they did not ride even with him, but so, that the heads of their horses reached to the crupper of the shâh's. As soon as the king was passed over the stuffs, the people scrambled for them, each carrying away whatever he could lay hold of.

Astrologer consulted. THE king stopped at a garden, called *Hezârjerib*, a quarter of a league from *Isfâhân*, thinking to have made his entry into the city. But an astrologer came, and told him, that the fortunate hour was past; and that he must stay three days before the lucky minute would return again. This he complied with; and the third day made his entry. For three days together fire-works were played off in the meydân, whose piazza was illuminated from top to bottom. In the principal inns, the merchants had adorned the doors and windows of their chambers, according to the mode of the country; and our author believes it cost the chief of the *Holland* company above 900 tomans. (A) ^a.

Visits Jûlfa. As the king of *Persia*'s eldest son comes very raw to the throne, his first recreation is to make short journies into the provinces, by that means to become acquainted with things by degrees. Above all, he never fails to visit the principal church of the *Armenians* at *Jûlfa*, in order to see the women, who are very handsome, as well as to gratify his queens, who are fond of all diversions. On this occasion, there is a kûrûk through the city; at what time all the men must retire to *Isfâhân*, or to their friends at a distance. Shâh *Abbâs* went several times in that manner to *Jûlfa*; where one day having seen the wife of the Kalenter *Gorja Safras*, the report of whose beauty had given him that curiosity, he liked her very well; and desired her to accompany his queens, who carried her into the harâm. There she continued fifteen days, and then returned home, with a fair pearl necklace, which the king made her a present of when she went away ^b.

Clock with chimies. On account of this shâh's inexperience, at his advancement to the throne, there was built a pavilion, called *the pavilion of the clock*. This is a mere play-thing for a child, or a man who has seen nothing; which indeed is the case of the kings of *Persia*, at their inauguration. It is a machine which puts in mo-

^a TAVERN. l. v. c. 1. p. 199.

^b Ibid. c. v. p. 211.

(A) That is, about 3117 l. 3 s. 9 d. sterling; a toman being l. 9 s. 2 d.

tion a great number of large puppets heads, arms, and hands, which are fastened to figures painted on the wall, and hold musical instruments; also the forms of birds and beasts, made of wood, and painted, which chime every hour. The *Persians* behold this machine with more admiration than *Europeans* do the clock of *Straßburg*, or that at *Antwerp*, and as a master-piece of mechanism, altho' the chimes are very despicable ones, and the figures still more rude.

A. D.

1642.

In the year 1643, the prince of the *Uzbeks* came in person, to desire aid of *Shâh Abbas*, against his children, who had excited his subjects to rebel against him. His eldest son, who first took arms, having gained a battle, his other brother joined his interest: and, though the chief of the nobility still adhered to the father, yet, coming to a second battle towards the end of the year 1642, he lost it, with his left eye, shot out by an arrow, which obliged him to retire into *Persia*. The *shâh*, to honour him, sent 15,000 horse and foot to meet him, as far as *Kasbân*, which is four days journey from *Isfâhân*. His officers tent, and led-horses, whose furniture was covered with jewels, were every day changed. The way was covered with carpets, for a league and half from the city; and the king went himself to meet him, as far as where the stuffs began to be laid. Yet, to shew his state, although young, as soon as he saw the *Tatar* king, he made a shew of spurring on his horse; and, being come up, put his foot out of the stirrup, as if he intended to alight, but did not. The *Uzbek* prince, as old as he was, presently leaped from his saddle, to salute the *shâh*, who made him some compliments on having alighted. After this, the *etemâd addawlet*, and other lords, remounting him, the two kings rode together on the silks, *Abbâs* giving his guest the left-hand. This prince lent him 15,000 horse, and 8000 foot, with 60,000 tomans in money. The *Uzbek*, in return, gave him one of his provinces bordering on *Persia*, which yielded him a very good revenue; in regard the inhabitants were all *Turkruâns* (B), who bred an infinite number of cattle, wherein the wealth of that province consists.

A. D.

1643.

Uzbek
princereceived
with ho-
nour.

^c CHARD. Voy. en Persé, tom. III. p. 21.
I. v. c. 1.^o p. 200.

^d TAVERN.

(B) From this, and other circumstances, this should be the *khân* of the *Uzbeks* of *Karazm*: but we find no such account as this in the history of *Abulghâzi*, *khân* of that country. On the contrary, in the year 1642, he fled from the court of *Persia*, where he had been ten years, and returned to *Karazm*, which was then in the hands of the *Kalmûks*, or *Eluths*; but a year or two after took possession of it.

ALTHOUGH

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1643.Recovers
Kandahâr

by policy.

ALTHOUGH *Kempher* says this shâh's reign was famous for many warlike expeditions, yet authors mention but very few. The travellers at least speak of no more than two; namely, those against *Kandahâr* and *Jaskes*: in the first of which only he came off with success; and this success was owing more to policy or treachery, than force of arms, or military skill. It has been already observed, in the reign of Shâh *Safi*, that *Ali Merdan Khân*, governor of *Kandahâr*, being sent for to court, rather than trust himself in the hands of that bloody prince, chose to deliver up that important fortress to the *Great Mogul*. All the world believed, after such a piece of treason committed by the father, that *Safi* would have ripped up the bellies of his two sons, who remained at his court as hostages. Instead of that, he conferred on them the same kind of favours and employments which Shâh *Jehân* bestowed on *Ali Merdan Khân*. This piece of policy proved very advantageous to Shâh *Abbâs* II. who, intending to recover *Kandahâr*, marched, and besieged it with 50,000 men. For the *Persian* troops, of whom the greater part of the *Mogul's* army consisted, remembering how kindly Shâh *Safi* had treated *Ali Merdan Khân's* sons, gave very little opposition to Shâh *Abbâs*, who, in a short time, made himself master of that fortress. On this occasion, it is related, that Shâh *Jehân*, being much troubled at the loss, asked *Ali Merdan Khân*, By what means he might retake *Kandahâr*? to which the khân made answer, *That it might be easily enough done, provided his majesty could only find such another traitor as he had been* ^c.

Prince of
Jaskes

BETWEEN cape *Jaskes* and cape *Guâdel*, the two most southern points of the coast of *Persia*, along the *Indian* sea, there lies a mountainous and marshy country, in several parts inaccessible, extending from the sea to the province of *Kermân*. This region was possessed by three petty princes. The two towards the east are ethnics; the third, who assumes the title of prince of *Jaskes*, and is most potent, professes *Mohammedism*. Shâh *Abbâs* I. after the conquest of the province of *Ormûz* (or *Hormûz*), intended to subdue all the maritime parts beyond *Jaskes*: but, meeting with resistance, was content that the prince should become his vassal, and pay him tribute; which was performed during his reign. But, on the accession of Shâh *Sefi* I. the prince of *Jaskes* refused to pay the tribute, without being called to an account. At length, in the reign of *Abbâs* II. the khân of *Ormûz*, by his leave, invaded the country, with 20,000 horse: but, in hunting as he marched,

^c TAVERN. I. v. p. 198.

he fell into a bog, and perished, with twenty or thirty horsemen more.

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THE army, on the khân's death, retreated. However, soon after, they entered the country again, led by the khân's brother, whom *Abbâs* had sent to succeed him. The new general made haste to reduce the rebellious prince; but was defeated by him, with the loss of a great number of men. The prince of *Jafkes*, puffed up with this success, and believing the *Persians* would not return in haste, resolved on a voyage to *Mekka*, in order to return his prophet thanks: but the khân, being informed of his design, had him way-laid by sea, and brought to *Ormûz*. From thence he was conveyed to the mountains, ten or twelve leagues distant, whither the governor had retired, to avoid the heats; who immediately sent to acquaint *Abbâs*, and know what was to be done with his prisoner. Mean time, the princess of *Jafkes*, hearing of her husband's misfortune, and being a woman of masculine courage, sets out with 5 or 600 horse; and, hastening by long marches, surprises the khân, at midnight, kills him with her own hand, cuts in pieces the greater part of his men, whom she found asleep, and carries away ten or twelve of his women, along with her husband, before the *Persians* could put themselves in a posture to oppose her.

ABBAS, still more incensed at this news, sends the third brother to be governor of *Ormûz*, with a command to those of *Shirâz*, *Lâr*, and *Kermân*, to march, with 30,000 horse, to revenge the affront, and reduce the rebel. But the prince of *Jafkes*, being assisted by the other two maritime princes before-mentioned, defeated those troops, with the khân of *Ormûz* at their head. However, his lieutenant-general happening to be taken prisoner in the battle, the khân, in revenge of his brother's death, caused his body to be larded with lighted candles, and led about the streets, mounted on a camel, at noon. But, after he had been thus tormented, for three days together, the khân, at the intercession of the *Dutch* company, forbore his cruel treatment^f.

SHAH Abbâs II. reigned about twenty-four years, and, according to *Tavernier*, died of an inflammation in his throat, which came by excessive drinking^g. But this prince's death is more particularly related by *Kempfer* and *Chardin*. The first informs us, that, being at his palace of *Asbirâf*, in the province of *Mazânderân*, or *Tabrestân*, he took a fancy to lie with one of the dancers, who belonged to the court: and although the girl fell on her knees, intreating him to forbear,

^f TAVERN. c. 5. p. 217.

^g Ibid. p. 200.

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for that she was infected with the foul disease; yet he would not be persuaded. A month after, the symptoms of a pox appeared on him; which, through neglect, broke out over his whole body. As he took no care to live regularly, and his physicians, through want of skill, or virulence of the distemper, were at a loss how to treat it, the contagion degenerated into a cancer, which ate away the palate of his mouth, and bridge of his nose.

in great
torture.

EIGHT days before he died, when it was too late, he began to live more regularly; and removed to *Khosrawâd*, a village near *Damagân*. There he passed his time among his women, in conversation, reading, and painting, in which he was continually employed. But, while he flattered himself with the hopes of living, and being soon able to undertake his long designed expedition against the *Uzbeks* of *Bâlk*, he was one evening suddenly seized with such intolerable pains, that in the night he ran distracted; and died about four in the morning, accusing his physicians with having poisoned him, on the 26th of *Râbia'lakar*, in the year of the Hejrah 1077, which answers to the 25th of *September*, N. S. 1666^b.

His se-
pulchre.

CHARDIN says more expressly, that his death was owing to an imposthume, caused by the venereal disease, which ate quite through his throat: so that he could swallow nothing, every thing he took passing out by that orifice, which opened his mouth quite through his head. A matter, says this author, not only extraordinary in itself, but the more surprising in a king of *Persia*, whose harâm is so well furnished with choice of womenⁱ. But the seeming difficulty has been already cleared up by *Kempfer*. He was buried at *Kom* (C), where he has a magnificent sepulchre, near that of *Safi*, or *Sefi*; the draught of which is given us by *Chardin*^k.

Character.

ABBAS was a prince of great capacity, and famous for many warlike expeditions. Just, prudent, and gracious, to all men; but kinder to strangers than his own people, whom he would not suffer to abuse Christians. He even removed some of his considerable officers, both ecclesiastical and civil, who bore them an ill-will; comparing the state to a body, whose members ought to agree among themselves, and whose prince should distribute love and justice to them all alike. If both *Persians* and *Christians* are to be believed, it is hard to name the virtue which he was not possessed of. His only vices were wine and women, which brought him to his grave^l.

^b KEMPF. Amœn. exot. Fascic. 1. p. 28. ⁱ CHARD. ubi supra, tom. II. p. 148.

^l KEMPF. ubi supra.

^k Ubi supra, tom. I. p. 207.

(C) *Tavernier*, by mistake of the printer, has *Kayr* for *Kom*.

THIS

THIS is the character of *Abbâs II.* as given by *Kempfer*. A. D. 1666. But *Tavernier*, who was in *Persia* during his reign, and entertained by him at *Ispâhân*, says, he was no less cruel than his father *Safi*, and would be as punctually obeyed ^m. In another place, he observes, that this shâh was too much addicted to drinking, and governed by passion. However, he adds, that otherwise *Abbâs* was a lover of justice, as well as very magnificent and generous to strangers ⁿ. *His cruelty.*

THAT our readers may the better form a judgment of the *An in-* character of this prince, we shall illustrate it by instances. And *stance.* first, of his cruelty. *Abbâs* had two sisters, whom he married to two of his lords, both very rich, but of mean extraction. Soon after, understanding that they were with child, he ordered physic to be given them, to destroy the fœtus's. About three months after, he was informed they were pregnant again, and suffered them to be brought to bed: but commanded that they should not give the children any nourishment, but let them starve to death.

THIS prince caused the tongue of one, who filled him to- *Another.* bacco, to be cut out, for a word spoken idly. For *Abbâs* calling for tobacco, one of the pages ran hastily to the person who had it in charge, and bidding him make haste; the other answered, sharply, *To hell! have a little patience.* The shâh being informed of it, sentenced him to the punishment above-mentioned. The poor man desired the executioner to cut it as deep as he could, and leave it very short, by which means he spoke some words to be understood ^o.

AMONG other excesses committed by this shâh, in his cups, *Ladies* one time returning home in liquor, he would needs drink on, *burnt* and forced three women to drink with him. The ladies, find- *alive.* ing he would not give over, stole away, one after another, without taking leave: which *Abbâs* perceiving, in a mad humour sent his eunuchs to fetch them back; and, being come, ordered them to be thrown into the fire, where they were burnt to death ^p.

ABBÂS had another of his women, one of the finest crea- *A fourth* tures among them, burnt alive, for putting a deceit upon him, *instance.* to avoid being gotten with child. One night sending for this lady to come to his bed, she excused herself, under pretence that she was out of order, and durst not approach his person in that condition. Next day, the shâh went to her chamber; and she, seeing him enter, fell at his feet, beseeching him not to touch her, out of order as she assured him she was. *Abbâs*,

^m TAVERN. l. v. c. 5. p. 209.

ⁿ Ibid. p. 211.

^o Ibid.

^p 209. ^p Ibid. l. iv. c. 13. p. 172.

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whose love made him suspicious, caused her to be examined; and being informed, that what she had told him was false, he ordered her to be bound in a chimney, with wood set round her, and there consumed by fire. The reason why this young lady avoided the king's caresses, was, because those of the haram who have once had a child, or only been with child, are rarely ever given to the great lords for wives, as the others are; a thing which they all covet, in order to be delivered from the confinement they are under in the palace.

Apology
for him.

It may, indeed, be said, in excuse of this prince, that the acts of cruelty which he committed were rather the effect of his drinking, than his natural temper: for most of those cruel orders which we meet with an account of, were given when he was in liquor. On the other hand, the parties who fell the victims of his excesses, were often the cause of their own own misfortunes. However, it does not appear that the following instance hath either of those palliations to allege in his favour.

Barbarous
order.

In the year 1620, *Abbâs the Great* banished a great number of eunuchs from court, who were useless, and only incumbered his palace, assigning them a large hôtel, divided into several piles of building, with gardens belonging to them. But, thirty years after, *Abbâs II.* finding that these eunuchs did not die fast enough, sent persons one night to kill those who were youngest, and bury them in the garden, without any noise: so that, in 1667, when *Chardin* was at *Isfâhân*, there did not remain above fifteen or sixteen.

Instance of
justice.

FOR all this shah did acts of injustice himself, he would not suffer others to follow his example. In a mosk at *Komishâb*, a town not far from *Isfâhân*, in the road to *Komrân*, there are kept certain fishes, held to be sacred. One day an *Armenian*, who was in the mosk, ventured to take some of the fish, thinking nobody observed him. But it happened, unluckily, that he was perceived by a *Persian*, who, fired with religious zeal, ran at him, with his poniard in hand, and slew him on the spot; imagining that he did a good act, to revenge the sacrilege committed on things sanctified by his religion. The *shâh*, who is the grand pontiff of *Persia*, believed so too; and therefore, on the murderer's application, gave him absolution, for a small sum of money; declaring, that he killed the *Armenian* very justly. But the king, being informed of the affair, ridiculed the impertinent reasoning of the ecclesiastics, *That to take away consecrated fish, was a crime, for which the party deserved to be killed by the first person who met him; and reprimanded*

• CHARD, tom. II, p. 279.

• Ibid. tom. III. p. 71.

manding the *šâh* severely, obliged him to pay a fine to the family of the *Armenian*, who had been slain; and ordered the *Persian* murderer to be punished.^{A. D. 1666.}

ONE time the *nâzar*, or *seer*, who is like the grand master of the king's house in *France*, being a person of low extraction, and advanced to that dignity in a short time, grew so proud, that he contemned all the lords of the court. There was no dealing with him about any business, unless he was first presented; and he paid nobody, without making some advantage of it. The people hereupon cried out against him: but, although every body had reason to complain, none knew how to come at the king, to make their complaints. At length they made their application to the master of the wardrobe, and high treasurer, two black eunuchs, who had the king's ear in the night. These, taking the opportunity, when *Abbâs* was in a good humour, let fall some words concerning the *nâzar*'s management of affairs; and thence slid into a detail of his injustice, which caused the people to cry out against him, and speak evil of his government. One morning, after this, when the king intended to go a hunting, the *nâzar*, who had always a large train attending him, coming to the *shâh*'s tent, was denied entrance by one of those eunuchs. About the same time, *Abbâs* came forth, and seeing him there, commanded his officers to take off the bonnet from the head of that dog, who received gifts from his people; and that he should sit three days bare-headed, in the heat of the sun, and as many nights exposed to the air. After this, he commanded, that he should be chained about the neck and arms; condemning him, at the same time, to perpetual imprisonment, with no more than one *mahmûdi* (or eight pence halfpenny) per day, for his subsistence: but he died for grief, within eight days after his confinement.

JAFFER Khân, governor of *Astarabâd* (D), was a generous lord, and kept a magnificent train. At first, his administration was very mild; but at last he oppressed the people with heavy exactions. The king being one day drinking with some of his lords, and seeing the master of his music, who was a merry droll, asked him what the people said of *Jâffer Khân*; adding, that, though he had made him governor of several provinces, he had never heard any complaint of him before: but that now he was accused of very tyrannical proceedings. The music-master, who was a mere flatterer, knowing that the *khân* was extremely beloved by the king, confidently

* CHARD. tom. III. p. 91.

(D) A city of *Torjân*, on the *Caspian* sea.

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1666.for excuse-
ing a fa-
vourite.

averted, that he was falsely accused; and that, to his knowledge, he was always apter to give than to receive. There was, at the same time, in the apartment, an hāji, named *Manūchar Khān*, lately returned from *Mekka*, who, having been long acquainted with *Jāsser Khān*, was asked the same question, and returned the same answer. Hereupon the king, who had been well informed of the khān's behaviour, turning to the lords then present, said, *What think ye of these two flatterers, who speak directly contrary to what they know?* And, at the same time, commanded two of the music-master's teeth to be pulled out of his mouth, and driven into the head of the hāji, which had like to have cost him his life, being a very old man. As for *Jāsser Khān*, he was disgraced for a while; but, being a person of fine qualities, was afterwards recalled to court.

Kind to the
Franks.

ABBAS was very kind to the *Franks*, or *Europeans*. He not only honoured *Tavernier* with a *kalaat* and gown, but invited him to entertainments. Particularly, in *January 1665*, being sent for one morning to court, he found Father *Raphael*, superior of the *capuchins*, and two *Dutchmen*, with the *nāzar*; who, after a while, brought them to the room where the king was, sitting on a low pallet, with two mattresses, covered with a rich carpet. He leaned his back against a large cushion, four feet long, having before him eight or ten plates of fruits and sweetmeats. There stood also two bottles, with long round necks, of *Venice* crystal, stopped with pitch, full of *Shirāz* wine, and a gold cup. On one side was a vessel with a handle, near full of the same sort of wine, with a gold ladle, which held the quantity of a pint. The bottles were for the king's drinking; that in the tub for his guests.

Treats
them

AFTER they had made their obeisances, the king called to *Raphael*, saying, *Come hither, come hither*. The frier went towards him, and, being near, fell on his knees. *Raphael*, said *Abbās*, *if thou wilt drink wine, stay here; if not, be gone*. The frier, though unaccustomed to drink wine, replied, *That, since his majesty did him so great an honour, he was willing to drink a little*. 'Tis very well, answered the king, smiling, *go then, and take thy seat*. Hereupon he bid one of the *Dutchmen* to fill some wine: which he did, with a trembling hand, being unused to drink with kings; and having laid his hat on the carpet, the shāh ordered him to put it on, it being a very ignominious thing in *Persia* to be bare-headed. The great ladle went smartly about, considering it was but early in the forenoon. At length the king, bethinking himself that the *Franks* were not used to

drink without eating, gave orders for victuals to be brought, consisting of both flesh and fish, roasted and boiled.

A. D.
1666.

AFTER this breakfast, the king put our author upon a relation of his travels into *India*; and, opening a satchel, drew out several portraitures, in miniature, representing the *Great Moguls*, and their sons, with some *râjahs* and officers of the court, whom *Tavernier* knew, by their resemblance. Among the rest, there were the pictures of some ladies; which turned the discourse on the subject of beauty, and gave the *shâh* an occasion to ask our author's opinion about it; which gave him some diversion. After this, he put questions concerning the present state of *Europe*; and, as he spoke very low, the rest of the company retired out of hearing, only the king's uncle kept his place, standing five or six paces behind his majesty. At intervals the dancers were called in; and *Abbâs* diverted himself with asking our author, which he thought handsomest, the reasons for his opinion, and making them kiss him. Thus the time passed till eleven at night; when the king inquired if any present knew how to sing. On this, one *M. Daulier* began; but *Tavernier*, observing that the king did not like his voice, because not a base, and being in a merry vein, sang a drinking air; which so pleased his majesty, that he cried out, *Bârik Allah! Bârik Allah! O! the works of God!*

with great
familiarity.

An in-
stance.

FOR all this condescension and freedom, which was found in *Abbâs*, he would not suffer any acts of misbehaviour or disrespect from strangers, any more than his own subjects; as may appear from the following instances. Next night, the king fell a drinking (E) again with company, among whom there was an *hâji*, or pilgrim, newly returned from *Mekka*, and consequently obliged never to drink wine. While this *hâji* stay'd, one of the *Persian* lords got so deeply fuddled, that he twice struck the *hâji*'s turban from his head; refused to drink, when the king commanded him; played the fool with the women, when dancing; and committed so many other impertinencies, that the king at last, in a great fury, said, *This rascal has lost all his respect, and thinks he is no more my slave! drag him out by the heels, and throw him to the dogs!* He was accordingly dragged out of the hall, by four or five officers; and every body wondered that he was not thrown to the dogs: but it was thought some of the king's women begged him off.

Effects of
liquor.

(E) *Theracot* says, he had so strong a head, that, after a whole day's debauch, having sent for the *French*, they found him as sober, and in as good a frame of mind, as if he had not drank one drop; so that he continued it one day more, without intermission; being seldom drunk. Trav. part ii. ch. 11. p. 100.

At

A. D. 1666. At this entertainment one of the dancers gave another a box on the ear, in the gallery where they were drinking together : which yet being heard by the king in the hall, he ordered her to be struck out of the number of courtezans, and another put in her place, by the darûga, or judge of the city ; who was to get her married, and 100 tomans were allowed her for a portion ^u.

Narrow
escape

JÄFFER Khân being restored to favour, the king sent for several lords of the court to come and drink with them. He likewise commanded five *Franks*, who were in his service, to attend : their names were, *Sain*, a goldsmith ; *Lagis* and *Varin*, watch-makers ; with *Marais* and *Bernard*, gun-smiths. After they had been warmed a little with wine, the king drew off his finger a ruby, which our author sold him for 100 tomans, and a diamond jewel worth 1400, which he gave to *Jäffer Khân*, with whom he whispered at the same time. The *nâzar*, who sat at a distance, fancying the shâh was talking about the incursions of the *Uzbeks* toward *Masbâd* (or *Tûs*), and being emboldened by the liquor, told his majesty, aloud, *That if he would let him have but 4000 horse, he would cut all that rabble to pieces*. The king, displeased at this freedom, bid him hold his tongue, and go sleep. For all this, *Marais*, who, when in liquor, could not forbear prating, took on him also to tell Shâh Abbâs, *That, if he wanted a general, none was fitter than Jäffer Khân* ; and fell into a long detail of his praises. The king commanded him to be silent ; which he was for a while, and then began his impertinencies again. On this, *Abbâs* ordered the meter, or master of his wardrobe, to drag him out of the room by the feet, and rip up his belly. He was dragged out accordingly : but the meter, having a great kindness for him, and knowing the king loved him much, delayed the execution, by pulling off his clothes very leisurely ; and, finding that his majesty did not rise to go into the harâm, which is a sign that no pardon will be given, he caused him to be dragged as near the king as he could, to move his compassion, while some of the lords implored mercy for him : which, at length, *Abbâs* granted, ordering him to put on his clothes again, and resume his place ^x.

of a
French-
man.

Drawings
of Abbâs. *ABBAS* was a lover of the mechanical arts, and artisans. It has been already remarked, that he was fond of drawing ; and *Tavernier* tells us, that he delivered to him the patterns of several sorts of drinking-cups, and trenchers, with that of a

^x TAVERNIER. l. iv. c. 17. p. 183.
& seq.

^u Ibid. l. v. c. 5. p. 210,

dagger

dagger (F), in order to have them made in *France*: the dagger was to be goldsmiths work, enamelled. These patterns were drawn by himself (G), having learned to design of two *Dutchmen*, who were in his service ¹. *Chardin* informs us, that, besides drawing, he knew how to turn, and write very neatly ². But this is not so strange, as what the same author relates concerning two blind princes of the blood, one of whom made all sorts of models (in wood or wax), to great perfection; and the other was well-skilled in mathematics, especially algebra. He could so well distinguish the goodness and difference of work, by his feeling, and ear, that he would buy watches of great price upon his own judgment ³.

¹ TAVERN. l. iv. c. 16, 17. p. 181. 183. ² CHARD. Voy. en Persé, tom. II. p. 215. ³ Id. ibid. tom. III. p. 64, & seq.

(F) *Kempfer* observes, that, among other instances of his industry, he made the handle of a fimeter in wax; and adorned it, in a very beautiful manner, with jewels, to the value of 1500 to-mans, as a pattern for the sword-maker to set them in a gold

handle. *Kempf. Amœnit. exot.* Fasc. 1. Relat. 2. p. 28.

(G) This prince built *Seadet Abbâs*, that is, *the abode, or seat, of felicity*, one of the suburbs of *Ispâhân*. *Chard. Voy. tom. III.* p. 75.

The END of the FIFTH VOLUME.

